

**Leadership in Africa: A hermeneutic dialogue with Kwame Nkrumah and
Julius Nyerere on equality and human development**

by

Peter Häussler

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Department of Social Development
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Supervisor: Professor Vivienne Taylor
Department of Social Development
University of Cape Town

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Peter Häussler, Cape Town, April 2017

ABSTRACT

This study deals with leadership and ‘humanness’ and compares the perceptions of human equality of two outstanding African leaders, ‘fathers of their nations’, Kwame Nkrumah, first president of Ghana, and Julius Nyerere, first president of Tanganyika, later Tanzania.

Leadership is a key issue for political, economic and social development in Africa and worldwide. This is especially true in times of financial and economic globalisation that affects people in poor African countries significantly. Half a century after the independence of most countries on the continent, poverty is the daily experience of the majority of Africa’s people. Public criticism about the present political leadership and their ‘delivery’ of goods and services to the people is widespread and profound. This problem prompted me to study the leadership experiences of Nkrumah and Nyerere.

The overall goal of this research is to better understand Nkrumah and Nyerere as leaders in Africa. Therefore, my study has two research questions: what are their perceptions on equality and human development – and what is their historical and contemporary relevance, in times of human rights violations and increasing inequalities.

The methodological choice is critical hermeneutics (Gadamer 1990, 2013; Ricoeur 1991b; Habermas 1992b, 1996), which allows a multi-cultural historical and contemporary dialogue with Nkrumah and Nyerere through their text. Hermeneutics also has relevance in Africa (Oruka 1990; Serequeberhan 1994; Mbembe 2001). I name my method the “triple jump” (Häussler 2009a). The study is a combination of a quantitative and a qualitative method with a hermeneutical conversation. The core-keywords of the dialogues are colonialism, unity, socialism, equality, freedom and development.

There are three significant findings that contribute new knowledge to our understanding of Nkrumah and Nyerere as leaders. First, that using the hermeneutical dialogue (my “triple jump”) as a holistic and practical model enables a ‘better’ understanding of Nkrumah and Nyerere. Second, interpreting their perceptions on human equality reveals that both leaders prioritise education as a critical part of human development and achieving equality in society. It also

unveils differences in their focus: Nkrumah on de-colonisation and African unity; Nyerere on social and economic self-reliance, and equal rights. Thirdly, the study reveals tensions between their discourses on equality and freedom and their personal capacity to deal with power, opposition, human rights and idealism. My study concludes with recommendations for the development of ethical leadership and for personal support for leaders in office.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi (Tanzania)
CPP	Convention People’s Party (Ghana)
PDA	Preventive Detention Act
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
UGCC	United Gold Coast Convention

Chapter 1. Introduction: A hermeneutic journey with Nkrumah and Nyerere

1.1. Past leaders as contemporary role models

This study looks into the political and social history of two exceptional African leaders. Kwame Nkrumah (1909–1972) of Ghana and Julius Nyerere (1922–1999) of Tanzania were pioneers of liberation in Africa and also intellectuals whose writings were read and respected internationally. They had clear visions and programmes to end colonialism and build a new and ‘equal’ society (Nyerere 1966, 8) with ‘free’ people and an “African personality” (Nkrumah 1964, 79).¹ They were charismatic (Mazrui 2007), transformational leaders (Jackson and Rosberg 1982) and devoted Pan-Africanists (Shivji 2008).

Nkrumah and Nyerere came from humble social backgrounds, loved learning and had the chance to attend missionary schools as children. Both were socially committed and principled. They dared to fight against colonial oppression for freedom and social justice for the people. They proposed different socialist economic models as alternatives to the capitalism of their former colonial masters. Their visions of society were based on the idea of equality, including access to basic goods and services for everybody.

Although they had the general support of the people, both faced opposition from domestic elites – including physical violence in Nkrumah’s case, and a challenge by the communist left, in Nyerere’s. Such resistance and the political undermining of the new states pushed the two leaders to use coercion to ‘save’ their socialist ‘experiments’ and to implement their goals.

One may ask, half a century later, whether Nkrumah and Nyerere represent the kind of ‘good’ leaders who contribute to development and human equality. Put

¹ Double quotation marks indicate direct quotations, while single quotes identify ambiguities that have to be dealt with during the hermeneutic process.

simply, a 'good' leader is a person of integrity and competence who strives for democratic socio-economic development while respecting the rule of law and the principle that "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights", in the words of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (see 4.3.2).

This investigation is taken up as a 'dialogue' with the two leaders through an innovative method of contextualised hermeneutic interpretation of their writings. The dialogue concerns 'equality' and 'human development'. I will use the term 'human equality' to include both 'equality' as the basis of universal human rights (equal rights and opportunities) and 'human development' (social development that includes access to basic goods and services for a decent life, extended by participation and personal capabilities; Sen 1981). Human equality and egalitarianism are treated as one concept, egalitarianism being Nkumah's preferred term. This will be discussed in Chapter 4. Such a hermeneutic dialogue requires interdisciplinary research in the fields of social development, history, politics and philosophy.

This study expands on my dissertation for a master's degree in social development, *Leadership for Democratic Development in Tanzania: The Perspective of Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere During the First Decade of Independence; A Hermeneutic Dialogue* (Häussler 2005), in which I introduced my triple-jump method of hermeneutic textual analysis. The project was stimulated by twenty years of political and social development work in Africa, and especially by my experience with the Young Leaders Training Programme in Tanzania. Supported by the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, my former employer, this yearly training programme (now called Young Leaders Forum) is based on principles of good governance and discusses the philosophical and political legacy of Nyerere. The dissertation indicated my interest in hermeneutic research for the assessment of African leadership role models that would focus on Nyerere and Nkrumah.

The present study elaborates my understanding of leadership and provides original insights that could influence leadership training programmes and

contribute to improved leadership for human development in contemporary Africa.

1.2. Context: The Gold Coast and Tanganyika before independence

Let us go back to the time just before independence in the Gold Coast (later Ghana) and in Tanganyika (later Tanzania). What were the conditions for these young revolutionary African intellectuals in the middle of the twentieth century? The context will be explored in depth in Chapter 3, but a brief introduction here will help to set the scene of this study.

The Gold Coast had a traditional peasant-based subsistence economy and a “modern dominant capitalist system” (Asamoah 2007, 19), which was based on natural resources (cocoa, timber, gold, bauxite, manganese) and on relations between the Ashanti (or Asante) and the British, going back to the 18th century. Road and rail infrastructure was quite developed in the resource-rich south, and the southern areas, the colonial core and the Ashanti kingdom received “fairly vigorous investment in education by the colonial state” (Songsore 2011, 69). The large regions in the north provided labour to the south. These people received minimal education, with the colonial government “discouraging missionary efforts at educational development” (ibid.). Poor peasants in the central and northern rural areas had little prospect of social development. While the north was often starving, the Ashanti were “fast becoming regular meat eaters”, according to Sender and Sheila Smith (1986, 10)².

In 1949, Nkrumah and his national independence movement formed the Convention People’s Party (CPP), which promised to centralise power and develop services and facilities in all regions. In 1951, the colonial government abolished the “native authorities system ... and replaced [it] by a system of elected local government ... The chiefs were warned that national centralisation would lead to their demise” (Hadjor 1988, 61). The Northern People’s Party was formed by members of the conservative traditional elite to support local and

² To highlight the significant contribution of women writers and thinkers in this otherwise male-dominated field, their first names are included in references (see 1.6 below).

regional autonomy. The National Liberation Movement arose in Kumasi, the centre of the Ashanti realm, with the support of powerful cocoa farmers, several royal dynasties and influential conservatives, 'Westernised' intellectuals and others who refused socialism or wanted to secure their privileges (J. Appiah 1996). As Hadjor (1988, 62) remarks dramatically, "Blinded by naked ambition, they were prepared to destroy the movement for national independence".

Tanganyika had limited mineral resources and the economy was mostly agrarian, although some areas produced for export, such as Sukumaland (cotton), Buhaya and Kilimanjaro (coffee), and Tanga (sisal). Social conditions were far from acceptable for the masses of the people, but a small elite enjoyed a good life. More than 120 ethnic groups lived in a patchwork of scattered chiefdoms with few towns and cities. The authoritarian traditional system was influenced by long experience of the slave trade in Zanzibar (Sheriff and Ferguson 1991).

Under the colonial system, men and women in Tanganyika and Zanzibar were subjected to forced labour practices on farms and plantations and in mines (Iliffe 1979; Coulson 1982). German and then British colonial masters exploited the 'natives' and the natural resources. Domestic workers were "called by the Swahili word for child, or boy, regardless of whether they were actually children, adults, or elders" (Sheriff and Ferguson 1991, 195). Life was particularly difficult for women and girls. In rural areas, girls could be pledged by their fathers as collateral for a personal loan, and some chiefs "could oblige their subjects to give ... their daughters as slave girls for specific reasons" (Swantz 1985, 50). The social situation improved in the 1930s as manufacturing developed, which contributed to increased employment and trade activities. Women also had better chances to be employed and more possibilities to flee their traditional 'destiny' (Susan Geiger 1998).

John Iliffe (1997) calls the period from 1907 to 1945 "the age of improvement and differentiation". Ideas of popular unity and rising up against oppression grew after the 1905–07 Maji Maji War against the Germans. By the 1930s, some 20 000 men were employed by the Tanganyika railways. These workers "were relatively skilled ... and their occupation provided a natural framework of organisation and

communications” (Ilfie 1997, 396). As in Gold Coast, the trade unions were strong partners of the national movements and played a significant role in protests against political and social injustice (Songsore 2011; Shivji 1975, 1986).

Only a small group of Africans could secure employment in the colonial administration and private businesses. This included the families of wealthy traders and private farmers, traditional leaders and supporters of the British system of indirect rule (Ilfie 1979; Kimambo and Temu 1997; Mamdani 2013). As for British colonial education, Nyerere would neatly summarise its result by saying that the British “ruled us for 43 years. When they left, there were two trained engineers and 12 doctors. This is the country we inherited” (in Mamdani 2012, 87).

This glimpse of the conditions in the Gold Coast and Tanganyika indicates the huge challenges for Nkrumah and Nyerere when they took political power after independence. Colonial oppression devastated the lives of many people. Abject poverty reigned, particularly in the rural areas, and people often lacked basic healthcare, education, water, food, paid work and rights for women.

1.3. Objective: Nkrumah and Nyerere as leaders for human equality

We are faced with a deep leadership crisis today in Africa and elsewhere (Mandela 2010; Tandon 2011; Mamdani 2013; Mazrui 2007; Tandon 2014; Mbembe 2016). Despite eloquent and routine promises, few politicians tackle the conditions of poverty and inequality. While political leaders have no magical power to solve such problems, they are a decisive factor for the organisation of societies. In democratic societies in Africa, they have a responsibility to respect human rights and to work together with people for equality and development.

Equality, along with freedom and dignity, is named as a fundamental human value in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN 1948). Yet inequality of income and human development is rising (UNDP 2013; Piketty 2014). Oxfam (2016) revealed that the combined wealth of the 62 richest people is “equal to

that of the poorest half of the world's population". When such a foundational principle is lost, social cohesion vanishes. As Joseph Stiglitz (2013) has written, "the price of inequality" is too high: "today's divided society endangers our future". Rich countries like the United States face violent conflicts between the rich (mostly white) and the poor (mostly black) people and the numerous 'racial' crimes in recent years. We also see protests for equality and social harmony in less democratic societies, such as the initiatives for inclusive development in China (Li 2014).

According to the UNDP (2013), about half the sub-Saharan African population does not have adequate access to basic goods and services such as food and water, healthcare and education. More than half fit into the category of "working poor". In several such countries, "the absolute number of people living in poverty has gone up" (UN-DESA 2010), while the World Bank (Kathleen Beegle et al. 2016, 7) recorded the level of extreme poverty in Africa at 43 percent in 2012. Poverty is particularly prevalent in rural areas. People who are starving and unable to improve their lives and develop their potential are caught in a vicious circle of poverty. Even if they know their human rights, they cannot access them or enjoy the benefits.

Good leadership is required to overcome inequality and poverty, to achieve human development, and to contribute to a life of dignity. Governments that are guided by human rights, based on the rule of law, and that provide social security and education for all can establish the conditions to support people's political, social and economic rights (Temple 2011). Gender equality, democratic elections and free participation in public life are equally important for fostering economic and social growth. This requires ethical political leaders who are fair, cooperative and accountable to the people. Some researchers use the term "hybrid leadership", which incorporates "good governance, regular, free and fair elections, rule of law and respect for human rights, and ... enhancing citizen participation, transparency and accountability" (Evelyn Mayanja 2013). I call such ethical and democratic leaders 'good' leaders.

My basic hypothesis here is that the legacy of Nkrumah and Nyerere, as ‘good’ leaders in the fight for independence, can help activate ‘ethical leadership’ today. The objective of this research is to better understand their philosophies, perceptions and plans concerning human equality through a dialogical interpretation of their written texts and speeches. Through this in-depth understanding, the work will be able to draw conclusions that can inform contemporary leaders, future young leaders and leadership training activities for women and men.

The central research question is therefore: how do Nkrumah and Nyerere, as leaders, depict human equality in their public speeches, essays and major writings? Related relevant questions include: why is leadership significant for human equality? Can Nkrumah and Nyerere be role models for the 21st century?

1.4. Method: Hermeneutic dialogue for understanding

The research methodology is a combination of text analysis and critical reflective hermeneutic dialogue in order to understand better. Hermeneutics takes its name from Hermes, a demi-god of Greek mythology. Tasked by Zeus to deliver messages, he had to interpret such messages to make them understandable to the recipients. Hermeneutics is thus the “art of understanding”³ through “the method of interpretation first of texts, and secondly of the whole social, historical, and psychological world” (Blackburn 1996, 172). Hermeneutics has increasingly been taken up by African philosophers to reflect critically on colonial history and European philosophy (Serequeberhan 1994; Gordon 2000), including the debate on ethno-philosophy versus analytical philosophy (Oruka 1990; Hountondji 1996; Eze 1998a; Wiredu 2004), in which Oruka, Eze and Wiredu represent the different philosophical paradigms of Nkrumah and Nyerere.

Hermeneutic methods are often utilised in the social sciences, despite the embrace of a positivist standard of quantifiable and verifiable ‘proof’ in some areas of research. However, as Thomas Kuhn (2011, xiii) observed, even

³ “*die Kunst des Verstehens*” (Schleiermacher 1995)

scientific accounts are better understood hermeneutically, within their own horizon or paradigm:

What I as a physicist had to discover for myself, most historians learn by example in the course of professional training. Consciously or not, they are all practitioners of the hermeneutic method. In my case, however, the discovery of hermeneutics did more than make history seem consequential. Its most immediate and decisive effect was instead on my view of science.

Hermeneutic results can also be complemented by triangulation: “the use of multiple theoretical perspectives/procedures/methods, sources of data, investigators or theories to collect and interpret data about a phenomenon in order for them to converge on an accurate representation of that particular ‘reality’” (Weyers et al. 2008, 207).

My specific hermeneutic approach (Chapter 2) is informed by three additional schools of thought: phenomenology (Husserl 1986), tradition and historicity (Gadamer 2013; Ricoeur 1991a), and critical theory (Habermas 1992b, 1996). Its intercultural perspective is related to the work of Hans-Georg Gadamer and Karen Joisten’s (2009, 207) “xenology”. Against Johann Mouton (2001, 168), who finds that “the contextuality (and intertextuality) of texts may constrain one’s understanding”, I would argue that contextualisation in fact enables a wider understanding of the text (Mayring 2005). It must also be noted that existing critical studies of the two leaders, which seem to rely on disciplinary claims of ‘objectivity’, often succumb to dubious presentist attitudes (Jackson and Rosberg 1982; Sender and Sheila Smith 1986; Pinkney 1987; Assensoh 1998; Ayithey 2005; Jallow 2013) (see 2.4.4).

Because we only understand in context, a hermeneutic process of understanding a text has to include a systematic review of both the contextual situation and the conceptual ways of thinking in which it was produced. This “contextualist or holistic research strategy of qualitative research [is sometimes contrasted with] the analytical (even atomistic) approach of quantitative variable analysis” (Babbie and Mouton 2001, 272). Chapter 3 sets out the historical, personal and political contexts in which Nyerere and Nkrumah wrote their texts, while the literature review in Chapter 4 looks at the concepts of “leadership”, “human rights”,

“equality” and “development” as understood in their times, as well in contemporary scholarship.

My “triple-jump” method (Chapter 5) takes three steps towards the ‘truth’: that is, towards a ‘good’ and ‘adequate’ understanding of the text. It includes qualitative and quantitative elements of text analysis and uses essays and speeches by Nkrumah and Nyerere as source material, as well as critical opinions from relevant secondary literature. The first jump is a quantitative manifest coding of the selected texts, using ten keywords each for the concepts of “equality” and “human development”. The second jump is interpretive latent coding. The third jump is the systematic hermeneutic interpretation, which is performed as a ‘Conversation’ between Nkrumah and Nyerere, moderated by the researcher, and guided by the principles of “discourse ethics” (Habermas 1992b).

The Conversation (Chapter 6) expands Gadamer’s dialogical principle of the “hermeneutic circle” – an iterative process in which understanding the whole text is based on one’s understanding of the parts and understanding the parts is based on understanding the whole – into a “hermeneutic spiral for understanding”. An ‘ethical dialogue’ with Nkrumah and Nyerere, by way of their lifework, their words and their ‘historical personalities’, can produce a better understanding of them and their objectives. In Gadamer’s (2013, 317) words, “a real fusing of horizons occurs – which means that as the historical horizon is projected, it is simultaneously superseded”. Our task together, as readers, scholars and partners in an intercultural dialogue, is “to bring about this fusion in a regulated way ... what we called historically effected consciousness” (ibid.).

Historical precursors for such a fictive Conversation include Leibniz’s critical conversation with John Locke (as Theophilus and Philalethes) in *New Essays on Human Understanding* (Shavin 2003) and Plato’s Socratic dialogues. Piwek’s (2008) research shows that the use of fictive dialogue with students motivates “active participation” and stimulates “deep-level reasoning questions”. I believe that such a hermeneutic study of Nkrumah and Nyerere and their perceptions on human equality is unique.

Finally, Chapter 7 presents a condensed assessment of Nkrumah's and Nyerere's perspectives, linking them with contemporary realities. This conclusion is based on the research questions and on questions that are applied systematically and consistently throughout the study.

1.5. Concepts in historical and contemporary perspective

Chapter 4 explores historical and contemporary scholarship on political leadership, social equality and development, with particular reference to Ghana and Tanzania and, when appropriate, to regional giants Nigeria and South Africa. My goal is to show that "leadership" is a useful concept to understand Nkrumah and Nyerere and their commitments to human equality. The concept of "equality" is examined philosophically and historically, with particular reference to race- and gender-based inequality. The concept of development and poverty is similarly explored with reference to changing theories, conditions and strategies, particularly those of Nkrumah and Nyerere.

1.6. Significance and limitations of the study

Why do I think I can make a contribution towards future African leaders who will follow in the footsteps of Nkrumah and Nyerere? On the one hand, my direct experience with leaders in Nigeria, Benin, Mozambique, South Africa and Tanzania lends a certain authenticity to my narrative. On the other, despite my self-declared 'European-African' identity, I am a foreigner and a 'white nose' and conscious of a heavy historical burden. However, as partners and friends on an equal footing, Europeans and Africans have to work together to cultivate fair and peaceful development for human equality and an end to poverty. Better understanding is a significant part of that and is a contribution to decolonisation.⁴

My study shows that, despite shortcomings in resolving the conflict between equal rights, freedoms and state power, the 'good' leadership of Nkrumah and

⁴ As is "coming to terms with the past" (Vergangenheitsbewältigung) and the complex "work of mourning" (Trauerarbeit), which is mentioned briefly in Chapter 3 with reference to Germany's post-war experience. Decolonisation is not yet accomplished.

Nyerere for equality and human development did contribute to social and democratic consolidation. In addition, the study contributes to a multifaceted discussion about the crisis of democratic development and leadership, with particular reference to the heritage of Nkrumah and Nyerere as “towering architects of African statehood” (Mazrui 1986, 184). All of the speeches and essays that I include are publicly accessible and my findings will be freely available via the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation in Tanzania, the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, the University of Cape Town and other Ghanaian and Tanzanian institutions. It may provide a tool for the promotion of political leadership training in African countries.

Last, but not least, this work demonstrates the applicability of hermeneutic methodology for scholarly research in social development in Africa. In the words of Serequeberhan (2002, 64), “[o]ur responsibility to the future is to hermeneutically elucidate that which has remained hidden: that is, ‘a relevant reading ... that hasn’t been addressed thus far’ by the dominant Euro-American scholarship on the philosophic tradition”.

In a time of violent conflict between different ideas and ways of life, the analysis of political leadership for human equality needs a humanist approach, one that looks for dialogue and a ‘fair’ agreement or consensus. To understand the other better by means of this hermeneutic work, and to avoid revitalising dangerous power games between rich and poor, men and women, educated and uneducated, believers and atheists, would already move us towards social justice.

The research outcomes are limited by some confessed biases and intercultural difficulties. I admire these two extraordinary men, particularly Julius Nyerere, because of their lifework and despite their flaws. My knowledge of Nyerere is much wider and deeper than that of Nkrumah. My seven years in Tanzania brought me close to some of Nyerere’s colleagues, comrades and collaborators and I have published several articles on Nyerere’s political life and his legacy. My knowledge of Kwame Nkrumah is based mainly on literature and a positive memory of Nkrumah’s fight for independence and African unity in the 1960s. I

visited Ghana in 1993 and 1994 when I was working in Nigeria and Benin, and had some sporadic opportunities for discussion with Ghanaians at conferences in Africa. I visited Ghana again twice in 2013 to meet some people who were close to Nkrumah and to participate in a conference on Nkrumah's life and political perspectives.

Intercultural difficulties are obvious. My English is not perfect. Life forced me to learn some languages but all remain to a certain extent unaccomplished. The broad topics of human equality and development had to be distilled down to 10 keywords each for practicality, and only a fragment of the extensive texts written by the two leaders is used for the analysis. This limitation is largely countered by the triangulation effect of multiple perspectives and accounts. I note as well that almost all the voices in the literature review, as well as the ones resulting from conversations with comrades, collaborators and friends of Nkrumah and Nyerere, are the voices of men. I thought that a tiny 'affirmative action' could highlight the fact that women are certainly present and active in that male-dominated discourse, and so I include their full names in all citations and in the bibliography. Happily, the new millennium shows signs of an improved gender ratio among intellectuals and writers, particularly in the field of critical hermeneutics.

Lastly, there is a question of research ethics. How can I converse critically with the two dead leaders in a way that is not insulting or offensive? The process of understanding text in a multicultural environment needs openness for the other and his/her message. I follow Serequeberhan's (2002) procedure of "relevant reading" as a form of decolonisation. My intention as a social scientist is to be critical of the object – Nkrumah's and Nyerere's views of human equality – but not to establish who is the 'best' leader. The aim is hermeneutic: to assess, through understanding, their contributions to human equality in their new societies, and to find common ground or a 'new horizon' for dialogue. In my reading, the 'truth' that can be understood is expressed in an open-minded conversation, based on the idea – or is it hope? – that consensus is possible (Mudimbe 1988; Wiredu 2002b).

1.7. Three findings

The research makes three significant findings. First, the triple jump hermeneutic dialogue is shown to be a holistic and practical model for 'better' understanding Nkrumah and Nyerere as leaders. Second, it shows that, while Nkrumah's leadership focussed on decolonisation and African unity and Nyerere's on equal rights and opportunities for all, both leaders prioritised education as a critical part of human development and linked it to achieving equality in society. The third outcome is the exposure of contradictions and tensions between their ideals of equality and freedom and their abilities to deal with political power and opposition. Women and men, now and in the future – can still look to Nkrumah and Nyerere as good leaders in difficult times, each with his strengths and weaknesses.

Chapter 2. Methodology: From philosophy to practice

This chapter presents theoretical foundations of my research, of my protagonists' thinking, and of the method that brings us together in critical conversation. It begins with the problem of understanding other people from different times and cultures. This is followed by an assessment of the scholarship on hermeneutics and ethical discourse developed by European thinkers, and of related literature produced by philosophers in Africa. The chapter closes with a consideration of the thinking of Nkrumah and Nyerere in terms of their ideology, authenticity, and a refutation of presentism in historical studies.

I have chosen to present the theoretical underpinnings of “hermeneutic dialogue” first, because its cyclical nature influences every step of the research methodology and needs to be described from the outset. This will enable you, the interested reader, to better follow the thread of my argument and become part of this ongoing dialogue about history, political changes and social and human development in the times of Nkrumah and Nyerere.

This work is part of an intercultural encounter (Wimmer 2003), a complex effort to understand the other through hermeneutic dialogue. I postulate, first, that hermeneutics offers a framework to accommodate the socialist paradigms of the political leaders Nkrumah and Nyerere and the critical humanist paradigms of the theorists from Europe and Africa. Second, the hermeneutic approach to dialogue can advance in the direction of better understanding despite different theoretical and ideological positions as long as the dialogue partners do not use force to achieve the aim (Habermas 1996). Third, a possible result is the kind of reasoned non-partisan consensus favoured by Wiredu (2000) as “an immanent approach to social interaction”. In the end, a spiral series of structured questions and authentic answers drives a process of deeper understanding of Nkrumah's and Nyerere's perceptions (and those of the researcher and readers) of human equality and development.

2.1. Understanding the 'other': Intercultural communication and reflection

Given the various cultural backgrounds of Nkrumah, Nyerere and myself – African, European, Akan, Zanaki, German, French – my enterprise is both inter- and cross-cultural. Maria Assumpta Aneas and María Paz Sandín (2009) distinguish the difference: “intercultural communication involves interactions among people from different cultures ... Cross-cultural communication involves a comparison of interactions among people from the same culture to those from another culture”. Because understanding the other person is a linguistic, psychological and philosophical process, this objective requires deep reflection.

Understanding is not as likely as we might believe. Hermeneutic philosophers like Paul Ricoeur and Hans-Georg Gadamer would even say that misunderstanding is more common. Beyond the structural ‘otherness’ between people due to socio-political legacies, we are also different individuals, human beings who may struggle to understand each other. I have worked in West, East, and southern Africa, with various proficiencies in French, English, Portuguese and Swahili. Understanding was often a case of “good enough” translation, with many quite weird misunderstandings that were only later – if ever – disclosed to me.

2.1.1. Understanding and translation

How can we approach cross-cultural communication and intercultural understanding in a multicultural ‘globalised’ world? In his classic 1936 *Language, Truth and Logic*, the British analytic philosopher A.J. Ayer offers one “possibility of mutual understanding”:

For we define the qualitative identity and difference of two people’s sense-experiences in terms of the similarity and dissimilarity of their reactions to empirical tests ... To determine, for instance, whether two people have the same colour sense we observe whether they classify all the colour expanses with which they are confronted in the same way. (Ayer 1974, 209, 173)

In this positivist approach, an empirical analytical process provides a clear result – but perhaps we are left unsure about the social meaning of “mutual

understanding”. Ricoeur (2005, xi) approaches the problem from another direction in the preface of *The Course of Recognition*:

By taking as my title the “course” of recognition, and not the “theory” of this discourse, I mean to acknowledge the persistence of the initial perplexity that motivated this inquiry, something that the convention of having constructed a rule-governed polysemy halfway between homonymy and univocity does not fully remove.

Who understands this small paragraph? Why is Ricoeur’s language so complicated? Where is Hermes to help us? Here we have neither the context nor the whole preface, in which Ricoeur talks about the “secrets” and background of his book and defines the terms “polysemy”, “homonymy” and “univocity”. Without that information, a reliable interpretation is hardly possible. A second difficulty is that Ricoeur’s text has been translated from French into English. Translation is intercultural, a dialogue between two different cultures with the aim to understand the ‘other’. Even when the translated words look similar (e.g. “*univoque*” and “univocity”), they differ slightly in meaning. Every translation is an interpretation and vice versa. The result is always a ‘new’ text with an altered meaning.

Translation is needed to make an alien text or speech or even nonverbal communication understandable, but what we read, think or speak is often also the product of translation. European traditions of learning are based on translations from ancient Arabic, Greek and Latin as well as from contemporary cultures. In this study, a text by Nyerere may be translated between Zanaki, Swahili and English. Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o (2009, 74), the steadfast promoter of African languages, teaches us that “[t]ranslation is the language of languages, a language through which all languages can talk to one another”.

Gadamer (2013) and Ricoeur (1991a) would surely agree with Nigerian feminist Oyèrónké Oyéwùmi (1998, 478) that “[a]ll researchers, regardless of discipline, are translators in one way or the other, and this must be borne in mind in the practice of research”. My research is a special kind of translation, but this is not because of my understanding of English. Nkrumah and Nyerere use uncomplicated language, I have been reading their texts for almost two decades, and I think in English. My triple-jump method is more a reframing that can ‘shift’

the meaning of the text. The selection I make from the speeches and essays of Nkrumah and Nyerere gives new emphasis to that text. I shape and portray the context against which the texts are read. And I formulate questions that give the discourse a specific direction, in order to better understand the views of the two leaders.

2.1.2. Dialogue and conversation

“Dialogue” and “conversation” are important technical terms in my work. Dialogue is the wider concept of which conversation is a member, with the latter having the objective of achieving mutual understanding, agreement or consensus. Conversation, in this sense, heads for the ‘truth’.

The triple-jump process of text analysis uses three forms of dialogue that are interdependently applied: motivational discourse, second voices and the Conversation.

The selected texts are primarily “motivational discourse”. Via live speeches, newspaper articles or pamphlets, Nkrumah and Nyerere are speaking directly to the people to win them over to their projects and policies. One crucial example is “Work and Happiness”, Nkrumah’s 1962 radio broadcast about Ghana’s seven-year development plan. The speech, which condemned corruption and called for austerity, led to serious conflicts with comrades and escalated into political persecution. Another example is Nyerere’s 1962 presidential inauguration address. Its central topic was the urgent need of education for all – including women and girls. It opened many discussions about who needed education and what kind of education it should be, eventually igniting Tanzania’s education for self-reliance (ESR) project in 1967.

“Second voices” accompany my whole work. I dialogue with thinkers who have expressed their views on topics linked to human equality and to the work, life and politics of Nkrumah and Nyerere. These include many African contemporaries of Nkrumah and Nyerere – friends and opponents, researchers, Africanists,

journalists and writers. Generally, they also support social and human rights and their judgements are fair and balanced. They can also be negative, even aggressive, in their analyses, often because they had high standards and even higher expectations of the two leaders. These voices are important for better understanding. They had direct and indirect influences on Nkrumah's and Nyerere's views, they influence my interpretation, and they will also influence the readers of this text. Concepts relating to historicity, personality, and normative 'truth' in politics are brought together to open a complex understanding of the times of Nkrumah and Nyerere as well as our own. The second voices mingle with the motivational dialogue and help to formulate the important questions that the speeches and essays reveal to us, in both the text analysis (Chapter 5) and the Conversation with Nkrumah and Nyerere (Chapter 6).

The third category of dialogue is the centrepiece of my method: the Conversation, set off with a capital C, in which I moderate a fictive dialogue with Nkrumah and Nyerere on their views of equality and human development. This Conversation is a dialogue in Nkrumah's and Nyerere's real political time, from the 1940s onwards. It also allows them to 'give' some comments and recommendations on contemporary problems of development and leadership through me, the moderator/interpreter. The Conversation is premised on the idea that dialogue with the opinions of different persons, as expressed in their own texts, can contribute to a better and more authentic understanding of them, of their commonalities and their differences. To bring forward such a 'voice' of the other is particularly important in this piece of hermeneutic research.

2.1.3. Agreement and consensus

In my hermeneutic model, the major aim is to understand the other and come to agreement, knowing that disagreement is possible and consensus is rare. Agreement can be interpersonal, between the partners in conversation, with an acknowledgement or agreement that one person has correctly understood what the other meant. Or the partners can agree on a shared opinion or position: for example, on the need for basic goods and services as a condition for human

development and equality. Sometimes disagreement is conditioned by misunderstanding, be it wilful or unintentional, and sometimes agreement is a strategic compromise.

The possibility for agreement or even consensus is opened though critical interpretation of text in dialogue with the authors and a systematic approach to understanding in context. Consensus here is a strong agreement resulting from a dialogical process that overcomes 'otherness' and is interested in finding a common 'truth'. It has to be the result of a common understanding reached by equal partners. For example, Nkrumah and Nyerere, the two socialist leaders, could find consensus about equal rights and opportunities in education. But they probably would not agree with each other on the 'right' system of socialism, or the way to achieve a sustainable African unity.

If we agree to a 'European-African dialogue', is it possible to also combine the political leaders and the philosophers for a hermeneutic dialogue on the central topic of human equality? Can they agree on a common language to really understand? Can they achieve an agreement or even consensus on the topic?

2.2. Hermeneutics: The art of understanding

Positivism, phenomenology and critical theory are widely applied in social research methodologies (Terre Blanche et al. 2006; Mouton 2001; Mayring 2005). As Babbie and Mouton (2001, 20) remark, "these three schools are often linked (sometimes very directly) to three methodological approaches in the social sciences, namely quantitative research, qualitative research, and participatory action approaches". When working with text, several quantitative and qualitative methodological approaches are possible, such as quantitative content analysis (e.g. Krippendorff 2004), sequence analysis (e.g. Soeffner 1979; Jo Reichertz 2004), discourse analysis (e.g. Foucault 1992; Jaworski and Coupland 2002) and phenomenological/hermeneutic analysis (e.g. Elizabeth Kinsella 2006; Franziska Trede et al. 2008).

I have observed that borders between these schools and methods are fading and blending. Berthon et al (2002, 418), for example, stress the relationship between phenomenology and hermeneutic theory in a “social subjectivist paradigm where meaning is inter-subjectively created”. My triple-jump research model has a place for all three schools. Positivism appears in the quantitative manifest-coding step of textual analysis. Latent coding and dialogue link to both phenomenology and critical theory.

However, the primary philosophical ground of my research is hermeneutics and discourse ethics. This decision has two main motives. The first is that it provides for dialogue with historical personalities in their historical, political and personal context in order to understand them better. The second is my previous good experience with hermeneutic analysis in developing the triple-jump method. The following sections serve to introduce the reader to the main philosophers I draw upon.

2.2.1 Pioneers of hermeneutics

I begin with a brief presentation of three philosophers who prepared the way for 20th-century continental hermeneutics and the aspects of their work that inform my methodology.

Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834), who defined hermeneutics as the “art of understanding”, wondered how any utterance, spoken or written, comes to be understood. He differentiated between the “grammatical” language and the individual “psychological” interpretation and systematically studied how these work together for understanding in the dialogical relationship. For him, the objective was “first to understand the meaning of the speech in the same way as the author did, and then even better”⁵ (in Scholtz 1995, 208).

⁵ “*Die Rede zuerst ebensogut und dann besser zu verstehen als ihr Urheber.*”

Wilhelm Dilthey (1833–1911), a German philologist, sociologist and philosopher, studied Schleiermacher and initiated a theoretical discussion about adequate methods of social inquiry. Using the expression “hermeneutics” (*die Hermeneutik*) to describe the process of understanding and interpretation in social and human science (Lessing 1999), he rebuffed the quantitative positivist methodological approach of such contemporaries as Auguste Comte, John Stuart Mill and Emile Durkheim. Dilthey made a radical distinction between natural sciences (*Naturwissenschaften*), which attempt to “explain” (*zu erklären*), and human sciences (*Geisteswissenschaften*), which attempt to “understand” (*zu verstehen*). This distinction still influences contemporary methodology (Karen Joisten 2009), and remains a foundation for Hans-Georg Gadamer’s *Truth and Method* and, to a certain degree, for the pragmatic philosopher Richard Rorty (Snyman 1993, 124 ff).

Martin Heidegger (1889–1976), in his major work *Being and Time* (*Sein und Zeit*, 1927), proposed that all our endeavours of understanding the world begin with a pre-understanding (*Vorverständnis*). Heidegger developed the idea of a “hermeneutic circle” that his student Hans-Georg Gadamer and others would later develop as a practical model for interpretation:

Heidegger’s hermeneutic phenomenology, although providing an appropriate philosophical foundation for research in the social sciences that seeks to investigate the meaning of lived experience, does not provide clarity of process, making it difficult to assign the degree of rigor to the work demanded in an era dominated by the positivist paradigm. (Heather Tan et al. 2011)

My concept and model of interpretation uses elements from each of these hermeneutic thinkers. From Schleiermacher, the interaction of language and psychology. From Dilthey – and later confirmed by Max Weber – the relevance of understanding as a guiding principle for social science. From Heidegger, the proposition of an existing pre-understanding, which could be a possible basis for common understanding as I enter into dialogue with the two leaders.

2.2.2. Scholars of hermeneutic dialogue

From Text to Action, the title of Paul Ricoeur's pathbreaking 1991 book on modern hermeneutics, could be the motto of this section on Ricoeur, Jürgen Habermas and Hans-Georg Gadamer. Gadamer's hermeneutic circle sets the ground for a systematic understanding of the other in the text; my triple-jump method in turn modifies Gadamer's circle into a "spiral of conversation". Habermas and Ricoeur studied the social impact of communication. Habermas's discourse ethics is not only theoretical but also a guide for discourse in action. Ricoeur, known as the "reflexive philosopher" (Karen Joisten 2009), bridges the distance between 'traditionalist' Gadamer and 'progressivist' Habermas.

Hans-Georg Gadamer (1900–2002) provides a major foundation for my work of better understanding the thoughts and acts of Nkrumah and Nyerere. His method is rooted in humanist thinking and ethical values that are directed to political praxis – although Gadamer himself insisted on being the philosopher and not the activist. His work seeks to understand personal and political events through a systematic reflection on text embedded in a historical context, an approach that is "fruitful for achieving understanding across cultures" (Nirmala Pillay 2002, 330). For Gadamer, as for me, a fair conversation between equals is a precondition for adequate understanding and agreement. His work sets out an equitable way to analyse a historical situation and to reflect on its contemporary significance, which is the challenge I tackle here. Similarly, the South African philosopher Anton van Niekerk (2002, 223) points to Gadamer's ongoing relevance in the post-apartheid era:

The significance of Gadamer's life and work is the force which these ideas, so powerfully argued in his books and articles, have and might have in the future. Gadamer's ideas provide us with workable tools for the prolonged struggle to establish and develop understanding, growth and moral progress in the battered yet hopeful society of which most of us are part.

Paul Ricoeur (1919–2005) developed the concepts of "hermeneutics of action" and "concrete reflection" (*réflexion faite*) (1991b, 2005) which complement Gadamer's traditional view by guiding my practical hermeneutic work to adequately understand and interpret Nkrumah's and Nyerere's views and activities.

Jürgen Habermas (b. 1929) is well known as a sociologist and member of the Frankfurt School of critical theory. With personal experience of Nazi Germany and the Second World War, Habermas developed a postmodern awareness of the significance of democratic participation and the protection of human rights. His thinking is concerned with public forms of discussion that enable people to develop their ideas rationally and democratically, for both their own good and the good of a free and lawful society. Habermas plays a special role as a critic of Gadamer, and his concept of “discourse ethics” (1996; 2001) contributes to the reflective interpretation of text in this work. His principles of discourse ethics introduce an ideal (and idealistic) egalitarian tool into the discourse on human equality, which I use to ‘lead’ and direct the text analysis and the Conversation.

For my purposes, ethical discourse requires that all the participants in a dialogue who are trying to reach some agreement have the same rights to contribute, and that they ‘freely’ agree to engage in rational and truthful argument. The aim is to reach a consensus that will be accepted, supported and enacted by all participants because of what Habermas (1992, 97) famously calls “the forceless force of the better argument”⁶. In my Conversation with Nkrumah and Nyerere, this approach promises a non-coercive, fair, just and respectful discourse related to human rights and development.

After the 9/11 attack in the United States in 2001, Habermas defended his view of non-violent discourse in an interview with Giovanna Borradori (2003, 38):

when communication gets ontologized under this description, when ‘nothing but’ violence is seen in it, one misses the essential point: that the critical power to stop violence, without reproducing it in circles of new violence, can only dwell in the telos of mutual understanding and in our orientation toward this goal.

Habermas has been criticised for his idealistic approach and his moral and ethical positions (Pinzani 2007), but he never abandoned them. He has instead adjusted a few positions and defended - both intellectually and practically - the significance of justice in ethical discourse in the contemporary world of violence

⁶ “*der zwanglose Zwang des besseren Arguments*”

and increasing inequality (see Habermas 1994). He explained, “I endeavour to defend the primacy of the just (in the deontological sense) over the good. That does not mean, however, that ethical questions in the narrow sense have to be excluded from rational treatment” (ibid., vii).

My hermeneutic dialogue with Nkrumah and Nyerere is an exercise in discourse ethics. In this fictive Conversation, all three participants ‘accept’ the rules of ethical discourse to find the best possible interpretation and understanding. The text and interpretation are taken as equally valid and each has to be democratic and truthful. The ‘better argument’ is accepted and supported by the participants. There is no hidden agenda or trickiness. Readers are also invited to participate and reach their own conclusions. This exercise indicates situational and social ‘truths’ without nailing down a ‘final word’.

2.2.3. Creating an intercultural hermeneutic horizon

Contemporary hermeneutics is not a purely Western concern. A historical survey of African philosophy notes “frequent references made to [Gadamer’s] work by African philosophers who align themselves with his distinctive form of hermeneutics” (Hallen 2002, 59). It has been used to interpret African history from slavery to colonialism and post-colonialism, to carry on an African–European discussion of authenticity and identity, and to develop a ‘common language’ for global communication among the increasing number of hermeneutic thinkers.

In order to understand Nkrumah and Nyerere, it is appropriate to invite Tsenay Serequeberhan (Eritrea, b. 1952), Kwasi Wiredu (Ghana, b. 1931), Henry Odera Oruka (Kenya, 1944–1995) and Paulin Hountondji (Benin, b. 1942) to participate with Gadamer, Habermas and Ricoeur in this discussion of the philosophical basis of dialogue on human equality. All write in English and have a common ground for understanding, although sometimes a translator or moderator would be needed: for instance, between Nkrumah and Gadamer on their different understandings of Plato. All these thinkers bring a pre-understanding of equality.

A hermeneutic “fusion of horizons”, which creates a new shared context for meaning, is possible (see Chapter 6).

In a dialogue on the principles of human rights, I assume that they search for consensus on a common ‘truth’, although in very different ways and with different aims. Gadamer, for example, promotes consensus as the hoped-for result of dialogue. For Nkrumah and Serequeberhan, consensus is a non-pluralistic approach to an ideological ‘truth’ of scientific socialism. Wiredu (2000) searches for consensus in “no-party politics”, to avoid violence and conflicts, while Nyerere proposes consensus within a one-party democracy for the national interest. Habermas (1984, 1992a, 1996) describes agreement and consensus as the result of ethical discourse in critical pluralistic debates. Wiredu, Nyerere and Habermas seek consensus to achieve peace, reconciliation and human equality. Nkrumah and Serequeberhan want consensus to support decolonisation and the fight against imperialism. All of them participate in dialogue and strive for equality.

Is African philosophy “inherently ... a hermeneutic undertaking” (Serequeberhan 1994, 2) and ethno-philosophy “the traditionalist approach to African philosophy”? Oruka and Hountondji present two points of view of hermeneutic thought in Africa. For Oruka (1990, xx), it “consist(s) of the philosophical analysis of concepts in a given African language to help clarify meaning and logical implications arising from the use of such concepts”. Oruka’s hermeneutic position finds support from other philosophers such as Deacon, Outlaw, Appiah, Wiredu and Irele (see Coetzee and Roux 1998; Wiredu 2004).

Hountondji however strongly opposes Oruka’s approach and classifications. “Philosophy,” he says, is “in the strict sense of the word ... like chemistry, physics or mathematics ... a specific theoretical discipline with its exigency and methodological rules” (cited in Marlene van Niekerk 1998, 75). Hountondji leads an essential and controversial discussion about African philosophy against its European heritage.⁷ For him, African philosophy is “a set of texts, specifically the set of texts written by Africans and described as philosophical by their authors

⁷ Hountondji’s doctoral dissertation in Paris was on the phenomenologist Edmund Husserl; Paul Ricoeur was one of his teachers and supervisors.

themselves” (ibid. 125). He puts himself in sharp opposition to the hermeneutic approach of understanding in (oral) African philosophy:

Without any doubt, the problem of African “philosophy” refers us back to the problem of hermeneutics. The discourse of ethnophilosophers, be they Europeans or Africans, offers us the baffling spectacle of an imaginary interpretation with no textual support, of a genuinely “free” interpretation, inebriated and entirely at the mercy of the interpreter, a dizzy and unconscious freedom which takes itself to be *translating* a text, which does not actually exist and which is therefore unaware of its own *creativity*. (ibid., 135)

For Hountondji, African philosophy requires original sources, philosophical texts or discourses. “Only to return to sources can enlighten us. It alone can enable us to discriminate between interpretations and assess their reliability or simply their pertinence” (ibid., 130), while Oruka accepts ethno-philosophers and their works as important contributions to African philosophy. The latter does not glorify ethno-philosophy – which he calls “almost identical with ethnology, religion and even mythology” (in Mafeje 1992, 7) – but treats it as a historical period of African philosophy: “We now begin to see African thinkers producing works which will later form important parts of African philosophical literature, and they are doing so without echoing Tempels [the Belgian priest in the Congo who wrote *Bantu Philosophy*] or his influence” (ibid.).

Oral narratives of history and philosophy provide a huge resource with which to understand the world better. As Bell (2002, 32–33) comments in his study of African philosophy:

The claim that ‘illiterate’ philosophy is ‘non-scientific’ or ‘mythical’ is false ... Socrates’ philosophy, for example, did not exist just because Plato and others gave birth to it through their pens. Plato and others wrote it down (even if they distorted much of it) because it existed in the first place. And such is the case with Sage philosophy in Africa.

Oruka (1990, xvii) explains the idea of sages as philosophers from a common ground of humanness:

A person is a sage in the philosophical sense only to the extent that he/she is consistently concerned with the fundamental ethical and empirical issues and questions relevant to the society, and has the ability to offer insightful solutions to some of those issues ... All societies use their sages or, at least, the ideas of their sages, to defend and maintain their existence in the rough world of inter-societal conflict and exploitation. And it does not matter that such sages may not bear the name "sages" but rather the names "philosophers", "statesmen" or "warriors". So a sage may be a Gandhi, a Lenin, a Nyerere, or a John Rawls.

Oruka searches for conciliation and co-operation between African and European traditions and finds a political symbiosis in the concept of socialism:

If Socialism, as a form of life, is granted as a cultural moral achievement (as I believe it should), the credit, I conceptualize, must go both to the post-capitalist Western culture and the pre-colonial traditional Africa which is known to have been basically communitarian. Communitarianism is after all the 'social ancestor' of Socialism" (cited in Marlene van Niekerk 1998, 59).

Such a philosophical and political position based on culture, morality and communitarianism had already been developed in the 1960s by Nyerere as *Ujamaa*, the Swahili word for "familyhood". *Ujamaa* is closely related to "ubuntu", the southern African expression of humanness and community that became known internationally through the political vision of Nelson Mandela. The elements of ubuntu include forgiveness, willingness to share, common humanity, and reconciliation. Ubuntu was translated from the philosophical level to practical politics when South Africa established the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which stressed restorative justice over retribution (Campbell 2010).

2.3. Nkrumah and Nyerere as philosophers

Taking into consideration the framework formulated by the scholars, Nkrumah and Nyerere can be approached as thinkers and philosophers. Their political leadership and vision has a philosophical and theoretical foundation, and this will inform our pre-understanding for the hermeneutic process in the analysis and Conversation.

2.3.1. Theory and ideology in the world of Nkrumah and Nyerere

Marshall (1998, 666) describes theory as “an account of the world which goes beyond what we can see and measure ... [S]ocial theory is also applied commonly to the most general level of theories of society – to perspectives such as structural functionalism, phenomenology, or Marxism – which embrace most or all of the social sciences”. Buchanan (2010, 467) argues however that the idea of ‘theory’ is rather obsolete, “because its real purpose was always to stake out the claim for a new way of conceiving both the object and the subject of research in the humanities, and now that purpose has been served, the term has lost its edge”. Buchanan’s view does not acknowledge the role of theory in societal change and development as, for example, C.L.R. James (1977, 74) does in his book on Nkrumah and the Ghanaian revolution, where he describes Marx’s theory of dialectical materialism as “a guide to action in a specific system of social relations which takes into account the always changing relationship of forces in an always changing world situation”.

As Nkrumah and Nyerere faced the socio-economic conditions in their countries under colonialism, they saw fit to embark on a critical analysis and to develop original theories of liberation and postcolonial development. For Nkrumah’s theory of consciencism, Marxism was a starting point for revolutionary social change:

The Marxist emphasis on the determining force of the material circumstances of life is correct. But I would like also to give great emphasis to the determining power of ideology. A revolutionary ideology is not merely negative. It is not a mere conceptual refutation of a dying social order, but a positive creative theory, the guiding light of the emerging social order. (Nkrumah 1964, 34)

For Nyerere, the dream of independence was primary: “When I started the movement towards independence, we talked of independence, not socialism, about which we had some vague ideas... [A]s for socialism, my first contact was with European, mainly British, socialism, not with the socialism of Marx and Lenin” (in Chachage and Annar Cassam 2010, 13). Nyerere did not believe that the Marxist-Leninist model of class struggle was appropriate for agrarian

traditional Africa. For him, Tanzanian socialism, Ujamaa, would be built in the image of national kinship and family. The paradigm of socialism therefore provides a theoretical and ideological pre-understanding for a hermeneutic understanding of Nkrumah and Nyerere and for a constructive dialogue.

2.3.2 The question of authenticity

Authenticity is an important criterion for the hermeneutic dialogue and for the selected speeches and essays. Here, authenticity denotes being 'truthful', original and 'real' – that is, not fake or false. Borrowing from Habermas (1981), authentic speech springs from a person's "lifeworld" of personal and social relations, and not from their role in the "system", the world of professional and institutional authority.

Did Nkrumah and Nyerere build their philosophies with knowledge of pre-colonial African tradition? Was their thinking the product of comprehensive studies of history, politics and philosophy? Were Nkrumah and Nyerere *authentic* African philosophers?

The question of authenticity is also central for philosophy in Africa, from ethnophilosophy to analytical philosophy, not least because of the history of colonial oppression and its cultural arrogance. African debates on authenticity highlight the significance of hermeneutic philosophy for reconciliation and are also pertinent to my methodological approach of intercultural dialogue and the moderated Conversation.

When is a philosophy authentically African? Wiredu (2007, 72-73) wonders about the relevance and meaning of asking such a question and links it to the search of an African identity:

A contemporary British philosopher does not engage in earnest discussions as to what it is for a philosophy to be authentically British. The reason is that he is most likely untroubled by any challenges of cultural identity. In our case, however, that is, as Africans and peoples of African descent, we have suffered severe historical reverses, by way of

colonization and slavery, which have unsettled our sense of our own identity ...

At the time of independence in Africa our leaders were faced with the necessity not just for social and political reconstruction but also for cultural regeneration. The challenge was a philosophical one, and they perceived it as such.

Oruka proposes four trends in authentic African philosophy: ethno-philosophy, philosophic sagacity, nationalist-ideological philosophy and professional philosophy (Coetzee and Roux 2002). He classifies both Nyerere and Nkrumah as “nationalist-ideological” philosophers, which perhaps fits Nkrumah’s nationalism more than Nyerere’s democratic socialist leaning (Ngombale-Mwiru 2002), which, in tune with his tolerant Christianity, was principled but pragmatic (Legum and Mmari 1999).

Nkrumah’s sense of authenticity and African identity was strongly influenced by the Pan-Africanist movement of the early 20th-century in the United States and Caribbean, including such figures as Edward Blyden and Marcus Garvey (Grant 2009). Wiredu (2007, 74) also notes “the influence of thinkers in the black diaspora on African political thought in the shape, particularly, of Pan-Africanism. Obvious names in this connection are [Aimé] Césaire, [W.E.B.] Du Bois and Alain Locke.”

Marxism was also incorporated in African political thought. As Wiredu (ibid.) explains, although it was “a doctrine emanating from foreign sources, specifically, from the culture that put us under bondage ... [it] may still be the best philosophy and ideology for decolonization and reconstruction”. Therefore,

[s]o long as Nkrumah believed sincerely, as a result of reflective inquiry, that Marxist socialism was ideal for the empowerment of Africa and that it agreed essentially with the African traditional outlook, he was right to have a sense of African authenticity in trying, as he thought, to pursue a Marxist blueprint of reconstruction in Africa ... A sense of African authenticity on the part of a modern African is, thus, not incompatible with an openness to the multifarious intellectual resources of the modern world. (Wiredu 2007, 74–75)

2.3.3. Authentic speeches

I have chosen to work hermeneutically with the political speeches and essays of Nkrumah and Nyerere as the best route to discover their views on human equality. I let my protagonists speak; they answer my questions from within their texts. Unlike statistical data, structured interviews with contemporaries, or secondary literature, the 'voices' in their speeches and texts are authentic, original and, I assume, present their real opinions and convictions. My trust in the texts' authenticity is an ethical and normative choice and reflects the values of the whole work. As in Habermas's discourse ethics, and with the aim is to understand the authors, I take the text and their sincerity for granted.

Nkrumah and Nyerere authored and authorised their texts personally. In the case of Nkrumah, this is confirmed by himself and by his literary executor, June Milne. Samuel Obeng collected and published the speeches in five volumes. Most of the Nyerere speeches and essays that I use here were published as pamphlets for party discussions. They were generally edited by Nyerere himself (Othman 2000). Several of the speeches were written in the 1990s when he was the head of the South Centre.

Nkrumah and Nyerere themselves seem to engage in 'ethical discourse'. In traditional African societies, one speaks to other persons with politeness and respect, particularly when communicating with traditional authorities or leaders (Iliffe 1979; Gyekye 2003). Politicians, however, can use language in very different ways, from warm and respectful to hurtful and even hateful. Hate speech is a tactical tool for some politicians, and can eventually lead to violence and even war. The 2016 US electoral campaign in 2016 is a recent example. Another is the Rwandan genocide in 1994, where broadcast hate speech played a very destructive role (Elizabeth Dovell 2011). In the disagreements between Nkrumah and Nyerere – for example, over African unity at the 1963 OAU meeting in Addis Ababa – I do not know of any situation where words were aimed to hurt the other person. At most, they used irony and sometimes sarcasm to refute the other's position (Asante 2011).

Nkrumah's messages were powerful, but he was not a great speaker (J. Appiah 1996). One assistant remarked that "Nkrumah was never to be a great orator – he didn't have the voice or carriage for it – but he had the highly developed skills of political persuasion that made him compelling to listen to" (Hadjor 1988, 31). Some of his expressions still circulate forty years after his departure, including these:

- "We prefer self-government with danger to servitude in tranquillity" (speech in parliament, July 1953)
- "I know of no case where self-government has been handed to a colonial and oppressed people on a silver platter. The dynamic has had to come from the people themselves" (*Africa Must Unite*)
- "Practice without thought is blind; thought without practice is empty" (*Consciencism*).

Nyerere was a great public speaker in both Swahili and English (Mamdani 2012; Othman 2000, 2005; Mazrui 1999; Marjorie Mbilinyi 2010; Lamb 1986). Like Nkrumah, he would sometimes quote himself. Many speeches repeated his central messages, such as "equality for all people" and "we fight the war against the three enemies: disease, ignorance and poverty", but, in my experience in Tanzania, his slogans and sayings have not endured as Nkrumah's have.

2.3.4. Against presentism

A contemporary hermeneutic researcher who is in dialogue with historical personalities and concerned about authenticity also needs to avoid the ethical pitfall of presentism. This is "the practice of viewing the past, and judging the people of the past, in terms of today's standards and orthodoxies ... Political ideologues and schoolbook-writers use it regularly, to bamboozle and deceive their audiences" (Bennetta, in Klancher 2002).

I would like to shun the fallacy of presentism, particularly when interpreting crucial and politically loaded speeches. Seyla Benhabib (1995, 6, emphasis in the

original) speaks of the “*self-righteous dogmatism of the latecomers ... who, very often, simply juxtapose the misunderstandings of the past to the truths of the present ... If we approach tradition and thinkers of the past only to ‘debunk’ them, then there really is no point in seeking to understand them at all*”.

In the process of interpretation, we all bring our prejudices to the pre-understanding, and I am also sometimes tempted to judge historical figures with present knowledge. However, this is often unfair, dysfunctional and even anti-hermeneutic because of its “lack of regard for context, for the meanings or senses that a given practice or text had for its historical contemporaries as opposed to how it may now read to us” (Klancher 2002).

2.4. Conclusion

In hermeneutic research, the knowledge of different contexts enriches pre-understanding and contributes to better understanding in dialogue. The intersection of my horizon of meaning and those of the two leaders grows wider, more colourful and more interesting in dialogue with an array of relevant philosophers. But intercultural understanding requires extensive preparations, and the next chapters will approach the necessary review of context and concepts before the triple-jump methodology is finally put to work. Chapter 5 presents the methodological steps in detail.

Chapter 3: Setting the context

3.1. Introduction: Context is crucial

The anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1973) indicates the need for “thick description” in the task of interpretation and for being aware of our prejudices. In order to communicate, one cannot rely on words alone. For Buchanan (2010, 468), “thick description ... is the analysis not just of a particular statement or gesture, but the background and context needed to understand the full meaning of that statement or gesture”.

In a hermeneutic enterprise, context is a crucial part of the textual analysis because the ‘truth’ of the text is based on a “historically effected consciousness” (Gadamer 1990, 2013). We can only understand language in context, including the contexts of the speaker or writer, of the audience or reader, and of the text. For Hirsch (1967, 86–87), context, including elements such as the

tradition and convention that the speaker relies on, his attitudes, purposes, kind of vocabulary, relation to his audience ... embraces and unifies two quite different realms. It signifies, on the one hand, the givens that accompany the text’s meaning and, on the other, the constructions that are part of the text’s meaning.

For a better understanding of Nkrumah and Nyerere through their words, it is essential to “widen the horizons” of the researcher, the reader and further participants in this dialogical exercise. This chapter features historical, personal and political dimensions of the two leaders in order to develop a picture that is multifaceted, although never complete.

3.2. The historical context

I start with the dimension of history, which is in itself political. It presents human life in society and deals with political actors, the people and the elite, the play of power, the winners and losers. History is a mirror of misery but also holds the

idea of a better future. Our awareness of history has an impact on our contemporary worldview, our beliefs, our political perceptions and actions.

3.2.1. Historiography: Definitions and opinions

Who has written the history that we have to refer to? And how did Nkrumah and Nyerere, who both studied history under colonial rule, interpret it? To understand their contexts, one has to consider that they were influenced by at least three perceptions of history: the traditional history of family and village narratives; the history presented at school by Christian missionaries; and the histories written in the Western academies where they studied abroad.

Olaniyan (1982, 3) depicts an African perspective of history

as a continuum consisting of a past, a present and a future – all inseparably linked together. The sequence is crucial in that the past has a significant role to play in the evolution of the present, and in turn the present can affect the turns and twisting of the future. The stuff of history includes migrations, wars, triumphs and tragedies, the extinction and the emergence of city-states and kingdoms, and much else. This historical consciousness recognises continuity and change, order and purpose within the framework of man and his environment, man and the gods, man and his ancestors.

Mazrui (1986, 21), in his opus *The Africans: A Triple Heritage*, gives priority to the cultural forces shaping a multitude of events, artefacts, perceptions, myths, dreams and politics of African people, under the prevailing influences of “underlying ... indigenous, Islamic and Western forces – fusing and recoiling, at once competitive and complementary”.

The historiographic picture is only a glance of the whole seen from certain perspectives and contexts, and colonialism has a dominant and enduring influence on the history told of Africa. Although there are exceptions (Ayisi 1992), European accounts of African history carry a sense of Western and racial superiority:

[t]he racialized historiography of Africa was written in the nineteenth century. It has a name: the Hamitic Hypothesis. These histories also have an unmistakable moral: that Africa was civilized from the outside, with

light-skinned or fine-featured migrants from the north civilizing natives to the south. (Mamdani 2012, 53)

I work on 'decolonising' my own mind with the help of Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, Ali Mazrui, Mahmood Mamdani and other African teachers. To avoid the error of presentism, my interpretation follows the principles of historicism:

the view that past events must be understood and judged within the context of their own times. This is because, as G.W.F. Hegel argued, all societies are the product of their history. So, for example, New Historicism argues that to read Shakespeare properly one has to read it from the perspective of his peers, and see it as his original audiences did. (Buchanan 2010, 230)

Nkrumah's and Nyerere's historical and social context included resistance to white supremacy and its historical views. It was a time of self-assertion by black women and men in the struggle to secure human rights and liberty. For Nkrumah, if less so for Nyerere, the African-American perspective of history as the struggle against slavery and racial oppression was a revelation and a powerful motivator for African history written by Africans. In *Africa Must Unite*, Nkrumah (1970a, 63) wrote:

In the new African renaissance, we place great emphasis on the presentation of history. Our history needs to be written as the history of our society, not as the story of European adventures. African society must be treated as enjoying its own integrity; its history must be a mirror of that society, and the European contact must find its place in this history only as an African experience, even if as a crucial one.

For the dialogue with Nkrumah and Nyerere, it is significant to concede that all participants in conversation rely on historical understandings that differ from each other because of our different socialisations and contemporary interests. Hermeneutics works with such intercultural differences. Julius Nyerere, in his own hermeneutic way, once explained that "he usually viewed earlier events in the light of what he had learned recently: 'If there is something I don't understand,' he said, 'I begin to read history backwards'" (Chachage and Annar Cassam 2010, 19).

3.2.2. The age of ‘discovery’, slavery and exploitation

The European conquest of lands in Africa and the Americas is a time of shame. The power of the royal houses in Europe, coupled with human greed and the psychology of superiority, may account for such brutal domination and material greed. C.L.R. James’s masterpiece, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L’Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*, is a commentary on European “exploration”. In James’s (1989, 3–4) succinct words,

Christopher Columbus landed first in the New World at the island of San Salvador and, after praising God, enquired urgently for gold ... The Spaniards, the most advanced Europeans of their day, annexed the island [now Haiti], called it Hispaniola, and took the backward natives under their protection. They introduced Christianity, forced labour in mines, murder, rape, bloodhounds, strange diseases, and artificial famine (by the destruction of cultivation to starve the rebellious). These and other requirements of the higher civilization reduced the native population from an estimated half a million, perhaps a million, to 60 000 in 15 years.

As awful as this is, James tells us only a small piece of the tragedy of colonialism, exploitation and slavery. This history has left deep marks in the soul and conscience of descendants on both sides: “What those events brought about was not only a period of intense suffering for black peoples, but also the hegemonic symbolic order of Western civilization itself” (Gordon 2000, 9). It reminds us that all human beings – women and men and children – should have the right to live in peace and enjoy freedom and human equality.

The slave trade from West Africa to the Americas sent the unimaginable figure of 12 to 15 million Africans on the long journey to become forced labourers. Tens of thousands of slave ships embarked from the African coasts, each with up to one thousand children, women and men on board. The death toll on board cannot be precisely known, but is estimated at 10 to 15 percent. Nkrumah claimed that “fifty million Africans were taken away from this continent” (in Obeng 1997, 139). I touch on these statistics of human disaster as a context for the discourse on human equality.

Tanzanian history is also caught up in the Arab slave trade in East Africa. Mamdani (2012, 63) discusses premodern slavery in Sudan which, unlike modern

slavery, was related to the needs of the royal house “to be independent of land-based interests. To build up a reliable army and officialdom, it needed a human resource independent of local clans and tribes”.

Slaving was also a by-product of the 19th-century ivory trade in East Africa: “[t]he Arabs obtained their ivory and slaves from the local rulers, who, armed with the imported guns, sent their warriors to hunt elephants and to raid the forests of neighbouring peoples, often capturing slaves in the process” (Oliver and Atmore 1967, 71). However, as agricultural production increased, particularly the Arab clove plantations on the islands of Zanzibar, the need for cheap labour increased. Tippu Tib, a well-known Zanzibari slave trader, was said to have “50 000 guns at his command” (ibid., 49). He served as Sultan Bargash’s “ambassador” in central Africa until the arrival of more Europeans – before and after the Berlin Conference of 1884–85 – displaced the power of the influential sultan. With the increase of British influence in the ‘protectorate’, the treaties on the abolition of the slave trade in 1873, and the legal abolition of slavery in 1897, the sultan’s revenues from slave labour and the slave trade shrank, as did his power (Sheriff and Ferguson 1991).

The transition from slave labour to freed labour contributed to a rapid economic deterioration for many farmers and traders. Sir Lloyd Mathews, the British-appointed first minister of Zanzibar, wrote in 1901 of the consequences for Zanzibar and Pemba Island:

The plantations of these islands were fully cultivated and profitable prior to the [abolition] decree. Now, many of them are out of cultivation for want of labour, others are worked at a loss, and labour is getting scarcer every day ... I cannot blind my eyes to the fact that it has not been of benefit to these islands up to the present. (quoted in Depelchin 1991, 25)

The British colonists continued to live with this contradiction. They did not risk harming the plantation system until independence in 1963, when ‘slavery’ on Zanzibar finally ended. With Zanzibar under British control and domination, the Arab minority had survived well through the First and Second World Wars. After independence, the sultan of Zanzibar was quickly deposed in a bloody revolution against the Arab elite and many collaborators, which was masterminded by Abeid

Karume, who would become the first president of Zanzibar and later deputy-president of Tanzania under Nyerere. The revolution shifted political power from the 'feudal' Arabs to the 'socialist' Africans, but the violence continued even after the unification of Zanzibar and Tanganyika in 1964. Unification was spearheaded by Julius Nyerere in the cause of regional 'conflict reduction', with Zanzibar retaining a semi-autonomous status (Sheriff and Ferguson 1991). The social and religious conflicts were reduced only after Karume was killed in 1972, and because of Nyerere's policy of co-operation that focused on social justice and equal rights for Muslims and Christians (Mwakikagile 2002).

Slavery has still not been eradicated. Despite intensive worldwide efforts by human rights organisations and the International Labour Organisation, 21–30 million human beings are still trapped in conditions of slavery today (Free the Slaves n.d.).

These historical facts of subjugation, inequality, humiliation and degradation are also related to the "underdevelopment" of parts of Africa (Rodney 1981) and stubbornly entrenched poverty. The questions remain: how do we 'deal with' such horrific historical events? How can inequality be overcome to provide for opportunities for all people?

3.2.3. The Gold Coast and Tanganyika: Colonials, missionaries and chiefs

A glance at the historical setting of Nkrumah's and Nyerere's youth in Gold Coast and Tanganyika reveals the influence of religious missions, particularly in primary education for 'native' children. Some missionaries had deep empathy for their pupils and their lot under colonial rule (Iliffe 1979). Nkrumah and Nyerere were lucky to find mentors in their missionary teachers, Father George Fischer and Father Richard Walsh respectively (Nkrumah 1971; Molony 2014). Several other African nationalist leaders went to Christian missionary schools, including Jomo Kenyatta, Kenneth Kaunda, Robert Mugabe and Samora Machel. Missionaries, both German and British, faced suspicion and sometimes violence from the Tanganyikans (Kimambo and Temu 1997) after the horrible events of the 1905–

1907 Maji Maji Rebellion, when firearms defeated spears and thousands died (Gwassa 1997).

The Gold Coast was more stable for missionaries and their schools. Because of uninterrupted British rule since 1874, missions from several European countries had been established in the country in the 19th century, and a small elite of educated Africans emerged. In 1920, influential Gold Coast leaders organised the National Congress of British West Africa and expressed interest in participating in a 'national' government. But in 1925, a new constitution under British control provoked "strong opposition":

It retained the three members of the educated group, while it doubled the number of chiefs who sat in the new council. This issue continued for long to drive a wedge between the educated and traditional elite. The situation continued until 1947 when the United Gold Coast Convention, led by Dr Danquah, appointed Dr Kwame Nkrumah as secretary. (Olaniyan 1982, 95)

The split between educated elites and traditional leaders in Africa was often orchestrated by the colonial government to maintain its own power. This weakened the new elite and further alienated them from the traditional leaders. With their Western-informed and revolutionary ideas, they looked down on the 'backward' leaders and rejected their authority as 'stooges' of colonial indirect rule. The traditional authorities in turn despised the 'arrogant' young leaders and dismissed their 'progressive' political goal of independence, which was often felt as a threat to their status, reputation and privileges. However, there are also examples of more fruitful cooperation. In Tanganyika, the influential Chief Abdallah Fundikira, together with other chiefs, joined TANU and supported Nyerere as leader (C.K. Omari 1999, 26).

3.2.4. *Trauerarbeit*, the debate on debts and decolonisation

I have often observed that people in Africa hope for an honest and sustainable reconciliation with Europeans. Many search for compensation or reparations and others more for a fair partnership with the former colonial oppressors. And some

think that friendship will be possible one day – but only if real equality is granted, and when arrogance and beliefs in racial superiority have disappeared.

And yet, many Europeans ask me why colonialism is still a topic of debate. Are there not much more immediate problems? They do not know or cannot believe the immensity of the crime. However, there is now a growing intellectual interest in the historiography of colonialism and the adequate methodology to approach the ‘truth’ (Kennedy 2003).

Many wounds in Africa are still open. The healing process doesn’t only need time: because of shame, it requires understanding and compassion for the work of mourning. The German psychologists Alexander and Margarete Mitscherlich (1967) use the word *Trauerarbeit* to describe the “grief work” of perpetrators and other Germans after the terrible crimes of Nazi Germany during World War II. The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, with its example of forgiveness, was an extraordinary process to heal the wounds of deeply violated people.

The historical context for a conversation with Nkrumah and Nyerere could certainly encompass more aspects, but nothing is as fundamental as the catastrophes of slavery and colonialism. On the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of Ghana’s independence in 1997, Nyerere honoured Nkrumah as “the great crusader of African unity” and condemned again the inhuman politics of the colonialist:

For centuries, we had been oppressed and humiliated as Africans. We were hunted and enslaved as Africans, and we were colonised as Africans. The humiliation of Africans became the glorification of others. So we felt our Africanness. We knew that we were one people, and that we had one destiny regardless of the artificial boundaries which colonialists had invented. (Nyerere 1997)

Nkrumah, in his last years, was very sceptical of Western-initiated decolonisation. He did not believe that partnership between Africa and the West would ever be possible because of the antagonistic differences of the systems in economy and politics. Only the “revolutionary path” could lead to prosperity in Africa (Nkrumah 1968, 42–43).

At the turn of the millennium, a quarter-century after Nkrumah and a decade after the end of the Cold War, Tanzania and many other countries struggled with a new dependence: financial indebtedness to Northern institutions. Nyerere became a strong advocate for the cancellation of debts that the poorest countries were no longer able to service. In one of his last speeches, in Hamburg in April 1999, Nyerere used the platform of the Jubilee 2000 Campaign to stimulate the historical responsibility of the rich Northern countries and the human responsibility we all have to save lives:

In 1985 ... I came to Europe in my capacity as that year's chairman of the Organisation of African Unity. I came to plead for debt relief for Africa. To every audience I spoke to I put the question: Do we have to starve our children in order to service our debt? In those 14 years, the situation has got worse ... According to World Bank studies conducted in 1993, the literacy level in Tanzania is estimated to have declined from 85 percent achieved in the 1970s and 1980s to 68 percent during the early 1990s ... We cannot employ more teachers or more doctors. Yet a study by Oxfam International shows that Tanzania spends nine times as much on debt servicing as on basic health, and four times as much on debt servicing as on primary education ... Thus the cancellation of the debts of these desperately poor countries means the saving of resources which would literally save millions of lives ... Give them a fresh start to fight their poverty. I repeat: You may rightly demand that the resources so released should be spent on programmes aimed at the eradication of poverty. But do not impose other humiliating conditions on these poor countries. (Nyerere 2000a, 77)

The G8 group of developed countries responded to the Jubilee 2000 campaign with an initiative to provide debt relief to highly indebted poor countries, Tanzania included. Germany was one of the first countries to cancel Tanzania's debts. The impact was as Nyerere had claimed. Social pressures were reduced because qualifying countries agreed to channel their debt savings to poverty reduction activities. In Tanzania, school fees were abolished in 2002, following debt relief the previous year, and primary enrolment increased dramatically from 49 percent (1999) to 98 percent (2008) (ONE n.d.).

This brief account of the immense human debt of the North and the financial debt of the South shall remind us of our common history in the horror of slavery and colonialism. It is a lasting burden for humankind and an obligation for the present

generations and those to come. Material reparation for these crimes of humanity is hardly possible and can never really compensate the loss of lives, of property, of future, and even of memory.

Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o (1986, 3) presents the metaphor of a "cultural bomb" that is "daily unleashed by imperialism against the collective defiance [of] the oppressed and the exploited". "Decolonising the mind", as he admonishes and encourages us, requires a readiness to find solutions: an openness and confidence for the encounter, an unarmed exercise for true reconciliation and peace. Is it still possible to dialogue, he asks, to "find echoes in your heart"? As I see it, the historical order has to be interrelated with the personal and the political to develop our understanding from all sides, co-operatively and without violence. We people have to work together for a durable change in human capacity and for equality.

The historical context presented here, in preparation for the Conversation with Nkrumah and Nyerere on their concept of human equality, is also politically and personally significant for understanding the roots and conditions of our own perceptions and actions. Awareness of the historicity in which we become fully human helps us to understand the other in a way the other can accept, so that we gain the trust needed for partnership.

3.3. The personal context

The personal dimension plays a key role in understanding the leadership of Nkrumah and Nyerere. Their self-understanding, their thoughts and feelings, and their perceptions of dignity, freedom, equality and peace were strongly influenced by the experiences of colonialism and paternalism in their early lives. I will look into their lives with curiosity and ask why and how they became leaders who were determined to bring about human equality. The task is intercultural and requires a 'psychological' introduction.

3.3.1. Understanding the person: An intercultural investigation

As we approach Nkrumah and Nyerere, we have to imagine the dominant perception of the colonial subject as a “child”, a “primitive”, or at best perhaps a member of the “educated native community” (see Cloete 1956; Levine 1978; Franklin and Moss 1994; Manning 1998). “*Le Noir n’est pas un homme*” (“The Black is not a human being”), writes Frantz Fanon in *Peau Noire, Masques Blancs (Black Skin, White Masks)* (1952, 6), his early psychoanalysis of colonialism’s “two camps”: the white and the black. Here I approach Nkrumah through his social and cultural understanding of what a person is.⁸ I will look into the culture of the Akan in Ghana and their understanding of the person and personality. I will then briefly present a European view of a person, and then conclude with what we can hopefully accept as a common view. This is followed by biographical details of Nkrumah and Nyerere and the political and cultural concept of the “African personality”, to use Nkrumah’s phrase.

Nkrumah was brought up in the Akan society and strongly affected by Christianity. The Akan culture is still one of the most significant African social systems and is essential to the social, political and economic development of Ghana (Ayisi 1992). According to the 2010 census, the Akan comprise approximately 50 percent of Ghana’s population of 25 million. (Ghana Statistical Service 2014).

The terms ‘person’ and ‘personality’ in Akan culture have ‘spiritual’ and ‘quasi-physical’ conditions, including a concept of ‘destiny’. The two central elements of human being are *okra*, the basis of an individual’s personality, and *sunsum*, consciousness. These cannot be easily translated, even by Kwasi Wiredu and Kwame Gyekye, two leading philosophers with cultural roots in Ghana. Segun Gbadegesin (2002, 184), a Nigerian philosopher who compared the closely related Yoruba and Akan concepts of a person, contributed to the debate, agreeing with Wiredu that *okra* could be taken as the equivalent of “soul” but wondering about Gyekye’s account of a spiritual unity of *okra* and *sunsum*. On

⁸ I have researched Nyerere’s cultural background previously (Häussler 2009a) and will partly rely on those results here.

the one hand, *sunsum* is responsible for thought in the narrow sense – as ratiocination – and at the same time it is the “activating principle in the person”. On the other, however, Gyekye also says that *okra* “is the principle of life of a person”. What *sunsum* does as the “activating principle” is unclear, since *okra* is also regarded as the “principle of life”. This debate documents the rich complexity of the Akan concept of personhood as well as the importance of philosophical interpretation in contemporary society.

Wiredu (2002a, 314), presenting an Akan perspective on human rights, speaks of the two senses of personhood, descriptive and normative:

In one sense the Akan word *onipa* translates into the English word person in the sense of a human being ... In this sense everyone is born a person, an *onipa* ... But there is a further sense of the word *onipa* in which to call an individual a person ... implies the recognition that he/she has ... demonstrated an ability through hard work and sober thinking to sustain a household and make contributions to the communal welfare ... In this sense, personhood is not something you are born with but something you may achieve, and it is subject to degrees, so that some are more *onipa* than others ... On the face of it, the normative layer in the Akan concept of person brings only obligations to the individual.

Gbadegesin (2002, 184) leaves us with a thought on the interrelation between the collective and the individual:

The “I” is just a “we” from another perspective, and persons are therefore not construed as atomic individuals. A person whose existence and personality are dependent on the community is expected in turn to contribute to the continued existence of the community.

This can both highlight possible differences between the perspectives of Nkrumah and Nyerere on human rights and inform the Western ‘misunderstanding’ of Nkrumah’s changeability and ambiguity (Genoveva Marais 1972; Addo 1999). As a young man, Nyerere was already oriented towards human rights and equally fascinated by the person and the collective in community, but he had no leaning to spirituality as Nkrumah did (Legum and Mmari 1999; Pobee 1988; Addo 1999). Nkrumah was torn between the concept of the free, equal ‘person’ as understood in human and civil rights, his traditional spiritual beliefs of what a human being is, and his enthusiasm for the ‘collective’ of scientific socialism.

The European perspective of 'person' and 'personality' is also relevant because – despite my appreciation for Africa – I myself am deeply shaped by European culture, mostly from France and Germany. I would also like to highlight the Western influence on Nyerere and Nkrumah during their university studies abroad. This is true particularly of Nkrumah, who pursued his education for ten years in the United States and two in England.

In German, *die Person* (person) means both *Mensch* and *Wesen* (Duden 1996). *Mensch* translates to English as “human being; mankind, man; person” and *Wesen* as “nature”; “creature” and “being” (Woerterbuch 2006). *Person* and *Persoenlichkeit* (personality) are quite synonymous. In French, Larousse (1959) defines *personne* as an individual, man or woman, while *personnalité* stands for conscious individuality (*individualité consciente*) or a personal and original character (*caractère personnel et original*). In addition to defining “person” as “a human being as an individual”, the *Oxford English Dictionary* offers a more divine definition: “(in Christianity) each of the three forms of God”. “Personality” has three meanings in English: “the characteristics and qualities of a person seen as a whole; qualities that make someone interesting or popular; a famous person, especially in the world of entertainment or sport”.

We can conclude that these European languages understand a “person” to be an individual human being, and “personality” to be both individuality and a person with a notable character or high status. Scientists use the Latin word “*homo*”, “human being” or “mankind”, to name the genus that contains the human species, *Homo sapiens* (“wise man”). *Homo* also carries the meaning “same”, derived from its Greek forebear “ὁμός”. Merging these two classical understandings could generate the idea of “equal human being” as understood by the modern discourse of universal human rights. It seems rational to understand “persons” as equal human beings with certain cultural differences and preferences. However, recent socio-economic discussions have adopted the concept of *homo economicus* (“economic man”) from rational choice theory. In the words of Amartya Sen, it was “first proposed ... to make us accept the peculiar understanding that rational choice consists only in clever promotion of self-

interest ” (in Fournier, 2010). Such usage fundamentally calls into question the traditional European perception of “person” as a *nomen dignitatis* (a name that confers dignity), based on an understanding that

man’s intellectual nature, which according to Boethius is the distinguishing characteristic of personhood, is also the font of freedom, subjectivity, immortality, and man’s cognitive and moral life. It is as a rational being, and therefore as a person, that the individual can distinguish true from false and good from evil ... Freedom means that one is responsible for one’s choices but also for one’s self. (Williams and Bengtsson 2014)

Western tradition seems to conceive personhood as individual, while African tradition conceives of persons in community. Given this diversity of views, I suggest the following working definitions for my project with Nkrumah and Nyerere. A “person” is a human being, a woman or a man, an individual as an element of the community. A “personality” is a person who gains acceptance through the community and its social destiny.

3.3.2. The African Personality

Nkrumah and Nyerere, in their different ways, had personally experienced the inequalities of being ‘different’ than white Western persons, and were deeply committed to the development of a new understanding of personhood. Nkrumah’s political focus was the socialist state, the collective and the African Personality, with a continent-wide impact. Nyerere’s focus was multicultural nation building. This is certainly a clear difference between the two leaders.

In his early speeches and essays, Nkrumah uses “person”, “human being” and “personality” interchangeably. Only after the birth of his vision of the “African personality” in 1958 does the emphasis change. “African personality” became a key concept for Ghanaian and African independence and freedom, for dignity, self-confidence and active development in society. It also became a sign for the equality and strength of all African peoples. Although it is related to the name of Kwame Nkrumah, credit should go to Edward W. Blyden, the brilliant West Indian thinker who had written of “Africanness” in the mid-19th century. For some

intellectuals, then and now, Blyden himself was the “first African Personality” (Mudimbe 1988; Viera Pawliková-Vilhanová 1998).

In Nkrumah’s philosophy of consciencism, the African personality is “defined by the cluster of humanist principles which underlie the traditional African society” (Nkrumah 1964, 79). It was also closely tied up with African unity and the continent’s place in the international community:

We have never had any doubt, however, about the intellectual capacity of the African. History tells us of the great medieval civilizations of Africa and the part that higher institutions of learning played in the academic and cultural life of the African Centres of learning such as Walata, Djenna and Timbuktu had a singular impact on African education in medieval times ... Africa wanted to revive and revitalize its traditions of scholarship and progressive endeavour but, instead, slavery and the slave trade set in and plagued our continent, threatening the very existence of the race. The story of the development of the African personality during this period is pathetic. Owing to the degradation of slavery, the African was not allowed to develop his peculiar qualities, nor was the African genius allowed full expression. (Nkrumah, Flower of Learning speech 1961) (in Obeng 1997, 139)

In asserting our African personality we shall be free to act in our individual and collective interests at any particular time. We shall also be able to exert our influence on the side of peace and to uphold the rights of all people to decide for themselves their own forms of government as well as the right of all peoples, regardless of race, colour or creed to lead their own lives in freedom and without fear. (Nkrumah 1961, 128–29)

Let us return to our people of Africa ... with the firm hope and assurance that at long last African Unity has become a reality. We shall thus begin the triumphant march to the kingdom of the African Personality, and to a continent of prosperity, and progress, of equality and justice and of work and happiness. (Nkrumah, at the founding of the OAU, 1963) (in Obeng 1997, 46)

Nyerere shared Nkrumah’s view of African society as deeply humanistic and not primitive, cruel or inhuman. In a 1960 speech, Nyerere (2000a, 15) pictured Africa as a place of “hope for the human race”:

I feel that Africa’s own tradition, her moral strength, her lack of ties with one power bloc or another, and that sentiment of oneness which the centuries of suffering have built among all her people, can together fit her for the role I have suggested, the role of Champion of Personal Freedom and Well-being in the world of today.

Later in his political life, Nyerere developed his philosophy of Ujamaa with the understanding that equality in a socialist society could provide social services and guarantee human rights for all persons, men and women:

First, and most central of all, is that under socialism Man is the purpose of all social activity. The service of man, the furtherance of his human development, is in fact the purpose of society itself. There is no other purpose above this; no glorification of “nation”, no increase in production – nothing is more central to a socialist society than an acceptance that Man is its justification for existence. (Nyerere 1968, 4)

This view also shaped his gradualist approach to both African unity and nation building. Mahmood Mamdani, who was at the University of Dar es Salaam in the 1970s, considers Nyerere’s approach to be

the most successful attempt to dismantle the structures of indirect rule through sustained but peaceful reform. In an era when it was fashionable to think of violence as the way to “smash the colonial state,” Nyerere taught otherwise: first, that the backbone of the colonial state and its legacy was not the army and the police but its legal and administrative apparatus, and that it required political vision and political organisation – not violence – to “smash” these. (Mamdani 2013)

Nyerere also emphasised the need for self-reliance, hard work and ‘good leadership’ to fight poverty:

Becoming self-reliant is the responsibility of every one of us. Every member of CCM, every Minister and Civil Servant, every worker and every peasant, all can move this country a little bit towards self-reliance
... In our war against poverty, our real heroes are those who help us to discover and use new methods of being self-reliant. It is these people who really deserve to be given medals. (Nyerere 1987, 22)⁹

3.3.3. Profiles of Nkrumah and Nyerere

This section presents biographical sketches of Kwame Nkrumah and Julius Nyerere. Their early lives show many similarities. They were both born under British colonial rule. They experienced traditional life in their families, but their missionary schooling, especially Nyerere’s, took place in ‘another world’, confronting them with modern European culture and technology. The two boys

⁹ CCM stands for Chama Cha Mapinduzi (Party of the Revolution), the ruling party, which was formed in 1977 by the merger of TANU and the Afro-Shirazi Party of Zanzibar.

developed similar interests and used the chances that were given to them. They were both active Catholics who later became interested in politics. Both were gifted students and good organisers. Both became teachers, as this was a springboard at the time for talented 'native' boys and some few girls.

Kwame Nkrumah (1909–1972)

Nkrumah was the pioneer among African freedom fighters and became a role model for Nyerere and other independence leaders. His political career in Ghana ended dramatically and tragically in 1966 after 14 years of top responsibility: nine years as prime minister and five years as president of Ghana. Nkrumah died 1972 in a hospital in Bucharest and was brought back to Conakry, Guinea and later buried in Nkroful, Ghana.

Kwame ("Saturday-born") was born on 21 September 1909 in Nkroful, the only child of his mother, Elizabeth Nyanibah of the Anona Clan. His father, Kofi Ngonloma of the Asona Clan, was a goldsmith in Half Assini, about 50 miles from Nkroful. To visit his father, Kwame had to walk 2 to 3 days, sometimes with his mother. His father had several wives and children and was "a strong character, extremely kind and very proud of his children" (Nkrumah 1971, 11). During Nkrumah's seven years at primary school, a German Roman Catholic priest named George Fischer became his guardian and had a strong influence. "He did much to help me in my studies," Nkrumah wrote in his autobiography. "My father was not at all religious but my mother was converted to the Catholic faith and it was through her and Father Fischer that I was also baptised into the Roman Catholic Church" (ibid.).

At the age of 17, Nkrumah became a pupil-teacher for one year at Half Assini. In 1926, he was promoted to the Government Training College in Accra. He suffered a lot when his father died; the family was broken apart when his mother, in line with tradition, had to move in with his uncle. In 1927, Nkrumah enrolled in the newly founded Prince of Wales College, Achimota, and came under the influence of Dr James Emman Kwegyir Aggrey, who was already famous as an African teacher and intellectual. Assistant vice-principal of the College, Aggrey was the only black man on the senior staff (Dekutsey 2012, 3–4). For Nkrumah

(1971, 14), “he seemed the most remarkable man that I had met and I had deepest affection for him”. June Milne (2006, 6) recalls that, “almost fifty years after the death of Aggrey, Nkrumah was able to recount almost word for word an allegory which Aggrey told during one of his mass meetings in Accra”.

Nkrumah finished his course in 1930 and became a primary school teacher for one year. He was then promoted to head teacher of the Roman Catholic Junior School in Axime, where he remained for further two years before enrolling in a training college for priests. He seriously considered entering a Jesuit order but this did not happen. Nkrumah then applied to study at the Lincoln University, an African-American college in Pennsylvania. He was encouraged in this by Aggrey and by Nnamdi (“Zik”) Azizikwe, a journalist (and future president of Nigeria) whose articles against colonialism and inequality he regularly read (June Milne 2006, 9). Nkrumah would pursue his studies in the United States from 1935 to 1945 and then spend two years in England before finally coming back to Gold Coast at the end of 1947.

Nkrumah arrived in New York on 22 October 1935. He had to pass through London to obtain his visa and it was there that he heard of the invasion of Abyssinia (Ethiopia) by Italy’s fascist dictator, Benito Mussolini. This was a landmark in Nkrumah’s “revolutionary memory” and anti-colonial fight. According to Milne (2006, 10), he was deeply shocked by this “example of the rapacity of colonialism: ‘My nationalism surged to the fore’. The invasion made him determined ‘to go through hell itself’ if need be to free his country from colonial rule”.

His studies in the United States were interspersed with short-term jobs to earn his living. Nkrumah attained bachelor’s degrees in theology, sociology and economics, and a master’s in philosophy and education (Marika Sherwood 1996). He read through the classical political literature, becoming familiar with the thinking of Plato, Aristotle, Kant, Hegel, Marx and Engels, Lenin, and others. His favourite book was *The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*, with its philosophy of “Africa for the Africans” (ibid., 15).

Nkrumah wrote and published articles on philosophy, theology, sociology, economics, history, African language and politics. One of several academic prizes he won was for an article called "Imperialism: its political, social and economic aspects" (June Milne 2006, 12). From 1944 to 1945, Nkrumah was an assistant professor of philosophy and logic and also taught Negro Civilisation and History (Marika Sherwood 1996). His leisure time was mostly filled with political work and education. A very special (paid) assignment was Sunday preaching in black churches. According to Dekutsey (2012, 8), "he blended his sermons with political messages", claiming equal rights for all human beings and freedom for colonised nations (June Milne 2006; Marika Sherwood 1996).

Life was difficult for African-American people at the time. Although he reported a few minor incidents, Nkrumah was not much personally confronted by racism (Nkrumah 1971). People in his church informed him about 'real life' difficulties and he learned of widespread discrimination when he participated in the political activities of coloured student organisations and the Pan-Africanist movement. There he came in contact with their leadership, people like Amy Garvey, C.L.R. James, George Padmore and W.E.B. Du Bois, who would all play important roles as intellectual friends and consultants in the new Ghana. Nkrumah became familiar with the violation and inequalities that black Americans experienced in the workplace and in civic life, where they were denied social services and treated unjustly by police and the state administration, particularly when insisting on their rights as citizens. This was when Nkrumah further developed his ideas and started to write about what he had learned, discussed and digested. Some of this writing traces back to his time in Ghana with Aggrey and Zik. Nkrumah's concern was colonialism and imperialism and the question of independence for Ghana and Africa. He fuelled the discussion with equality and freedom as principles for decent human life.

In 1942, at the age of 33, Nkrumah began to record his revolutionary thoughts in a little book that would become *Towards Colonial Freedom: Africa in the Struggle against World Imperialism*. June Milne (2006, 13) suggests that it was originally meant to become part of the PhD project he had proposed to the University in Pennsylvania that year, on "The philosophy of imperialism with special reference

to Africa". It is still considered a classic of African history and the fight for independence and unity. "Most important of all, [it] prescribes a way out of colonial bondage" (Hadjor 1988, 108). In 1945, Nkrumah travelled to England to assist George Padmore with the preparation and organisation of the 5th Pan-African Congress in Manchester. Although *Towards Colonial Freedom* was discussed in part there, and photocopies were distributed, it was first published by Heinemann only in 1962. In the preface, Nkrumah stresses that the book is

exactly as it was written originally, that is, twenty years ago; no changes or corrections have been made and nothing has been added or taken from it. Secondly, the views I expressed then are precisely the views I hold today concerning the unspeakably inhuman nature of imperialism and colonialism. Furthermore, most of the points I made then have been borne out to the letter, and confirmed by subsequent developments in Africa and Asia. (Nkrumah 1962, x)

Nkrumah hoped that his booklet would "provide a guide to students of the Colonial Question and serve to emphasise the overriding importance of freedom and independence, not only for peoples everywhere who are still under the colonial yoke, but also for those who are becoming the puppets of neo-colonialism" (ibid.). It was, I think, the masterpiece of a young political activist and intellectual who was the first in sub-Saharan Africa to struggle for the liberation of his country and who was widely successful in promoting his vision of a liberated Africa.

At the end of 1947, Nkrumah returned to Gold Coast to become secretary-general of the newly founded United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) party, under the leadership of J.B. Danquah, a highly honoured aristocratic lawyer with a conservative worldview. The split came in 1949, when Nkrumah founded a new socialist party, the Convention People's Party (CPP), and – with support of the youth and a growing mass movement – led the country through democratic elections and to independence in 1957. This was reached through many struggles, first with the colonial government and then with the conservative opposition, led by Danquah, which tried to retain political influence and material privileges.

A glimpse of Nkrumah's years in power, from 1957 to 1966, reveals his personal achievements but also crucial challenges and weaknesses. Nkrumah and his new CPP government built up a society based on socialist principles of equality and social development for all citizens. Many progressive changes came in the early years, up to 1960, including social and rural development programmes, the promotion of small-scale enterprises, energy projects and infrastructure development for industrialisation. Ghana's Africa-wide support of liberation movements was costly but it was part of the policy of African unification that had marked Nkrumah's vision since his return to Gold Coast. Kofi Hadjor (1988, 76) summarises this time of expensive but necessary transformation:

State recurrent expenditure increased about four times between 1951 and 1960. Nkrumah took the radical step of making all education free. And a mass literacy campaign made Ghana the most literate nation in Africa. Similar achievements were made in health care, and infant mortality decreased thanks to the newly established network of maternity and post-natal care centres.

The biggest project, to reform the colonial capitalist economic system, began in 1961 and turned out to be unsuccessful. Increased corruption worsened the situation (T.P. Omari 1970). With the state coffers running low, Nkrumah ordered an austerity policy, with higher taxes and reduced wages and salaries. This led to strikes and violence against the party, the government and President Nkrumah, who luckily escaped bomb attacks and assaults. Hadjor (1988, 87) describes the ensuing decay of Nkrumah's trustworthiness and the CPP's power:

In the end it was Nkrumah's own party that ensured his downfall. The selfish, arrogant CPP officers who scoffed at the party's ideals helped paralyse the only institution that could have guaranteed popular power. Without a mass progressive party, not even Nkrumah could withstand the forces of imperialism inside and outside Ghana.

Nkrumah became progressively authoritarian, leading a one-party socialist state as president-for-life. The years from 1962 until the military coup in 1966 were difficult for the population and for Nkrumah. His reputation as "Osagyefo", the invincible redeemer, vanished and he became vulnerable, lonely and distrustful (June Milne 2006; Genoveva Marais 1972). His political leadership ended abruptly in 1966 after a bloodless military coup while he was in China on the way to Vietnam. Nkrumah accepted the invitation of Ahmed Sékou Touré to go into

exile in Guinea and met his untimely end in a hospital in Bucharest, Romania in 1972. Amilcar Cabral diagnosed the cause of death as “the cancer of betrayal” (June Milne 2006).

When Nkrumah was ousted, Nyerere immediately offered him refuge in Tanzania, which was the undisputed centre of the southern African struggle for liberation, providing bases for the ANC and PAC from South Africa, FRELIMO from Mozambique, MPLA from Angola, ZANU and ZAPU from Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), and SWAPO from South-West Africa (Namibia) (Legum and Mmari 1999, 164). Although Nkrumah decided to accept Sékou Touré’s offer, he was satisfied (and grateful) that his strongest ideological rival for the development of African socialism and a unified Africa had immediately declared solidarity and sharply condemned the coup in Ghana (June Milne 2006). Tanzania did not officially recognise Ghana’s new military government.

There are many open questions about Nkrumah’s complex personality. From his early schooldays, he believed in the power of thought, in the influence of his written books and his speeches. He believed in political education of the masses. He became a role model to many young people as he dared to rebel against colonial oppression and to fight for justice and equality. He initially professed non-violent protest (Nkrumah 1971), but became more militant in exile and often confirmed that he would take up arms for liberation, for Pan-Africanism and for unification, if that was needed to fight the reactionary counterforce of colonialists and imperialists.

A combination of historical and religious traditions shaped the development of his personality, his plans and policies. Fascinated by his vision of an egalitarian, democratic and modern society, he neglected the deeply rooted system of traditional ruling and authorities (Nkrumah 1964). He was not personally free of superstition and beliefs that contradicted his rational scientific socialism (Genoveva Marais 1972; Addo 1999). He started advanced industrial projects such as the Volta River hydroelectric dam, but without the financial means to carry them through. Nkrumah was an excellent organiser but he was involved in

too many complex and intensive missions – including, for instance, the liberation struggle in the Congo and his overarching goal of African unity.

US President John F. Kennedy reduced support to Ghana due to its “pro-Soviet position in foreign affairs and a Marxist dictatorship at home”, in the words of a 1961 New York Times article (Hadjor 1988, 82). Nkrumah also could not control the shameless corruption within the leadership of the CPP. Asante (2011, 7) mentions “the scandal of the ‘golden bed’ bought by one of Nkrumah’s immediate ‘henchmen’”. Where were the principles of the socialist society for Ghana: equality, justice and freedom?

The participatory approach of his early years in politics and his close contact with the people vanished at the beginning of the 1960s when he became isolated in leadership. Perhaps he was too ambitious, too progressive and too self-confident for Ghanaian society. Perhaps it was his impatience and his high sense of mission as “Osagyefo”. Nkrumah could not harvest the fruits of his visions, plans and projects. Even his big project for African unity did not develop as he had strongly hoped. His proposal for a union government was seen as premature. Julius Nyerere, whom Asante (2011, 61) calls “the most eloquent exponent of the gradualist approach”, said it was too big a step to take at once:

We do not believe that there is a choice between achieving African Unity step by step and achieving it in one act. The one act choice is not available to us except in some curious imagination. It has not been given to us human mortals to simply will things into existence. (in Asante 2011, 61)

And yet, despite the considerable troubles of his political life, Nkrumah is an example of extraordinary leadership in difficult times in Africa. I agree with Hadjor’s (1988, 105) assessment that “Nkrumah’s greatest tragedy was the fact that he was so much ahead of those around him. Very few were able to follow the implications of Nkrumah’s perspective”.

Julius Nyerere (1922–1999)

Julius Nyerere became chief minister of Tanganyika in 1960 and was its president from 1962 to 1964. After the unification with Zanzibar in 1964, he

remained president of the Republic of Tanzania until he stepped down in 1985. He chaired the governing CCM party until 1990.

Julius Kambarage Nyerere was born on April 13, 1922 in Butiama, Tanganyika, close to Lake Victoria. He grew up in a traditional society as the son of a chief of the small Zanaki tribe. His father, a peasant who owned livestock, had 22 wives. Nyerere was 12 years old when he started his schooling at the Mwisenge Primary School in Musoma – “walking 26 miles a day from home to school”, according to his son Madaraka (in Chachage and Annar Cassam 2010, xvi). This may be an exaggeration but it gives an idea of Nyerere’s effort to attend school. He was exceptionally intelligent and interested in learning. A missionary school student, Nyerere became a Catholic against the wishes of his father.

Nyerere soon developed the strong and outspoken sense of equality and social justice that he retained throughout his life. When he was appointed a prefect at Tabora Secondary School, he discovered that prefects enjoyed two rations of food. “He agitated against such inequalities,” writes Lamb (1986, 66), “and they were dropped.” His political life started in 1943 at Makerere University in Uganda, where he did his studies in education and obtained a diploma in 1947. One of his first papers was “The role of women in development” (Eckert 2007). He created the Tanganyika African Welfare Association to improve living conditions for Africans, although making clear that its “main purpose was not ... anti-colonial” (Nyerere in Mwakikagile 2002, 80).

Nyerere’s struggle for independence was set in motion in 1949, when he had just begun to study history and economics – as the first graduate student from Tanganyika at Edinburgh University in Scotland. He was moved by India’s independence in 1947 and the struggle for independence in Ghana, which had put Kwame Nkrumah in prison. Nkrumah’s release in 1949 triggered a political transformation. “You could see it in the Ghanaians! They became different human beings, different from all the rest of us! This thing of freedom began growing inside all of us” (Nyerere in Bunting 1999).

Unlike the climate of racism that Nkrumah found in the United States, Nyerere pursued his studies in friendlier environments in Uganda and Scotland. He enjoyed the free atmosphere of Western academia and the rich European philosophical tradition, reading Plato, Aristotle, Rousseau, Hume, Marx and Engels, Harriet Taylor and J.S. Mill, as well as the American founding fathers, Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln (Nyerere 2000a, 12). This was the beginning of a new world order following the Second World War, with tremendous changes, particularly on the African continent. Campaigns for independence were developed along with discussions on how to overcome the consequences of colonialism and resist new policies of imperialism. The 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights was a cornerstone for Nyerere, and his political programme would be based on social and political human rights (Chachage and Annar Cassam 2010).

After his return to Tanganyika in 1952 with a master's degree, Nyerere taught at St Francis Secondary School in Dar es Salaam. He joined the Tanganyika African Association, which he transformed into the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). Nyerere was elected its first president in 1954, but had to step down when the British administrators forced him to choose between teaching and politics. As a founding member of TANU, he later spearheaded the negotiations for independence and, after the 1958 elections, became leader of the opposition in parliament and chief minister in 1960. Independence was formally obtained in 1961 and Nyerere became Tanganyika's prime minister in December of that year. In January 1962, Nyerere resigned his office in order to work for the party for one year. He travelled the whole country to understand the problems of the people and to learn about the social and economic conditions in Tanganyika.

In December 1962, Nyerere became the first elected president of the Republic of Tanganyika, a position he retained after the unification with Zanzibar in 1964. In 1965, after intensive reflection on the appropriate state structure for Tanzania (Nyerere 2000a) and consultations with national and international experts, he concluded that a single-party democracy would be best. This model would be based on consensus rather than competition, as practiced in African tradition, but with "democratic safeguards to ensure a free choice of candidates, free elections

and accountable representatives” (Legum and Mmari 1999, 190). Nyerere was president until 1985, when he stepped down from office voluntarily – although his position had been made untenable by the World Bank’s imposition of a structural adjustment programme. Nyerere remained chairperson of the CCM until 1990.

After his retirement, Nyerere became very involved in developing North–South relations that could contribute to social justice, peace and stability in the world. He participated in international co-operation forums with leaders such as Willy Brandt, the former German chancellor and chairperson of the Socialist International. In his last years, Nyerere was particularly active in mobilising South-South relations. He was the chairperson of the South Commission (1987–1990) and then the South Centre (1990–1999). The powerfully stated and widely disseminated positions he took there are part of his leadership legacy. He spoke about the reality of power relations between North and South, but also about the failures of corrupt African leaders, like Idi Amin, Jean-Bedél Bokassa and Mobutu Sese Seko, who shamelessly plundered their impoverished countries and destroyed the hope of development for their people. Real democratic development, he said, requires both “the existence of a politically conscious civil society, which is active, organised and alert” and a government with “a scrupulous respect for the constitution ... the basis of the principle of the rule of law” (Nyerere 1998).

In a nutshell, four particular qualities characterise Nyerere’s person, his political and social life and his leadership for equality. The first was his solidarity and limitless support for southern African liberation movements from the end of the 1950s until the 1990s, supplemented by Tanzania’s hospitality to thousands of refugees from numerous regional wars (Othman 2000). The second was his profound belief in human equality and social justice, as expressed and developed in the policies of *ujamaa* (Michaela Von Freyhold 1979). The third was his commitment to conflict resolution in the region. From the 1964 unification of Tanganyika and Zanzibar until the end of the 1990s, Nyerere was a mediator and facilitator in several conflict areas, including Burundi. The fourth was his humbleness, moral reliability and his personal philosophy of austerity. He was

“uncorrupted by power” (Legum and Mmari 1999, 183), a quality that was recognised even by his critics (Lamb 1986; Pinkney 1987).

For Nyerere, a political leader’s task was to stay in touch with the people and to dialogue about the best possibilities to contribute to people-centred development. Timeless and principled, Nyerere’s messages remain relevant and comprehensible to ordinary people. They express what he believed to be the truth, staking a claim for social justice, poverty reduction and for human equality (Nyerere 2000a).

3.3.4. Intellectuals and architects

Mwakikagile (2002) argues that the two leaders were also intellectuals. In the first Mwalimu Nyerere Memorial Lecture at the University of Cape Town in 2005, entitled “An Intellectual in Power”, noted East African academic Haroub Othman agreed, defining an intellectual as “not only a person who is able to analyse the present but is also able to articulate ideas that would have a lasting impact on those who receive them” (Chachage and Annar Cassam 2010, 29).

Nkrumah and Nyerere both expressed their intellectual brilliance philosophically, Nkrumah with his “Consciencism” and Nyerere with “Ujamaa”. They were both deeply involved with creating the blueprint for their socialist societies and state structures. They read and wrote hundreds of articles, speeches and essays about politics, economy and philosophy, always guided by the ideas of freedom and equality. Self-confident, stubborn, committed and relentless, they defended their different visions of the ideal society: Nkrumah’s scientific socialism with industrialisation and Nyerere’s agriculture-based combination of African tradition and modern socialism. Both leaders included international solidarity and self-reliance in their tenets of socialism. Ali Mazrui (1986, 184), no believer in socialist ideologies or dogmatic policies, names both leaders as extraordinary intellectuals and “towering architects of African statehood”. Other contemporaries, including Mamdani (2013) and Mudimbe (1988) prize these outstanding personalities despite the flaws of their political lives.

I personally think that Nyerere had an easier life than Nkrumah as a student, young politician and even as head of state. When pursuing his studies, he had a scholarship and rather good living conditions while Nkrumah had to struggle for his livelihood. And Nyerere, as an African leader for independence, had a role model: Kwame Nkrumah. Nkrumah, on the other hand, was the object of violent attacks, painful betrayals and a military coup. Such personal setbacks may have influenced Nkrumah's intellectual capacity during his last years. However, despite the failures and weaknesses in their lives and leadership, the overall assessment supports Pinkney's (1987, 22) conclusion that "[t]he return from Britain of Kwame Nkrumah and Julius Nyerere to Ghana and Tanganyika ... can still be seen as an important landmark in the history of each country".

The following section will continue the process of understanding Nkrumah and Nyerere by examining the political dimension of the context in which they lived and worked. As the perspective changes and the focus widens, the objective of understanding remains the same.

3.4. *The political context*

In the political context, I will firstly show the interconnectedness of the historical and personal within the political. Secondly, I recall the core elements of politics – here, political leadership and the idea of human equality – with some examples from the lives of Nkrumah and Nyerere. Thirdly, I look to the assessment of these two leaders in the secondary literature. Were they good leaders for the challenges they faced? We know that they did not fall victim to the evil that often besets political leaders: to become thieves who rob people of their basic needs and rightful hopes. The topic of corruption as a political burden and social stumbling block for human equality will be briefly discussed in Section 3.5.

According to Nash et al. (2006, 1), "context is the arena for action", and political context refers to the political aspects of the environment that are relevant to action. This includes the distribution of power, the range of organisations involved and their interests, and the formal and informal rules that govern the interactions

among different players. Political context matters because it “determines the feasibility, appropriateness and effectiveness” (ibid.) of the action. Different cultural perceptions determine the significance of the political. For example, both 19th-century colonial authorities and 20th-century independence leaders were hostile towards some traditional religious practices, although with quite different motivations (Evans-Pritchard 1965; Opoku 1990; Coetzee and Roux 1998).

3.4.1. A historical-political tour of the context of human equality

The word “politics” refers to the ancient Greek “*polis*”, both a community of citizens, and the ideal form of government for good life in that community. This definition informed Nkrumah and Nyerere who studied Rousseau, Mill, Marx and others (see 4.3.3), with their different ideas of good life and happiness.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s *The Social Contract*, first published in 1762, conjures a city formed by the community of individual persons, where “each one of us puts into the community his person and all his powers under the supreme direction of the general will; and as a body, we incorporate every member as an indivisible part of the whole” (Rousseau 1988, 61). Rousseau’s major themes are liberty, virtue and equality. He critically discusses and compares the politics of different eras, regions and actors, as well as concepts of government, the influence of religion, political forms of leadership from democratic to dictatorial, as well as the roles of institutions. He suggests that

[s]omeone who ventures to tackle the task of making a people needs to have a sense of being able to change human nature, so to speak – to transform each individual, who by himself is entirely complete and solitary, into a part of a much greater whole, from which that same individual will then receive, in a sense, his life and his being. (ibid.)

Karl Marx also investigated the role of state institutions in social development. As Friedrich Engels (1883) said, speaking at the funeral of his friend:

Just as Darwin discovered the law of development of organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of development of human history: the simple fact, hitherto concealed by an overgrowth of ideology, that mankind must first of all eat, drink, have shelter and clothing, before it can pursue politics, science, art, religion, etc.; that therefore the production of the immediate material means, and consequently the degree of economic development

attained by a given people or during a given epoch, form the foundation upon which the state institutions, the legal conceptions, art, and even the ideas on religion, of the people concerned have been evolved, and in the light of which they must, therefore, be explained, instead of vice versa, as had hitherto been the case.

What Marx proclaimed, I have seen in different countries: democracy is meaningless as long as the stomach is empty.

For John Stuart Mill, writing of “the struggle between liberty and authority” in 1869, civil liberty meant “protection against the tyranny of the political rulers” (Mill 2009, 10). He argued that people should systematically control the political leadership and strive for individual rights, economic freedom and personal liberty. While Nkrumah appreciated Mill’s constructive social thinking, his own ideological preference was for socialism and egalitarianism:

true as it is that in Mill’s doctrine every citizen had the right to free economic activity, in the context of an already technical society ... this would inevitably breed an economic disproportion, and it would head society straight towards capitalism. If, however, one considers individualism not as giving to men an equal right to dominate and exploit one another, but as imposing upon us all the duty to support one another and make the happiness of others a condition for the happiness of oneself; then individualism so conceived and practised heads society towards socialism. (Nkrumah 1964, 49–60)

Nkrumah hits the point. Although Mill does not give up on the principle of equality, he favours a society with little governmental intervention and risks a social split in the community. In the long run, these social gaps will certainly lead to conflict and perhaps new classes and different degrees of citizenship. Nkrumah and Nyerere could see the potential conflict between the values of freedom, justice and equality when they decided to take on the challenge to end colonialism and build up new societies.

3.4.2. Models of socialism

In the context of their own experiences with colonialism and imperialism, Nkrumah and Nyerere chose a socialist model rather than a capitalist one. Simply defined, socialism entails national or public ownership of the means of production

in order to end exploitation by capitalists; an ideology that explains historical development in terms of class analysis; and a mass democratic movement of the working class with the aim of a classless society (Meyer 1981; Asamoah 2007; Shivji 1975).

For many political activists and intellectuals after World War II, the international socialist movement was the only alternative to the reactionary nationalist and capitalist systems that were 'responsible' for the war and its catastrophic consequences. There were many different ideas about socialism, from Marxist-Leninism to Trotskyism and Maoism, and from dogmatic scientific-socialist parties to pragmatic communist parties and democratic socialist parties (Meyer 1981).

In an earlier publication, I outlined some aspects that made socialism attractive to African leaders like Nyerere and Nkrumah:

- socialism is a political and economic alternative to the capitalism of the former colonial masters and is counter to exploitation;
- it allows rapid economic and social development to be achieved, as the example of Soviet Union showed; national resources could be controlled and invested in the most effective way;
- it has a natural affinity with African values of communalism;
- it is based on human equality and social justice, not on speculation, profit and predatory competition. (Häussler 2009a, 24–25)

When Nkrumah began *Towards Colonial Freedom* around 1944, he was already decided about the ideological foundation of a liberated Africa (Nkrumah 1971; June Milne 2006). Nkrumah studied Marx, Engels and Lenin and leftist black political thinkers like Garvey, Du Bois, Padmore and James. He felt that capitalism was "too complicated a system for a newly independent nation" (Nkrumah 1971, x). In Nkrumah's eyes, the leaders of the former French colonies – including Félix Houphouët-Boigny of Ivory Coast, Leopold Senghor of Senegal and Sylvanus Olympus of Togo – who accepted membership in the "French community" with limited independence were "relics of a political universe that had ... long ceased to have any justification for existence" (Bretton 1967, 36).

Nkrumah's view was obviously coloured by disappointment with these neighbours, as he had hoped to unify West Africa as a first step to a united Africa. Nkrumah's aversion to Senghor and his politics never ceased. In 1970, from his exile in Conakry, Nkrumah (1973, 25) hit out at the creator of Negritude and his "bogus conception", calling it a "pseudo-intellectual theory [that] is irrational, racist and non-revolutionary." Some lines later, he also lashed out against Nyerere and his "African socialism", criticising "those African leaders ... who are ... deeply committed to international capitalism, and who do not intend to promote genuine socialist economic development" (ibid., 26). For Nkrumah, Nyerere's Ujamaa was not real socialism because it lacked scientific analysis and had no continental or global perspective (Metz 1982). The following two sections will give an idea of their particular socialist concepts.

3.4.3. Nkrumaism and scientific socialism

Nkrumaism is a customised concept of "scientific socialism" that combines Marxist-Leninist principles and Nkrumah's thinking as set out in in *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for De-colonization and Development* (1964).

Nkrumah was "drawn towards scientific socialism" (Marika Sherwood 1996) during his studies in the United States, under the influence of C.L.R. James, George Padmore and W.E.B. Du Bois. At the end of the fifth Pan-African Congress in Manchester in 1945, he recalled *The Communist Manifesto* when he declared that "the long, long night is over ... Colonial and Subject People of the World – Unite!" (ibid., 45).

Explaining Nkrumaism to students at the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute in Winneba – the CPP party school – in 1962, Nkrumah affirmed that the party "has defined a social purpose and is committed to socialism and to the ideology of Nkrumaism ... [I]n order to be Nkrumaistic, [it] must be related to scientific socialism" (in Addo 1999, 157). Nkrumaism therefore is a wide-ranging political, cultural and socio-economic concept, combining scientific socialism with Ghanaian tradition and religion.

Kofi Baako, a former minister and Member of Parliament who was very close to Nkrumah, explained Nkrumaism to a conference of Ghanaian envoys in 1962:

You may ask: Why socialism? The short answer is that, so far as we know, the only political ideology which allows the maintenance of our own traditional beliefs and attitudes appears to be the socialist idea that all men are equal and must have the same opportunities, and must contribute to the general well-being of the community according to the ability of each member and receive in return for their labour according to their needs. ...

I would define Nkrumaism as a non-atheist socialist philosophy which seeks to apply the current social, economic and political ideas to the solution of our problems, be they domestic or international, by adapting these ideals to the realities of our everyday life ... Nkrumaism is not a religion, and has not come to replace any religion, but it preaches and seeks to implement all that true religion teaches. I can safely therefore describe Nkrumaism as applied religion. (in T.P. Omari 1970, 191-210)

The transformation from a capitalist to a socialist society, which Baako refers to as the “African Revolution” is explained in *Consciencism* as a joining of modern socialism and industrialisation and the pre-colonial “egalitarian and humanist past of the people” (ibid., 106). Here Nkrumah is close to Nyerere, whose socialism is grounded in egalitarian African agrarian tradition with familyhood (*Ujamaa*) at the centre. The lack of a concept of class struggle separated his views from Nkrumah’s.

As embedded in Nkrumaism, Nkrumah’s development strategy pursued poverty reduction, education, healthcare, employment, income and ‘happiness’. But the political opposition as well as influential Christians and Muslims attacked Nkrumah’s increasing authoritarian attitude and messianism as economic reform was postponed with the argument that the mixed capitalist-socialist approach was working (Hadjor 2003; Asante 2011). “Nkrumah began to be conceived in godly terms. High accolades were heaped on him... many even came to believe he could never die!” (Dekutsey 2012, 36–37). Such authoritarian developments and ideological turns, coupled with a worsening situation in the supply of basic goods in the early 1960s, certainly created room for the military coup that ousted Nkrumah in 1966.

S.K.B. Asante, who was active in politics in those years, names various people and groups who had been close to Nkrumah but denounced him immediately after the coup – including the same Kofi Baako, “a political protégé for eighteen years”, who declared at a press conference, “[i]t pained me to realise that Nkrumah was not a genuine leader but a fraud of the highest order” (Asante 2011, 18).

June Milne (2006, 216) elaborates the three “core ingredients of Nkrumaism”, as formulated by Nkrumah in exile: “First, political emancipation ... as pre-requisite for economic independence ... Second, the total liberation and unification of Africa. Third, the building of a just society”. Nkrumaism’s three components meet Nyerere’s principles of Ujamaa: first, democratic rights and obligations of the people, in Ujamaa villages or in urban centres; second, African unity and promotion of the Pan-African movement and, third, human equality and social justice as foundation for all societies.

3.4.4. Ujamaa – Tanzanian socialism

When Nyerere and a few other TANU leaders reflected on the socio-economic situation in Tanganyika, they saw abject poverty in an abundance of land. In the 1960s, 80–90 percent of the population lived in rural areas, working on farms and surviving from subsistence agriculture. Families lived scattered over the land and far away from public services such as education, healthcare, water and food aid (Shivji 1975, 1986).

Nyerere accordingly drafted a vision for a classless society based on rural development (Othman 2000) and named it with the Swahili word for “familyhood”. Ujamaa was a rural community-based concept of democratic socialism. It proposed democracy for the people, economic nationalisation and equality for everybody. People would live together in rural “ujaama villages”, which Nyerere (1973, 67) defined as “a voluntary association of people who decide of their own free will to live together and work together for their common good”. Village life was organised by village members through democratic decision-making

processes: “[f]or to govern yourself is to be self-reliant” (Nyerere 1987, 22) and self-reliance was key. Although many villages were subsidised by the government, Nyerere always promoted self-reliance, work and education:

We have defined our policies in education, in rural development, and have listed our expectations of leadership. But we are not a socialist society. Our work has only just begun. Of particular priority are the outstanding tasks of socialist adult education, and of strengthening the people’s self-confidence and pride.” (Nyerere 1968, 32)

Around 14 million people were resettled into Ujamaa villages over two decades. Amongst them, probably 800 000 were forcefully moved. Because of this, the “programme was widely criticised ... This ignored the reality that thirteen million people had, in fact, moved voluntarily” (Legum and Mmari 1999, 189).

Although their lives continued to be hard and labour-intensive, Ujamaa offered women new chances for equality (Michaela von Freyhold 1979). Case studies conducted by Marja-Liisa Swantz (1985, 121) showed a positive outlook for “the potential for improving women’s living conditions”. They had more rights and opportunity to participate actively in village life, to study, to own land or property and manage their own money (ibid., 120). As Nyerere insisted (2013, 73), “Women are indeed human beings”. However, despite the principle of equality in Ujamaa, men generally had greater abilities to access and benefit from their rights.

3.5. Leadership challenges and corruption

Corruption in government has a devastating impact on social development and presents a serious obstacle to the realisation of social equality (Owoye and Nicole Bissessar 2012; Abdul-Raheen 2010). Nkrumah and Nyerere were both committed to development and to transforming their countries into socialist societies where equality reigned in place of colonial capitalist oppression. They were both generally ‘good leaders’ (Davidson 1973b; Hadjor 1988; Legum and Mmari 1999; Othman 2000; June Milne 2006; Chachage and Annar Cassam 2010; Asante 2011; Mamdani 2013). But although Nkrumah and Nyerere were

not corrupt and did not enrich themselves, neither was able to prevent corruption and its undermining effects on social development.

In the interests of cohesion in the CPP, Nkrumah apparently closed his eyes to the culture of bribery and corruption (Bretton 1967; T.P. Omari 1970). Omari (1970, 41) tells well-known stories of scandals involving the Cocoa Purchasing Company and CPP leaders. Hadjor (1988, 86), who shows strong sympathy for Nkrumah and does not really criticise his former boss, blames party leaders for corruption: “many CPP officials abused their position of trust to reap material benefits. Even ministers were involved in dubious deals and encouraged the taking of bribes”. Nkrumah’s reactions were half-hearted and came very late, causing people to withdraw their support from the CPP. As Hadjor (*ibid.*, 87) writes, “History has shown that, once a party loses the trust of the masses, it finds it difficult to win it back”.

When Nkrumah used his “Dawn Broadcast” radio slot to speak to the masses in April 1961, the damage was already done. This dramatic speech declared war on corruption, castigated the leadership of the party and appealed to the nation to fight corruption and work for the development of the nation. Hadjor (*ibid.*, 86) claims that “the Dawn Broadcast retains its relevance to this day”. Nkrumah’s words reveal the leadership dilemma he faced, one that would affect Nyerere some years later as well:

It is most important to remember that the strength of the Convention People’s Party derives from the masses of the people. These men and women include those whom I have constantly referred to as the unknown warriors – dedicated men and women who serve the party loyally and selflessly without hoping for reward. It is therefore natural for the masses to feel some resentment when they see comrades whom they have put into power and given the mandate to serve the country on their behalf, begin to forget themselves and indulge in ostentatious living ... Some of us very easily forget that we ourselves have risen from among the masses. We must avoid any conduct that will breed antagonism and uneasy relations. (Nkrumah in Hadjor 1988, 86)

With Nkrumah’s awareness of Ghana’s financial crisis and the problem of public funds being diverted by widespread corruption, this marked a turning point. As his close friend Genoveva Marais (1972, 105) remembers,

Nkrumah attacked almost everybody, the members of his Cabinet, those of his Party, senior civil servants. He declared that from then on [April, 1961] there was to be no more ostentatious living. Members would have one car and one house – no more were needed. Each person must in future declare his assets and disclose his bank accounts. The committee which later probed into the financial affairs of those close to Nkrumah discovered that many ministers and others had assets far in excess of their declared earnings. The Report which they issued, however, was for some reason never distributed to justify these findings.

One explanation for Nkrumah's earlier inattention to corruption was that he himself was both an intellectual ideologue and an ascetic who was humble and disciplined in his eating and drinking habits, and practiced regular fasts and meditation. He did not give much importance to money and sometimes spent generously on other people. For him, money was a "simple tool", a means to build African unity (Genoveva Marais 1972).

Nkrumah often had disputes about finances with Komla Agbeli Gbedemah, his long-time friend and a highly competent and reliable minister of finance. After the Dawn Broadcast, he dismissed Gbedemah and other officials. Gbedemah became increasingly critical of Nkrumah's economic and political planning, particularly the new party programme, "Work and Happiness", and the Seven-Year Development Plan. In 1962 he published a pamphlet called "It will not be 'Work and Happiness for All' and fled Ghana immediately afterwards.

From the beginning of the Seven-Year Development Plan in 1964 until the coup in 1966, Nkrumah must have been aware of his mistakes in the area of public finances. Although Ghana could be proud of its drive to industrialisation and the building of the Akosombo hydroelectric dam, prosperity was yet to come for many.

Corruption also sprang up in Tanzania but it was not as conspicuous as in Ghana, which could be expected, as it was a much poorer country. More important, TANU's 1967 Arusha Declaration, a policy statement on socialism and self-reliance, included a Leadership Code that set out strict guidelines for ethical leadership in Tanzania. Nyerere attempted to control corruption with a strong policy of austerity and thrift. There is no doubt that Nyerere did not favour lavish

lifestyles and, as the New York Times would later highlight in his obituary, he himself “never [received] more than USD 8 000 a year as president” (Kaufman 1999). Nevertheless, the public sector was “increasingly riddled by corruption and embezzlement of public funds. The Auditor General’s reports from the 1980s show that this trend continued” (Fjeldstad 2003).

Combatting corruption is not the only indicator of good leadership, however, and Nyerere’s policies and actions could also provoke reaction and resistance. One example is a proposal for compulsory national service that led to student protests in 1966. Some student leaders were expelled (Legum and Mmari 1999). Another is Nyerere’s closure of the Ruvuma Development Association (RDA) in 1969. The RDA was a very successful Ujamaa association that made its own way until it was largely independent of party and government support. Nyerere initially supported village’s expansion through commercial activities, including a grain mill and sawmill, thinking it would become a showcase. However the RDA’s success caused envy among some of the party elite. Coulson (1982, 270–71) describes TANU’s authoritarian overreaction: in 1969, 21 of the 24 members of the party’s Central Committee, with Nyerere as chairperson, voted to disband the RDA. Effectively, “[t]he Model for Freedom and Development and Education for Self-Reliance had been destroyed” (ibid., 271). John S. Saul (2005) also comments that the closure and other new party directives served Nyerere badly.

3.6. Conclusion

In hermeneutic research, text and context are interwoven and interdependent. Understanding is informed and enlightened by including the context in which the text was created. The three dimensions of context presented in this chapter also overlap and intermingle. The colonial experience is a shared ‘collective past’ that motivated the two personalities of Nyerere and Nkrumah to develop better political systems for their societies. Their political choices were shaped by personal lifeworlds: history, family, missionary schooling, studies abroad, and socialist visions of a better world.

Education was key for their development and perceptions. Already as young men, they were critically analysing the social situation in Africa in the historical context of colonialism. They both enjoyed political debates with peers and mentors as they developed their plans and theories to overcome colonial domination (Davidson 1973; Smith 1973).

The chronicles contained in this chapter are also part of my dialogue with Nkrumah and Nyerere, forming the ground for a better understanding by the researcher and partner in conversation. This intercultural process helps a non-African 'other' (myself, other readers) to approach these two persons with interest and with respect.

The narrative of this chapter will merge with the conceptualisation in the next to form a "thick description" that will further widen my (and your) horizon, all in service of the research objective of a better understanding through interpretation and dialogue.

Chapter 4. Concepts: Leadership for equality and human development

4.1. Introduction: Historical views and contemporary relevance

This chapter hermeneutically explores the literature on the concepts of political leadership, equality and social-economic development in order to apprehend the traits and values of Nkrumah's and Nyerere's leadership. Leadership is never value-free for it involves social and personal identities, and its effectiveness depends on a "latent power-based intergroup relationship between leaders and followers" (Hogg 2005, 72). My goal is to show that "leadership" is a useful concept to understand Nkrumah and Nyerere and their commitments to human equality. I use the term "human equality" here to include both "equality" as the basis of universal human rights and "human development" as building access to capabilities and civic participation as well as basic goods and services for a decent life (see 4.6). The concept of "equality" is examined philosophically and historically, with particular reference to race- and gender-based inequality. The concept of development and poverty is similarly explored with reference to changing theories, conditions and strategies and particularly those of Nkrumah and Nyerere.

4.2. Reflections on leadership

Historically, we can refer to ancient Greek and Roman examples that gave rise to the contemporary paradigm of Western politics. Both Nkrumah and Nyerere refer to the Greeks in their own reflections on leadership. Nkrumah, for instance, praises Aristotle's stand on egalitarianism, while Nyerere appreciated Plato's ideas on the state and education (see 4.3.2).

In pre-colonial Africa, leadership was either hereditary or achieved through recognition of benevolence and loyalty to the clan (Iliffe 1979; Pelonomi Venson 1995; Mazrui 1986; 2007). A chief and elders ruled by consensus over a

community of clans or tribesmen without a determined time span, providing protection for the community and serving as custodian of communal properties, mainly land (Mazrui 1986; Wiredu 2007; Eckert 2007).

Political leaders also come from spiritual traditions. Barry Kort (1985) compares the leadership of seven religious men, from Moses to Martin Luther King, Jr to “discover the laws of human interaction, and the rules of conduct which those laws implied”. He characterises these leaders as social actors who “variously codified those social rules as Law, taught them to others, demonstrated their validity, and applied them to bring about positive social change.”

I have developed a simple classification of political leaders that takes account of tendencies of leadership, legitimacy, and recognition of human rights (Salles, Valéria and Häussler 2003; Häussler 2005; 2009a). It incorporates Gyekye’s (2013, 27–28) observation that a government’s legitimacy has both “formal” (constitutional, traditional or customary) and “informal” (moral) aspects. These five leadership styles have had a significant impact on the economic, social and political development of post-independence African states (Jackson and Rosberg 1982; Boon 1996; Mazrui 1999; 2007):

1. traditional rulers, with legitimacy, limited respect for human rights
2. dictators and military leaders, limited or no legitimacy and no respect for human rights (e.g., Idi Amin, Botha, Mobutu, Abacha, al-Bashir)
3. people-centred, visionary, ‘pragmatic authoritarian’, ethically committed leaders, with legitimacy, limited respect for human rights (e.g., Nkrumah, Nyerere, Senghor, Houphouët-Boigny, Kaunda)
4. technocratic and organisation-oriented leaders, with legitimacy and limited respect for human rights (e.g., Mbeki, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf)
5. consensus-oriented community-centred ‘ubuntu’ leadership, with legitimacy and respect for human rights (e.g., Mandela, Pires and Pohamba).

This last category is a relatively new phenomenon that combines tradition and modernity. “Ubuntu leadership” is a southern African concept (Mbigi 2005) that

offers an attractive alternative to the more self-serving and individualistic 'Western-oriented' paradigm (April and Ephraim 2006).

Jackson and Jackson (1997) recommend a distinction between political leaders and political leadership, as "political leadership today is usually the responsibility of an executive that can be defined as the institutions and individuals who 'steer' the country by formulating the most important political decisions" (ibid. 235). This small ruling elite "may be one person and his or her relatives or cronies, or it may be based on the principles of democracy" (ibid. 234).¹⁰

Leadership is commonly distinguished from management because of their primary orientations: leaders *motivate*, managers *administer* (Nye 2010). Nkrumah and Nyerere, in this sense, were primarily leaders, but they also fulfilled managerial tasks and influenced the administration of their parties and states. Bryman (1992, 138) sees leaders and managers "as playing different roles. The former are associated with change and innovation; the latter with stability and control". Leaders shape the destiny of people, whether in small communities and organisations or in mighty states or international institutions (Gibson et al. 2000).

It is less and less possible to make a strict differentiation between leaders and managers (Messick and Kramer 2005). Contemporary approaches combine effective and efficient modern management systems with leadership skills related to social diversity, creativity, organisational culture and value-orientation. A leader who is also a good manager will influence others with his/her competence, expertise and authority, and not solely because of 'charisma' or power. Such a holistic management-leadership approach is seldom found historically but is now expanding (Gold et al. 2010) with new concepts and trainings that "focus on the critical importance of leadership" (Mo Ibrahim Foundation 2015a, 2015b).

Does leadership in fact make a difference for human equality? From my experience and studies, the answer is clearly "yes", but not always in a good way. Violence and fear reign in undemocratic countries with high poverty, weak state

¹⁰ I use leaders and leadership interchangeably.

institutions, a corrupted public service, and low political stability or outright conflict. Corrupt and criminal leaders, perhaps acting in the interest of particular groups, can take control of human beings and material resources. Another common danger is the incompetent populist leader who may be bound by ethnic loyalty and is not interested in the development of all people. Such pseudo-leaders may pretend to be democrats, but they are not aimed at any common goal beyond their personal ambitions. Rotberg (2012, 18) notes that the quality of leadership matters more in poor and unstable countries:

Who leads makes a bigger difference in the fractured, scrabbling nation-states than it does in settled, stable ones. The differing results of leadership in the same country [South Africa] by a Nelson Mandela, a Thabo Mbeki, or a Jacob Zuma are instructive. Likewise the contrasts in governmental outcomes between a country [Ghana] led by a Jerry Rawlings or a John A. Kufuor.

Another category is the leader who makes a positive difference. This man or woman is cooperative, reliable and trustworthy, and can inspire others to take collective action. This leader respects people, and accepts democratic rules and terms of succession. This leader promotes human rights and dialogue. As Blondel (1987, vii) affirms:

Political leadership appears to be one of the clearest ways in which men and women can be induced to work jointly for the improvement of their lot; leadership seems able, by virtue of what it is, both to bring citizens together in a concerted effort and to do so over time by gradual achievements aimed at a common goal. Thus, while leadership may be a “beast” which can frighten mankind, it can also be one of the most powerful means of leading to collective action, not just severally and in a discreet manner, but in a common endeavour over substantial periods: it can thus result in development for the whole society.

Finally, I would like to offer a concise definition of political leadership from the University of Ghana’s Africa Institute: “Leadership is about organising people to achieve common goals for the good of society” (Häussler 2013). I am interested in a model of leadership that supports people-centred development, where common goals are negotiated and formulated through political vision and popular participation, based on implementing equal rights for women and men and for different racial groups, ethnicities, religions and political orientations. “For the good of society” means, first of all, for a decent life for all people, with “work and happiness”, to use Nkrumah’s trademark phrase. The people-centred objective

should also cater for a societal consensus on basic human rights with special focus on the rights of those who experience discrimination.

4.2.1. Nkrumah, Nyerere and charismatic leadership

Different leadership styles in different political situations lead to different outcomes and impacts for human equality. In this section, I will discuss dominant features of the leadership styles of Nkrumah and Nyerere.

Max Weber, in his 1919 lecture “Politics as a Vocation”, explores central aspects of the professional politician, and specifically the power of charismatic leadership. In his view, “no understanding is complete without including the moral, political, and religious dimension of the concerted activities of human agents”. Such an approach holds for understanding the leadership of Nkrumah and Nyerere. Weber claims three “decisive” characteristics of an adequate politician – passion, a sense of responsibility and a sense of proportion – and sets out three ‘pure’ types of leaders: traditional, charismatic, and legal-rational (Weber 2011, 71). Ebenezer Obiri Addo (1999, 22) suggests that “mixtures of the three types Weber proposes can be discerned in a given concrete leadership situation”. For Bass (1999, 133), transformational leadership includes “the four Is”: “idealised influence (charisma), inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation and individualised consideration”. Nkrumah and Nyerere incorporate all these traits, but in different measures.

Nyerere’s Ujamaa draws on “traditional” authority, and both he and Nkrumah developed “rational-legal” constitutional frameworks. But the struggle for independence particularly promoted “charismatic” leadership personalities who could gather and motivate people with different interests to build a new society of freedom and justice. For Weber, “charisma” indicates “a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities” (in Addo 1999, 22). Historically, charismatic leadership has typically “emerged in the two figures of the magician and the

prophet on the one hand, and in the elected war lord, the gang leader and *condotierre* [mercenary] on the other hand” (Weber 1948, 3).

Charismatic leadership also comes with risks, particularly with the loss of democratic legitimacy (Weber 1948; Apter 1968; Lacouture 1970; Gordon 1981; Bryman 1992). Nigeria, for example, has notably experienced “the extent that charismatic authority has been conducive for the rise of strongmen and personality cults that equate the leader with the nation” (Swart et al. 2014, 413). Swart et al. further argue, citing Osaghae (2010), that charismatic authority “constitutes an obstacle to the development and strengthening of rational-legal norms and institutions which are seen as the hallmarks of modern statehood” and that the “Nigerian elite has failed to provide the kind of leadership that matches the expectations elicited by charismatic legitimation”. My experience in different countries supports this view.

In Weber’s terms, Nkrumah and Nyerere were charismatic “prophets” (Jackson and Rosberg 1982). Nkrumah could also be classified as a “magician” for the idolisation he received and his own susceptibility to supernatural belief (Marais 1972; Addo 1999). Nkrumah’s rule in the 1950s was legitimised by democratic elections and wide-ranging popular support for numerous projects for social and economic development (Apter 1968; Hadjor 1988; Botwe-Asamoah 2005). However, the introduction of the Preventive Detention Act (PDA) in 1958 damaged his image as a charismatic and transformational leader. His later leadership was symbolised more by myth, spirituality and idealism and less by the needs and aspirations of the people. Nkrumah allowed himself to be called “Messiah” (Addo 1999, 109) and the 1964 constitutional referendum made him president-for-life of the party and the state.

According to Weber, this mystic charisma has deep implications for leadership values like integrity and reliability. Dekutsey (2012, 38) captures the feeling of the time: “Was this not a ploy by Nkrumah to entrench himself in power, when everything began to decline?” Finally, unable to “manage to maintain his domination”, in Weber’s (1948) phrase, he became vulnerable (Apter 1968; T.P. Omari 1970; Genoveva Marais 1972; Addo 1999; June Milne 2006).

Julius Nyerere was *Mwalimu*, the teacher, and less the 'prophet', with comrades and with people of all walks of life. People felt that he was one of them and they shared his charismatic vision of human society (Smith 1973; Legum and Mmari 1999; Othman 2000; Marjorie Mbilinyi 2010; Shivji 2008; Chachage and Annar Cassam 2010). His integrity and humbleness were striking, as was his political determination and stubbornness. He used his charisma also in the application of the 1962 Preventive Detention Act "effectively against those who did not agree with him. The main victims were former colleagues in the independence struggle who now disagreed with him" (Peter 1997, 118). Shivji (2008, 244) describes the lengths Nyerere went to in order to preserve the union with Zanzibar as "Machiavellian". His intellectual and oratorical brilliance impressed African peers as well as foreign statesmen like Kennedy, Brandt and Mao Zedong.

4.2.2. Contemporary perspectives on leadership values

This section will picture contemporary leadership culture, bearing in mind a crucial intercultural question: what is good and bad leadership? That is, are there common or universal values that both leaders and followers recognise? A reflection on both theoretical views and practical examples of good and bad political leadership in Africa will influence my interpretation of Nkrumah's and Nyerere's texts (Chapter 5), guide the Conversation on human equality with the two leaders and the following critical reflection (Chapter 6). It also informs the final reflection (Chapter 7) on ethical leadership for human equality.

One of the key studies of leadership values is the Global Leadership and Organisational Behaviour Effectiveness (GLOBE) research project (Grove 2005), which was conducted over 11 years in 62 nations in 10 country-groups. The research was based on questionnaires with 17 370 middle managers (74.8 percent men) in 951 organisations from three selected industries (financial, food processing and telecommunications) (Grovewell n.d.; Koopman et al. 1999). Although it focussed on business leaders, other studies of political leadership show only marginal differences in respondents' perceptions and expectations.

These include the Bertelsmann Transformation Index (BTI), a “global ranking of quality in democracy, a market economy and political leadership in developing and transformation countries” (Bertelsmann Stiftung 2014), and the work of Geert Hofstede (1980, 1991, 2001) on cultural difference in organisations, using six parameters: power distance, individualism, masculinity, uncertainty avoidance, long-term orientation and indulgence (Hofstede 2001). Hofstede’s interactive approach is very revealing as it allows comparisons of leadership in different countries.¹¹

Globalisation has had a colossal impact on communication, production and mass consumption since the middle of the 20th century, but has it changed the perception of leadership values? Apparently, not much. The GLOBE study finds that “aspects of charismatic/transformational leadership are strongly and universally endorsed across cultures” (Koopman et al. 1999). This suggests that people have clear and enduring ideas about good leadership. The top three leadership profiles are endorsed worldwide:

1. “charismatic/inspirational”: positive, dynamic, encouraging, motivating, and confidence-building;
2. “team integrator”: communicative, team builder, informed, and integrator;
3. “integrity”: trustworthy, just, and honest. (Grove 2005).

A large majority of respondents perceived “gender egalitarianism” as a positive trait for good leadership. This is remarkable, says the study, “because fully three-quarters of the 17,300 respondents worldwide were male” (Grovewell 2015). The research found that bad leadership is “autocratic”, “self-protective” and “malevolent”, with corresponding attributes of being a “loner, asocial, indirect/non-explicit, non-cooperative, irritable, egocentric, ruthless, dictatorial” leader (Hoppe 2007). This comes as little surprise. Grove also lists 35 “culturally contingent leadership attributes” that are viewed in some societies as attributes for “outstanding leadership” and in others as “inhibiting outstanding leadership”. For example, “[m]anagers in the Middle East were less likely than managers

¹¹ For a critical view of Hofstede’s ‘Western perspective’, see Fougère and Agneta Moulettes (2007).

anywhere else to view leadership that is charismatic/value-based, team oriented, and participative as substantially contributing to good leadership” (ibid.).

Another international study supports GLOBE’s results with data collected “from 172 middle and senior managers of companies with a median work experience of ten years ... from different countries [sic] including Australia, Europe, Asia and South Africa. Of these, 61.6% were male and 38.4% were female” (Van Zyl and Dalglish 2009, 9). The respondents’ criteria for good leadership included “a clear set of values; personal characteristics of determination, self-confidence, self-awareness and concern for others; vision; ability to communicate; and inspiration” (ibid.). These studies confirm analyses of leadership traits (Salles, Valéria and P. Häussler 2003) and correspond widely with significant indicators of the Ibrahim Index of African Governance (Mo Ibrahim Foundation 2016).

South African educator Jonathan Jansen lists seven key capacities that can be learned from great leaders: care (empathy over indifference); contemplation (reason over rage); courage (boldness over timidity); change (flexibility over rigidity); conciliation (togetherness over separation); contrition (humility over arrogance); and clarity (focus over muddled thinking) (Jansen 2013). These capacities generally correspond with the GLOBE dimensions and are also in line with the core values of Ubuntu and the ‘serving’ leader (Khoza 2006, 2011).

In light of this research, this study will use a five-dimensional guideline for “good leadership”: charisma, integrity, team- and group-building, positive thinking and humane acting, and gender support. With regard to a critical perspective of leadership in Africa, Nigerian philosopher Osam Edim Temple (2011, 50) observed:

In many parts of Africa, leaders have emerged through election rigging or military coups; in most parts the leader/follower relationship is based on fear and not on trust, in most places the leaders get the nation to pursue their personal goals, and in most cases the leader is intolerant of minority voices or the opposition.

Temple’s pessimistic analysis focuses on the mostly authoritarian character of African leadership, and it was true of Nkrumah in the latter years. He acted strongly against the opposition, showed little tolerance for religious groups when

they criticised his personal cult and the militarisation of youth organisations (Addo 1999). Many people lost trust in Nkrumah and he himself lost trust in the people and his entourage, leading him to reduce his public appearances (Marais 1972; Hadjor 1988; Botwe-Asamoah 2005). But the OAU summit in Accra in 1963 found him still uncompromising in his personal ambition for a central continental government.

Nyerere, on the other hand, was open to public and critical dialogue until the end of his life. When it was possible, he tried “achieving a broad consensus” (Mmari in Legum and Mmari 1999, 183). Nyerere stepped aside when it was time. However, he was also intolerant with striking students, with the ‘radical’ opposition and when he fought against the separation of Zanzibar. Issa Shivji, a leading Tazanian academic who often criticised Nyerere, never doubted Nyerere’s intention to achieve human equality.

4.2.3. Bad leadership and the ‘disease’ of corruption

Recent cases of leadership failure and corruption from Africa and Europe illustrate our contemporary leadership crisis. The cases range from human weakness to criminality, but all have serious impacts on people, their relation to leaders, and social development. And they all relate to Nkrumah’s and Nyerere’s achievements or flaws in leadership. I am not concerned here with technical competence or otherwise: this reflection is interested in the moral behaviour of leaders and the consequences for people’s equality and development. Using the studies mentioned above, as well as personal experience and my own research, I propose three categories of bad leadership: arrogant and high-handed leaders; leaders who lie and deceive; corrupt and criminal leaders. There is overlap, certainly, and the worst can embody all three.

I do not analyse each example but let them ‘speak’ for themselves. My objective is to show real cases and also to attest to the reader’s ability to personally identify bad leadership. These leaders would certainly insist that they are ‘people-centred’, that they stand for human equality and the public good. The witnesses

are journalists, intellectuals, researchers and citizens who are critical of elected leaders who do not serve the interests of the people. This section intends to sharpen our capacity to see and understand the forms of bad leadership, using contemporary cases but also keeping Nkrumah's and Nyerere's flaws in mind.

Arrogant and high-handed leadership

In an article titled "Mbeki was a Coriolanus to Nkrumah's Caesar", Adebajo (2013) notes some striking similarities between Nkrumah and former South African President Thabo Mbeki:

Both were renaissance men: visionary intellectuals committed to Pan-Africanism. Both were instrumental in the creation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and the African Union (AU). While Nkrumah championed the "African personality" in world politics, Mbeki promoted an "African renaissance". Both leaders were active peacemakers. Both used their parties as Leninist vanguards, ruling in a top-down fashion. Both were accused of monarchical tendencies, and in the end were toppled in apparent acts of regicide: Nkrumah by the military, and Mbeki by his African National Congress (ANC).

Such leaders staunchly defend their own outlook and hardly admit fault. While the public may perceive them as well-educated and intelligent, they demonstrate certain disrespect for others (Messick and Kramer 2005, 275). Their integrity as leaders is damaged when they are more interested in being 'right' than in engaging in a self-reflective and self-critical search for the 'truth' in open dialogue with peers, experts, civil society and the media. Mbeki, for example,

tried to intellectualise the problem instead of addressing it. Remember, this is a president who claimed he had never known a person who had died of AIDS, and when confronted with a grim rise of crime, responded by asking whether crime was actually rising or just being more regularly reported. (Abdul-Raheen 2010, 107)

His predecessor Nelson Mandela (2010, 326) warned against such arrogance, writing that it "is a grave error for any leader to be oversensitive in the face of criticism, to conduct discussions as if he or she is a schoolmaster talking to less informed and inexperienced learners." However, I think one has also to assess Mbeki as knowledgeable and able to represent South Africa well internationally (Khoza 2011).

Nkrumah became increasingly 'arrogant' over time, dismissing other opinions on the question of the African unification and also on the correct model of socialism (Nkrumah 1970a, 1964; Bretton 1967; T. P. Omari 1970; Mazrui 1999). Again, Nyerere was generally open-minded and interested in other opinions, but his stubbornness could be interpreted as arrogance (Pinkney 1987; Saul 2005; Shivji 2008).

Leaders who lie and deceive

It would be naive to suggest that leaders must always and only be 'truthful' – but some deceptions have lethal consequences. The following story points to a central issue in Nyerere's leadership ethics and touches on some of his principles and his stubbornness.

In 2012, Archbishop Desmond Tutu pulled out of a leadership summit in Johannesburg, saying that he "felt an increasingly profound sense of discomfort about attending a summit on 'leadership' with [ex-UK Prime Minister] Tony Blair" (Tutu 2012). In his statement, the Nobel laureate "accuses the former British and US leaders of lying about weapons of mass destruction and says the invasion [of Iraq] left the world more destabilised and divided 'than any other conflict in history'" (Helm 2012). Tutu (2012) made his case in explicitly moral terms:

Leadership and morality are indivisible. Good leaders are the custodians of morality ... If it is acceptable for leaders to take drastic action on the basis of a lie, without an acknowledgement or an apology when they are found out, what should we teach our children? My appeal to Mr Blair is not to talk about leadership, but to demonstrate it. You are a member of our family, God's family. You are made for goodness, for honesty, for morality, for love; so are our brothers and sisters in Iraq, in the US, in Syria, in Israel and Iran.

Nyerere was often criticised by his OAU peers for his 'stubborn' ethical anti-racist and human rights-based positions, including his opposition to the Africanisation policy in TANU in 1964 and to Idi Amin's aggression and crimes in Uganda in the 1970s. While some African leaders, such as Libya's Muammar Gaddafi, supported Amin and even elected him as OAU chairperson in 1975, Nyerere boycotted several conferences that Amin attended. Although he violated human

rights in some cases and may not have always practiced what he preached (Lamb 1986, 67), Nyerere was not a deceiver (Othman 2005).

Bad leadership, for instance tactical lies, is often 'justified' with need for pragmatism in politics, refusing ethical or moral categories in decision making. The ethical commitment shown by Tutu and Nyerere, which may have sprung from their religious beliefs, expressed value-oriented leadership with a people-centred human rights approach. These values are not culturally relative. I agree with Temple's (2011, 51) analysis that moral leadership has to be sustained, despite political pragmatism:

It is in the interest of the people, not 'self'. It seeks to improve the well-being of the people and not worsen their circumstances. It preserves both the minority and majority. Its definition of good and bad is not private but public. Its definition of good and bad is universal.

Corrupt and criminal leaders

Transparency International (2010) defines corruption as "the abuse of entrusted power for private gain. It can be classified as grand, petty and political, depending on the amounts of money lost and the sector where it occurs". A recent scandal in Portugal shows the importance of demanding transparency, accountability and integrity in public leadership. In 2014, José Sócrates, the leader of the Socialist Party and prime minister of Portugal from 2005 to 2011, was charged with tax fraud, corruption and money laundering to the tune of several million euros. The French daily newspaper *Liberation* describes him as a "media product", an "Armani politician" from the "caviar left" who was "implicated in many scandals but managed each time to evade justice" (Musseau 2014, my translation). Apparently, Sócrates' socialist credentials helped him to deceive his party and the people, but historian Fernando Rosas says he was "the young wolf, an opportunist without ideology obsessed with climbing the ladder to the highest power, always borderline" (in Musseau 2014).

In a similar case from Tanzania, Prime Minister Edward Lowassa resigned from office in 2008, following allegations that he had benefited from corruption in the tender-related "Richmond scandal" (Tanzanian Affairs 2008). He reappeared in the 2015 presidential election campaign, using his money and influence to

become the flamboyant candidate of an opposition coalition. On election day, the people decided – unexpectedly – against him. These examples point to the contemporary rise of leaders who are media stars, treating voters as ‘spectators’ to be ‘blinded’ with a big show and shameless lies.

Gyekye (2013, 82) calls corruption the “greatest and most serious disease of governments in Africa”. Corruption deepens inequality and undermines social and human development, and “the very fabric of our societies” (Salim 2009). It also has consequences in the public ethical domain and can lead to a loss of trust in leadership. Leaders who steal public money or property are criminals in the legal sense, as well as in the eyes of most people, but few cases are prosecuted. As discussed in the previous chapter, Nkrumah and Nyerere had to face the issue of corruption within their parties, with serious consequences for both.

4.2.4. Positive leadership initiatives in Africa

Nyerere was president of Tanzania for twenty years, but stepped down voluntarily in 1985, calling for new leadership to promote human rights and democratic principles. Africans are increasingly insisting on respect for human rights and the rule of law in governance, including limited terms of office. A survey of 51 600 citizens in 34 countries found a majority in favour of “limiting presidential mandates to a maximum of two ... in every country but one (Algeria)” (Afrobarometer 2015). The annual Ibrahim Index provides the most complex assessment of qualitative and quantitative data in four major fields of governance: safety and rule of law; participation and human rights; sustainable economic opportunity; and human development (Mo Ibrahim Foundation 2016).¹²

Numerous organisations and institutions, including regional ones like the African Union, offer training for good governance and leadership. One Tanzanian

¹² In 2007, the Ibrahim Foundation initiated the Ibrahim Prize for Achievement in African Leadership for former heads of state, which is worth US\$5 million plus \$200 000 a year for life. Prizewinners include Nelson Mandela (2007, honorary), Joaquim Chissano (2007), Festus Mogae (2008), Pedro Pires (2011) and Hifikepunye Pohamba (2014). No winners were selected in the intervening years.

example is the Young Leaders Training Programme run by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation which has similar programmes in Uganda, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Madagascar, Ethiopia, Ghana and other African countries. The Tanzanian programme, which started in 2000, utilised the legacy of Nyerere's leadership to present principles like the rule of law, equal rights and opportunities, social justice, integrity, people-centred development, regular democratic elections and limited terms of office for the political leader (Salles, Valéria and Häussler 2003).

4.3. From inequality to equal opportunity

Now I turn to the concepts of equality and equal opportunity as the foundation of a fair human society. This section presents historical thinkers and ideas that were important for Nkrumah and Nyerere as well as more contemporary views in order to show what has changed and what remains across time and place.

Nkrumah and Nyerere started their political lives in circumstances of inequality. Their personal experiences in Gold Coast and Tanganyika were shaped by colonial dominance. Nkrumah was additionally confronted with the often violent racism in the United States; Nyerere enjoyed more tolerant environments in Uganda and Scotland (Molony 2014; Smith 1973). Both were enthusiastic about the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, although it was far from being accepted by the colonial powers or the apartheid regimes in southern Africa.

4.3.1. Nkrumah and Nyerere: Equality and freedom

We remember the words of Martin Luther King Jr (1963): "I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal'". Is equality a dream? Or is it a realistic possibility, as Nkrumah and Nyerere believed?

For Nkrumah and Nyerere, the struggle for equality was directly related to socialism and opposed to capitalism and exploitation. Nkrumah (1962, 42) formulated his view of equality already in 1945:

The peoples of the colonies know precisely what they want. They wish to be free and independent, to be able to feel themselves equal with all other peoples, to work out their own destiny without outside interference, and to be unrestricted to attain an advancement that will put them on a par with other technically advanced nations of the world.

Nyerere (1968, 272) explained his egalitarian perspective in “Education for self-reliance”: “We have said that we want to create a socialist society which is based on three principles: equality and respect for human dignity; sharing of the resources which are produced by our efforts; work by everyone and exploitation by none.” The Arusha Declaration clearly set out the equal rights of Tanzanians: “the right to dignity and respect, to participate at all levels of government, to freedom of expression, movement, religious belief and association, the right to life and property and the right to a just wage” (Cornelli 2012).

Nkrumah and Nyerere seem to agree on this point: freedom comes first and is the condition for equality. Nkrumah’s early writings recorded his “deep conviction that all peoples wish to be free, and that the desire for freedom is rooted in the soul of every one of us” (Nkrumah 1970a, 50). Nkrumah relates freedom and civil rights to equality:

The first step towards testing the right of rule in communities of mixed races and creeds is to give every adult, irrespective of race and creed the right to vote. When each citizen thereby enjoys equality of status with all others, barriers of race and colour will disappear and the people will mix freely together and will work for the common good. (Ibid. 11)

His later work on *Consciencism* (2009; first 1964) gave more emphasis to equality.

Nyerere’s first writing also had “freedom” in the title – *Women’s Freedom* in 1944 – but he later proposed that equality was a precondition for all social and human development:

It is an expression of belief that man can only live in harmony with man, and can only develop to his full potential as a unique individual, in a society the purpose of which is Man, which is based on the principles of human equality, and which is so organised as to emphasise both man’s equality and his control over all the instruments of his life and development. (Nyerere 1968, 22)

Colonial domination restricted political, social and economic rights and even cultural activities like theatre, dance and religious acts (Vicensia Shule in Chachage and Annar Cassam 2010, 160ff.). Without freedom from subjugation and domination, visions of equal societies would have been useless. Nkrumah's motto "Freedom and Justice" still adorns Ghana's coat of arms. However, freedom is only just when it is also freedom for the other person. The struggle for freedom in Africa ended only in the 1990s, with the liberation of Namibia and the end of apartheid in South Africa. Nkrumah (1962, xvi–xvii) was right when he said that the colonial powers would not "hand freedom and independence to their colonies on a silver platter without compulsion".

4.3.2. Political philosophies of equality: On consciencism

Section 3.4.1 gave a brief introduction of the philosophers who influenced Nkrumah and Nyerere as they developed their socialist political philosophies. Here I explore the philosophical concepts with which they shaped their perspectives of equality. Both men found the discussion of inequality and equality rooted in classical Greek philosophy. However, it can be inferred from their writings that Marx, Engels and Lenin influenced Nkrumah's thinking, while Nyerere was closer to the ideas of Rousseau and Mill. In this section, I will briefly sketch some of the views of these philosophers vis-à-vis Nkrumah and Nyerere. In a hermeneutic sense, these 'second voices' in dialogue with Nkrumah and Nyerere also inform my understanding as I prepare to interpret the views of the two leaders through their texts.

Socrates, Plato, Aristotle (5th-4th century BC)

Nkrumah obtained a master's degree in philosophy during his decade in the United States, and his 1964 book *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for Decolonization and Development* (2009) includes a critical discussion of the major streams of thought on the question of human equality. Writing from exile in 1967, he describes the book as "the map in intellectual terms of the disposition of forces which will enable African society to digest the Western and the Islamic and

the Euro-Christian elements in Africa, and develop them in such a way that they fit into the African personality” (Nkrumah 2009, 79).

The second chapter of *Consciencism*, “Philosophy and society”, discusses the contributions of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle to a practical concept of equality. Nkrumah (2009, 39) prizes Socrates as “a firm theoretical believer in egalitarianism”, taking an example from Plato’s *Meno* where Socrates engages in dialogue with a slave:

Socrates tries to prove the disincarnate existence of the soul and the innateness of certain ideas of mathematics and ethics. In selecting a slave-boy for the purpose of his proof he showed that he held a belief in the common and equal nature of man. This belief activates Socrates’ whole philosophy. (ibid.)

Nkrumah’s basic concept of socialism is supported by Socrates’ egalitarianism. No origin, religion or skin colour can justify one human having more rights than another. But Nkrumah (2009, 42) calls Plato “reactionary”, complaining that he “adumbrated an unconscionable totalitarianism of intellectuals”. Nkrumah criticises Plato ideologically, with a quasi-Marxist determination of social classes. Here, the exploited workers and an intellectual avant-garde ready to fight for equality; there, the bourgeois and reactionary elite with intellectuals who betray the revolution. Nkrumah continues,

[n]ot even this could exhaust Plato’s anti-egalitarianism Plato’s reactionary philosophy received development at the hands of the Christian intellectuals. For when they needed a philosophy to buttress their division between a heavenly order and an earthly order, it was to Plato and, to a lesser extent, Plotinus that they turned. (ibid.)

Nkrumah may have missed the point on ‘equality’ in Plato; in *The Republic*, women and men are ‘essentially’ the same and should have equal political rights, education and also political obligations as guardians. Nyerere appreciated Plato, and even translated *The Republic* into Swahili late in his life.

In *Consciencism*, Nkrumah (2009, 45–46) defends Aristotle as an egalitarian who has however been often misunderstood when he stresses that there are differences among men. Egalitarianism cannot mean the absence of difference. It does not require this. It recognises and accepts differences among men, but allows them to make a difference only at the functional

level. Beyond that the differences are not allowed to make a difference, certainly not at the level of the intrinsic worth of the individual ... When Aristotle himself came to consider how co-operation might be made spontaneous, he always underscored the necessity of education, never of tyranny or injustice.

Nkrumah's references to Aristotle's conceptions of equality, truth and happiness come up during the struggle for self-government, in the "Work and Happiness" motto of the party programme in 1962, and the Seven-Year Development Plan in 1964. His 1953 "Motion of Destiny" speech appeals for action with a quote from the *Nichomachean Ethics*: "In practical matters the end is not mere speculative knowledge of what is to be done, but rather the doing of it. It is not enough to know about virtue, then, but we must endeavour to possess it, and to use it" (Nkrumah 1971, 190).

However, Aristotle's position on slavery is not beyond Nkrumah's (2009, 45–46) reproach: "According to Aristotle, the principle of order in a political society is justice, the bond of men in states. But what justice can slaves be said to enjoy? Aristotle, usually tough-minded, becomes all too delicate when he writes about slavery."

In a decade of Nkrumah's presidency, the contrast between his philosophical thinking about equality and virtue and his authoritarian practical politics became evident. Again, Nkrumah falls into contradiction in his treatment of his opponents. Did he respect the intrinsic worth of the individual when he denied them justice? Nkrumah and Nkrumahists have yet to clarify that aspect of his politics, which also includes the neglect of women's views. A further contrast between Nkrumah's thinking and practice is that his acceptance of differences between people requires a concept of pluralism as a significant condition for human development. This, however, is contradictory to the principles of 'scientific socialism' and Nkrumaism. In a nutshell: Nkrumah betrayed his own philosophical thinking on egalitarianism in the circumstances of his practical politics by suppressing pluralistic opinions of political opponents and of critical religious groups (Addo 1999, 139–42).

4.3.3. Political philosophies of equality: Major thinkers

Let us turn now to the political and economic ideas of the 18th to the early 20th centuries that had an influence on Nkrumah's and Nyerere's lives and work.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778)

The modern starting point for a conception of equality and freedom in a democratic 'liberal socialist' state (Delaney 2009), Rousseau's writings prepared the intellectual ground for the French Revolution with its tricolour slogan of *liberté, égalité, fraternité* (liberty, equality, brotherhood/solidarity). His novel *Emile, or On Education* is a timeless and optimistic treaty on education and equality, society and morality. Delaney (2009, 67) describes *Emile* as a response to the question, "How can one be good in an evil world?" The book was banned and publicly burned in 1762, the year of its publication.

Nyerere studied this period and Rousseau's works intensely and "borrowed heavily from Rousseau's explanation of how the existence of the State can be reconciled with human freedom" (Molony 2014, 155). He probably also read and included ideas from *Émile* in his critical and progressive "education for self-reliance".

Although Nkrumah did not study Rousseau as much as Nyerere did, he held Rousseau to be a symbol for freedom and popular nationalism. In 1957, Nkrumah mentioned Rousseau along with Marcus Garvey, Kwegyir Aggrey and Casely Hayford as his forebears, saying that "the work of these illustrious men who have gone before us, has come to reality at this present moment" (Nkrumah 1961, 107). Mazrui and Engholm (1968) emphasise that Rousseau was the only "non-Negro" mentioned in this eulogy and refer to historian Thomas Hodgkins' claim that Rousseau was a "spiritual ancestor' of the kind which inspired movements for independence in some African countries" (Mazrui and Engholm 1968, 19).

Rousseau developed a moral discourse on early man as a social being who lived in nature and the family in harmony and equality. The division of land and labour led to inequality and war:

The first man who, having enclosed a piece of ground, bethought himself of saying *This is mine*, and found people simple enough to believe him, was the real founder of civil society. From how many crimes, wars and murders, from how many horrors and misfortunes might not any one have saved mankind, by pulling up the stakes, or filling up the ditch, and crying to his fellows, “Beware of listening to this impostor; you are undone if you once forget that the fruits of the earth belong to us all, and the earth itself to nobody.” (Rousseau 1754)

Exploitation, insecurity and social misery impelled people to find new ways of living together. Rousseau described a “social contract” between the people and the state, an agreement based on democratic rights and obligations in which the good of the community can overrule the right of individuals. “[C]itizens, by the social contract, are all equal” (Rousseau 2003, 67): sovereign people who ‘give’ rights and means to the state but have to control the state’s tendency to authoritarianism. It is a permanent task to manage a state that delivers goods and services but does not use force against people.

Not everybody shares my appreciation of Rousseau as a foundational thinker for modern political systems. Amartya Sen’s critical analysis is of contemporary relevance. Although Sen dedicates *The Idea of Justice* to John Rawls – a “contractarian” like Locke, Rousseau and Kant – he argues against what Rawls calls “transcendental institutionalism”, orientated to ideal situations and to “perfectly just institutions” that secure “primary goods” (Sen 2009, 6). In Sen’s view, these “means to the valued ends of human life” should not be “the central issues in judging distributional equity”, as primary goods are “merely means to other things, in particular freedom” (ibid., 234). However, the institutional approach does correspond with the views that people held in the mid-20th century during the struggle for independence and the end of colonialism. And it gave direction to Nkrumah and Nyerere as they outlined a new society where basic needs would be met, especially of the poor, and where all people could lead decent lives through just distribution of resources and amenities in their “polis”. I also side with Rousseau and Rawls because of their idealistic expectations for just and equal societies.

Nyerere followed Rousseau's view of the state's legitimate political authority (Molony 2014, 155). As his longtime collaborator Cranford Pratt puts it, Nyerere "hoped that he could lead his people by example, by leadership and by teaching, but without coercion" (in Molony 2014, 155). But then, after a decade of Ujamaa, "[t]he peasants had benefitted very little, if at all, from the economic growth that had taken place since Independence so that widespread disillusion and discouragement seemed almost inevitable" (Pratt in Coulson 1982, 180). Nyerere had to fight against the corruption and greed of powerful leaders and the unwillingness of people to move to the villages.

Karl Marx (1818-1883), Friedrich Engels (1820-1895), Vladimir Lenin (1870-1924)

These three revolutionaries would change the world in the 20th century with their historical, political and socio-economic analysis of society and a new theory that informed Nkrumah's and Nyerere's socio-economic policy and their socialist ethic.

Marx describes a simple 'truth' in the capitalist world order about the "world of things" and "devaluation of the world of men":

The worker becomes all the poorer the more wealth he produces, the more his production increases in power and size. The worker becomes an ever-cheaper commodity the more commodities he creates. The devaluation of the world of men is in direct proportion to the increasing value of the world of things. Labour produces not only commodities; it produces itself and the worker as a commodity – and this at the same rate at which it produces commodities in general. (Marx 1844)

Marx also developed a "law of development of human history":

the simple fact, hitherto concealed by an overgrowth of ideology, that mankind must first of all eat, drink, have shelter and clothing, before it can pursue politics, science, art, religion, etc.; that therefore the production of the immediate material means, and consequently the degree of economic development attained by a given people or during a given epoch, form the foundation upon which the state institutions, the legal conceptions, art, and even the ideas on religion, of the people concerned have been evolved, and in the light of which they must, therefore, be explained, instead of vice versa, as had hitherto been the case. (Engels 1883)

Lenin developed the Marxist concept of the “dictatorship of the proletariat” as a stage on the ‘way’ to communism: “the destruction of bourgeois democracy and the creation of proletarian democracy” (Lenin 1919). In an interview with Clara Zetkin, Lenin also promised “complete equality” for women:

The women must be made conscious of the political connection between our demands and their own suffering, needs, and wishes. They must realise what the proletarian dictatorship means for them: complete equality with man in law and practice, in the family, in the state, in society; an end to the power of the bourgeoisie. (Zetkin 1920)

Nkrumah was generally guided by the theory of Marx and Engels and by the organisational approach of Lenin (Nkrumah 1971). But his foreword to *Consciencism* includes Engels’ warning of possible misunderstandings:

Unfortunately, however, it happens only too often that people think they have fully understood a new theory and can apply it without more ado from the moment they have mastered its main principles, and even those not always correctly. And I cannot exempt many of the more recent “Marxists” from this reproach, for the most amazing rubbish has been produced in this quarter, too. “Letter from Engels to J. Bloch, London, 21–22 September 1890” (in Nkrumah 2009, 1)

Marxism and Leninism can be traced in Nkrumah’s work and to a lesser extent in Nyerere’s as well. Nyerere once told an interviewer that he had no idea about socialist ideology until he went to Edinburgh in 1949: “As for socialism, my first contact was with European, mainly British [Fabian], socialism, not with the socialism of Marx and Lenin” (in Chachage and Annar Cassam 2010, 13).

I will not dare to say that their interpretations and adaptations were flawed. However, it was very daring and remains questionable to apply a European anti-capitalist model that came out of an industrial revolution to a largely agrarian traditional African society.

John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) and Harriet Taylor Mill (1807-1858)

J.S. Mill and Harriet Taylor Mill, his wife and fellow philosopher, had a significant influence on Nyerere. Nkrumah also used Mill’s work in his argument against capitalism in *Consciencism* (Nkrumah 1964, 49–50).

A critical observer of the early work of Marx and Engels, Mill (2009) wrote about “the struggle between liberty and authority” in which civil liberty meant “protection against the tyranny of the political rulers. The rulers were conceived (except in some of the popular governments of Greece) as in a necessarily antagonistic position to the people whom they ruled”.

Taylor Mill wrote of the struggle for the democratic enfranchisement of women:

Wars of conquest have only ceased since democratic revolutions began. The world is very young, and has but just begun to cast off injustice. It is only now getting rid of negro slavery. It is only now getting rid of monarchical despotism. It is only now getting rid of hereditary feudal nobility. It is only now getting rid of disabilities on the ground of religion. It is only beginning to treat any men as citizens, except the rich and a favoured portion of the middle class. Can we wonder that it has not yet done as much for women? As society was constituted until the last few generations, inequality was its very basis; association grounded on equal rights scarcely existed; to be equals was to be enemies; two persons could hardly cooperate in anything, or meet in any amicable relation, without the law's appointing that one of them should be the superior of the other. (Taylor Mill 1851)¹³

Mill's “responsible liberty”, combined with his and Taylor Mill's progressive ideas of equality and social justice for workers and the poor, could support a social-democratic or democratic socialist approach. Nyerere, in an interview with Ikaweba Bunting (Chachage and Annar Cassam 2010, 186), confirmed that his 1944 essay “Women's Freedom” was influenced by Mill's work, particularly “The Subjection of Women”.

Although Nkrumah disagreed with Mill's liberal approach to equal rights, based as it was on individualism and a ‘free’ market philosophy, he was open to a view of individualism that supported solidarity and happiness:

If, however, one considers individualism not as giving to men an equal right to dominate and exploit one another, but as imposing upon us all the duty to support one another and make the happiness of others a condition for the happiness of oneself then individualism so conceived and practised heads society towards socialism. (Nkrumah 2009, 49–50)

¹³ J.S. Mill produced much of his work together with Harriet Taylor Mill, although there is controversy about the extent of her authorship. Miller (2009) writes, “‘The Enfranchisement of Women’, published in *The Westminster Review* in 1851, is the best candidate for a significant philosophical work authored primarily or even solely by Harriet ... but some commentators dissent from this view”.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)

In 1948, the United Nations formulated a code of human rights for governments of its member states. Its first article proclaims that “all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights”. Any leader who does not adopt this principle cannot be a ‘good leader’, nor serve as a role model. An authoritarian leader may be efficient or conservative – but not ‘good’ in this sense.

The original principle of universality in the UDHR is influenced by Western thought; practice, however, has ripened the texts to reflect a more multicultural approach that respects regional and cultural differences. I agree with those who argue that the interpretation of the UDHR should be less dogmatic and more open and pragmatic (Fornet-Betancourt and Sandkühler 2001).

Africa’s history since the 1950s, including the struggle for independence and the consolidation of democratic states, highlights such human-rights-oriented political leaders as Egypt’s Gamal Abdel Nasser, South Africa’s Oliver Tambo, Senegal’s Léopold Sédar Senghor, Nigeria’s Nnamdi Azikiwe, Ghana’s Kofi Annan; Kenya’s Jomo Kenyatta and Tom Mboya, Zambia’s Kenneth Kaunda, Cape Verde and Guinea Bissau’s Amilcar Cabral and Pedro Pires, and Liberia’s Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, in addition to Nkrumah and Nyerere and many others. I do not agree with authors like Ayittey (2010, 2005) who claim that Africa does not have leaders who respect human rights, or that almost all have failed because of corruption or incapacity. Other writers note that criticism from outside of the continent is usually based on cultural arrogance, ignorance and even racism (Davis 1981; Appiah and Gates 1998; Gordon 2000; Coetzee and Roux 2002).

The 1986 African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights confirmed the political and social legacy of leaders such as Nkrumah and Nyerere, which stretches from the 1963 founding of the OAU further to the Constitutive Act of the African Union, as is acknowledged in the latter’s preamble:

INSPIRED by the noble ideals which guided the founding fathers of our Continental Organisation and generations of Pan-Africanists in their determination to promote unity, solidarity, cohesion and cooperation among the peoples of Africa and African States ... DETERMINED to

promote and protect human and peoples' rights, consolidate democratic institutions and culture, and to ensure good governance and the rule of law. (African Union 2000)

At the time, Benedek (1985, 62) declared that “the African Charter at date is the most comprehensive approach towards the codification of human rights translated into one legal document”.

The national constitutions of Ghana (1992) and Tanzania (1998) also include well-formulated bills of rights in line with the UDHR; the Tanzanian constitution from 1977 includes together with the rights also the obligations of the citizens (1988). The widest gaps in protection relate to women and girls, people with non-conforming gender orientation, albinos, and people accused of being witches, all of whom are subject to numerous grave violations (Legal and Human Rights Centre and Zanzibar Legal Services Centre 2013; Osam 2007; Häussler 2009b).

4.3.4. A historical glimpse of (in-)equality

Is egalitarianism practically feasible in human societies? Is there evidence that it has ever been practiced? Such evidence would challenge the view that human beings are naturally competitive and unequal, such as Thomas Hobbes' statement that “man is wolf to man”, Kant's and Hegel's analyses of the differences between races, or the common contemporary belief in the rational, self-interested *homo economicus*. All of these approaches deny and reduce the possibility of equality, solidarity and concepts like social justice and human development.

According to Jared Diamond (2005, 400–401), “Europe's colonisation of Africa had nothing to do with differences between European and African peoples themselves, as white racists assume ... The different historical trajectories of Africa and Europe stem ultimately from differences in real estate”. Richard Wilkinson (2005, 237) gathers past evidence of egalitarianism:

for at least 90 percent of the time we have existed as anatomically modern human beings, with brains as large as they are now, the evidence suggests that we lived in highly egalitarian societies. David Erdal and

Andrew Whiten reviewed the evidence on equality taken from over hundred accounts of twenty-four recent hunting and gathering societies spread over four continents ... Christopher Boehm had come to similar conclusions in an earlier review of the literature ... and other anthropologists have called these societies “assertively egalitarian”.

More traces of egalitarian societies are found in Africa. One striking, if unwitting, example comes from Carl Gotthilf Büttner, a German missionary in Namibia from 1873 to 1880. A skilled linguist, he wrote a dictionary and grammar of the Nama language and translated the New Testament into Herero. In Büttner’s words,

[t]he social conditions of the Herero have a striking resemblance to the ideal state of the socialists ... There is no individual ownership of land, and the cattle seem not to be the property of the individual, but rather the property of the state, or of the family. The normal condition of the labouring population appears to include no taxes, no military, no police, no prisons, no state officials; a general permission to beg, along with a national custom that requires such a request not to be refused; at the end, no oath and no God. Is not that the socialist or communist situation? (in Menzel 1992, 33–34; my translation)

Büttner’s report expressed fear of the similarity between the Herero way of life and the ideology of German socialists – because Büttner was anything but a socialist. In 1885, he was promoted to a high-ranking post in the imperial German state and tasked with negotiating ‘good contracts’ in Namibia. He later reported directly to *Reichskanzler* Otto von Bismarck on the issue of colonising Hereros, Nama and the wider land.

The First and Second World Wars were emblematic of inequality and loss of freedom. Both Nkrumah and Nyerere referred to Hitler’s racist policy in their writings against inequality and for socialism. Nkrumah (2009, 48), who was in the United States during World War II, was interested in the dictatorial power structure of Hitler’s regime and the “absolute idea” of the “perfect society”. Nyerere (1970, 128-129) compared the Nazi policy to that of Hendrik Verwoerd in South Africa. Nyerere was closer to the tragedy. He arrived in Europe after the war, when the major questions were how to rebuild states, develop democratic societies, and avoid future catastrophic wars. This was also the time when Nyerere discovered political theories of equality, including socialism. The United

Nations had been founded in 1945, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was signed in 1948. Both expressed a global hope for human equality.

4.3.5. African personality and human equality

When Nkrumah and Nyerere entered political power in the middle of the 20th century, they were deeply concerned with independence and freedom from colonial domination. Their common interest was to build up societies with social justice, equal opportunities for everybody in all sectors of society and fundamental rights for all to lead a decent life. Equality also meant to be “free to act in our individual and collective interests at any particular time” (Nkrumah 1961, 128).

Nkrumah insisted on the need to promote an African personality and identity. In *Speak of Freedom*, he wrote:

For too long in our history, Africa has spoken through the voices of others. Now, what I have called an African Personality in international affairs will have a chance of making its proper impact and will let the world know it through the voices of Africa’s own sons. (Nkrumah 1961, 125)

As a 22-year-old, already deeply concerned about structural inequality, Nyerere claimed that women’s equality was essential to African socialism. Shelby Lewis notes that this first essay is “key to understanding his impassioned commitment to equality for all, regardless of gender, race or class” (in Nyerere 2011, iii).

Both leaders envisioned countries where people from all ethnic and religious groups could develop themselves within their communities and also contribute to the whole socialist and democratic society. Nyerere included this in his 1962 inaugural address:

We determined that in this country all would be equal in dignity; all would have an equal right to respect, to the opportunity of acquiring a good education and the necessities of life; and all her citizens should have an equal opportunity of serving their country to the limit of their ability. (1966, 178)

Not everyone admired the socialist concept of equality. For Ghana's 'aristocracy', the prospect of equal opportunity for peasants and the working class was a threat to their already established 'bourgeois' living conditions (Nkrumah 1970b). Nyerere faced this in Tanganyika as well, but to a lesser extent. Basil Davidson, a long-time observer of social change in Africa, writes about such hindrances to equality and the hypocrisy of local elites:

Most of the elites were content to accept the values of their masters. They tended to live double lives, in their "European" guise and in their "native" guise – and to prefer the first to the second, since the first carried with it not only comfort but also a certain prestige. This often meant a clear break between the colonial and native milieu, and a corresponding incapacity of the elites to use the education they possessed for the task of transforming African dependence into independence. (Davidson 1991, 320)

To summarise, for both Nkrumah and Nyerere, equal opportunity was a practical challenge to overcome the inequities of capitalist colonial exploitation and ongoing 'neocolonial' or 'neo-imperialist' domination by Western powers. Philosophical and ideological discourse was important for Nkrumah's mission to implement 'scientific socialism' and fundamental economic transformation. For Nyerere, philosophical debates were of less importance: his project was Ujamaa, a practical 'familyhood' model of African socialism.

4.4. Discourse on 'race' and racism

Beyond social and economic conditions, two other areas of inequality were highly important to Nkrumah and Nyerere: 'race'¹⁴ and women's rights. These are discussed in the following sections.

For the discussion on 'race', I start with short historical, philosophical and personal reflections, and then put prominent thinkers in conversation with each other. Nigerian philosopher Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze takes on Immanuel Kant's views on Africans, and his countryman the historian H.N. Uzoigwe briefly explains imperialist theories, followed by W.E.B. Du Bois on the experience of 'race' in the United States. I close the section with thoughts on Africanisation in the time of

¹⁴ I put 'race' and 'racial' in single quotation marks to express their artificial character.

Nkrumah and Nyerere and a brief debate by two contemporary African intellectuals: Issa Shivji and Kwesi Kwaa Prah.

4.4.1. 'Race' and the perception of superiority

Nkrumah and Nyerere had two particular concerns on the subject of 'race'. First, the experience of Africans being classified as an 'inferior race' by the colonial powers and the apartheid regime in South Africa. Second, to determine how to implement their policies to promote human equality.

Sociologist John Rex defines racism as "deterministic belief systems about the differences between the various ethnic groups, segments or strata" (cited in Haralambos and Holborn 1995, 689). Haralambos and Holborn (1995, 588) argue that racism's "focus of attention is not the ethnic minority itself, but the wider society in which it is a minority group. There is more concern with the inequalities between ethnic groups than with cultural differences, and racism is therefore a particularly important concept in conflict approaches to race and ethnicity."

I describe racism as discriminatory behaviour by an individual or collective, a 'sentiment' or 'strategy' (e.g. for political ends) based on a belief that one's 'own' cultural, ethnic or geographic group is superior to other groups with different origins. Racism is not necessarily related to skin colour, as it can occur between white-skinned groups (e.g. Germans against Jews in Nazi Germany) and black-skinned groups (e.g. Hutus and Tutsis in East Africa).

Achille Mbembe (2011) analyses the "brutal forms of dehumanisation" that black people have to survive, noting that

race in particular did not simply become a crucial, pervasive dimension of colonial domination and capitalist exploitation. Turned into law, it was also used as a privileged mechanism for turning black life into "waste" – a race doomed to wretchedness, degradation, abjection and servitude.

Elsewhere, Mbembe (2015a) shows that human violence is limitless and has no skin colour. He has also expressed a particular concern about xenophobic

violence in South Africa, naming the violence of black South Africans against other Africans as “racist” (Mbembe 2015b). Part of the response he recommends is to move “away from racialism”.

4.4.2. Perceptions of ‘race’ in the times of Nkrumah and Nyerere

In a 1952 speech in Accra, Nkrumah (2003, 106) declared that the “foulest intellectual rubbish ever invented by man is that of racial superiority and inferiority”. However, his writings do not give much space to the ‘race’ issue. The index of his autobiography holds only one entry, which refers to his experience in the Baltimore bus terminal when, at his request for a drink of water, a white waiter “frowned and looked down his nose at me as if I was something unclean. ‘The place for you, my man, is the spittoon outside’, he declared as he dismissed me from his sight ... I had already experienced racial segregation, but this seemed to me to be stretching it rather far” (Nkrumah 1971, 35).

The European attitude of dominance and superiority vis-à-vis Africans, which was common in the 18th- and 19th-century period of conquest and colonisation still continues in the era of globalisation. The scientific and technological achievements of the West pitted ‘successful, rich, white Europeans’ against ‘backward, poor, black Africans’. Without a strong religious or ethical belief in human equality, it is not difficult to use the evidence of ‘progress’ to demonstrate ‘superiority’. One can follow the lines of such ‘rational’ argumentation through history.

Uzoigwe (1990) outlines three rationales for European racism. First, the “economic theory” posits exploitation as the major purpose of racism under imperialism and colonialism. In this argument, “over-production, surplus capital, and under-consumption in industrialised nations” stimulated a policy of expansion (ibid., 20). Second, proponents of “social Darwinism” used Charles Darwin’s 1859 *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life* – to give its full title – as a ‘scientific’ explanation of the ‘superiority’ of white Europeans. Thus, “the conquest of

'backward races' by the 'master race' was the inevitable process of 'natural selection'" (Uzoigwe 1990, 22). A third rationalisation came from Christian churches, with their "broader missionary and humanitarian impulse" (ibid.) to westernise African people. Uzoigwe notes that missionaries "prepared the ground for the imposition of colonialism on East and Central Africa as well as in Madagascar" and "did not resist the conquest of Africa" (ibid.). However, "the missionary factor cannot be sustained as a general theory of imperialism because of its limited application" (ibid.).

African philosophers have written extensive and sometimes contradictory commentaries on racism in the European philosophical tradition and its relationship to African philosophy (Coetzee 2002). Kwame Anthony Appiah (2007, 13), for example, regards Immanuel Kant as a founder of a "cosmopolitan" view of civil and human rights. But Emmanuel Eze's (1998b) "The colour of reason" examines "the idea of 'race' in Kant's anthropology", where Kant's words today seem more like satire than science:

The race of the American [i.e. indigenous peoples] cannot be educated. It has no motivating force, for it lacks affect and passion. They are not in love, thus they are also not afraid. They hardly speak, do not caress each other, care about nothing and are lazy. (in Eze 1998, 512)

Humanity exists in its greatest perfection in the white race. The yellow Indians have a smaller amount of Talent. The Negroes are lower and the lowest are a part of the American peoples. (ibid., 515)

Eze concisely concludes that "[i]t is clear that what Kant settled upon as the 'essence' of humanity, that which one ought to become in order to deserve dignity, sounds very much like Kant himself: white, European and male" (ibid., 525).

Interestingly, Nkrumah and Nyerere did not particularly discredit European philosophers as racist. For them, it seems, the politics of resisting the subjugation and exploitation of Africans by the colonial powers was first and foremost.

4.4.3. Reading Du Bois on 'race' and 'racial' discrimination

W.E.B. Du Bois (1868–1963) was a historian, philosopher, sociologist, professor, writer, editor and, in 1905, a founding member of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People in the United States. In 1895, after some time studying in Berlin, he was the first African-American to earn a PhD degree from Harvard University, with a dissertation entitled “The suppression of the African slave-trade to the United States of America, 1638 to 1870” (New World Encyclopedia 2016). In 1903, he published *The Souls of Black Folk*, on the history and experience of black people in the United States. He describes a kind of schizophrenia: “One ever feels his two-ness – an American, a Negro, two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings, two warring ideas in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder” (Du Bois 1999, 3).

In 1906, Du Bois gave a stirring address in West Virginia. In 1963, in his eulogy for Du Bois, Kwame Nkrumah would quote these words from it:

We claim for ourselves every single right that belongs to a free-born American, political, civil and social; and until we get these rights, we will never cease to protest and assail the ears of America. The battle we wage is not for ourselves alone, but all true Americans. (in Obeng 1997, 87–88)

Du Bois and Kwame Nkrumah worked together at the Fifth Pan-African Congress in 1945, where Du Bois co-chaired, with Peter Milliard from Guyana, and Nkrumah became the secretary. The Congress mandated the three men to create a Pan-African Federation with the objective to achieve “independence for all colonial peoples and the total abolition of racial inequality” (June Milne 2006, 24). For Nkrumah, the Congress was “revolutionary” in its awakening of “African nationalism”, an “indigenous African consciousness ... a mass movement of Africa for the Africans” (Nkrumah 1971, 43–47).

Du Bois joined the US Communist Party in 1961, saying, “I have been long and slow in coming to this conclusion, but at last my mind is settled ... Capitalism cannot reform itself; it is doomed to self-destruction. No universal selfishness can bring social good to all” (New World Encyclopedia 2016). In the same year,

Nkrumah invited Du Bois and his wife, the writer Shirley Graham, to live in Ghana. Du Bois died in Accra as a Ghanaian citizen.

4.4.4. Nkrumah and Nyerere on racism and Africanisation

Having seen the brutal discrimination faced by black people in the United States, Nkrumah viewed Marcus Garvey's black nationalism, with its calls of "Africa for the Africans" and "Back to Africa", as an understandable reaction. In his autobiography, he wrote: "I think that of all the literature that I studied [in that period], the book that did more than any other to fire my enthusiasm was *The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*" (Nkrumah 1971, 37).

Nkrumah's Convention People's Party had planned to counter the effects of colonial racism with "a long-term policy of Africanisation of the civil service and other key sectors of the economy and administration" (June Milne 2006, 59). After independence, the government offered a premium to British civil service officials to leave their posts and make space for Africans. This resulted in one-quarter of the senior posts being vacated at a time when there were not enough trained Ghanaians to fill them (ibid., 123). New programmes had to be set up to attract expatriates, which understandably caused some dissatisfaction among African Ghanaians.

In exile in the 1960s, Nkrumah became tired of some befriended writers like Stokeley Carmichael (later known as Kwame Ture) and revised his position. He also ended his cooperation with the Nigerian writer Obi Egbuna and the British Black Panthers because Egbuna "continued to write from a 'racialist' standpoint" (June Milne 2006, 123). Nkrumah rededicated himself to class analysis, and his *Class Struggle in Africa* (1970b) gives a highly interesting picture of capitalist societies at that time and concludes that only "world communism ... can provide the conditions under which the race question can finally be abolished and eliminated" (Nkrumah 1970b, 29).

For Julius Nyerere as well, the 'racial' problem was primarily political. The solution to such conflict "must depend upon the acceptance by all the communities concerned of the principle of social, economic, and above all, political equality" (Nyerere 1966, 24).

For two years, Nyerere allowed for an Africanisation programme to compensate for the colonial exclusion of Africans from senior positions in the civil service. Then, early in 1964, he ended "that form of racial discrimination" (Nyerere 1966, 259) and all race-based distinctions in law. All Tanganyikan citizens, whether 'African', 'European' or 'Asian', were equal. "This brought Nyerere into the most serious political crisis of his life, triggered by the 1964 army mutiny that drew significant support from the organized workers' movement" (Mamdani 2012, 109). Opposition parties such as the African National Congress argued that Tanzania "should be completely African and that there should be a more rapid programme of Africanisation of the civil service" (Kweka 1999, 68). Even some senior leaders of Nyerere's Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) supported Africanisation (Annie Smyth and Seftel 1998), but for Nyerere it was not acceptable.

His personal position was already clear in the 1950s when he wrote "The Race Problem in East Africa" (Nyerere 1966, 23–29), an angry essay against the racist behaviour of Kenyan settlers. As a strict supporter of human equality, Nyerere was uncompromising, although some called him stubborn. For me, the lesson of this difference between Nkrumah and Nyerere is that, even if to privilege one's 'own' group is understandable, it undermines equality as a fundamental principle and reinforces the idea of 'race'.

Questions concerning African identity, nationalism and Pan-Africanism, xenophobia and racism are still being debated. The positions of two eminent political thinkers, Issa Shivji and Kwesi Kwaa Prah, are related to those of Nyerere and Nkrumah. In 2011, Shivji's essay, "The struggle to convert nationalism to Pan-Africanism: Taking stock of 50 years of African independence" elicited a response from Prah, entitled "On records and keeping our eyes on the ball".

Shivji (2011) outlines the two approaches:

Who is an African for the purposes of Pan-Africanism? And, therefore, who constitutes the nation for purposes of national liberation? For Kwesi Prah, Bankie Bankie, Chiweizu and others, “African” is defined by colour, culture and custom. For Archie Mafeje, Steve Biko, Walter Rodney, Tajudeen Abdel Rahman and others, African or Black is not a function of colour, race, biology or morphology but a social and political construct, which ought to be historicized.

Prah (2011) clarifies his position:

The racial definition of an African is flawed. It is unscientific and hence untenable ... What for Africans, in our numbers, is really at stake is not colour but rather our culture, which is under siege from the twin legacies of Arab and Western imperialism; especially, the Western cultural onslaught which is today sometimes sold euphemistically as globalization ... [A] culturally driven renaissance is crucial.

The two reach a sort of consensus on a Pan-Africanism that is “rooted in social (popular) democracy”, as Prah quotes Shivji, while at the same time noting that such “universal” and “desirable ideals” are not “Pan-Africanism”. Pan-Africanism has a continental dimension that combines history, experience and an anti-capitalist and anti-colonialist socialist ‘ideology’; it is more political than cultural. Prah seems to disregard the openness needed to tackle present challenges in a multicultural world, as seen in all the big cities of Africa. Inclusion of people allows for negotiations for ‘common survival’; exclusion breeds racism and xenophobia and leads to further conflicts and wars. The real challenge for Pan-Africanism is to tackle the big issues on the continent: poverty, inequality, human development, neo-colonialism and ‘global capitalism’ (Shivji 2008). Writers such as Shivji show with their critical, socialist human-rights framework, that they are influenced by Nkrumah and Nyerere in their discourses. When Shivji focuses on social stratification and class, he is closer to Nkrumah. When he moves towards understanding ‘race’ as a social construct, he ‘meets’ Nyerere.

4.5. Discourse on women’s rights

The inequality of women and men was a serious worry for Nkrumah and Nyerere and also a major concern for human rights and social development. The following

sections sketch the historical position of women, as well as the development of socialist and feminist struggles for equality, in colonial-era Europe, Africa, and independent Ghana and Tanzania.

Then I address the problem of violence against women, which is, in the words of former UN General-Secretary Kofi Annan (1999), “perhaps the most shameful human rights violation. It knows no boundaries of geography, culture or wealth. As long as it continues, we cannot claim to be making real progress towards equality, development, and peace”. Equality for women is intrinsically linked to reducing gender-based violence, but in Africa, as elsewhere, violence against women is often condoned by traditional patriarchal values.

Nkrumah and Nyerere were both men from traditional African societies and socialist leaders, dedicated to equal rights. I explore how these different paradigms shaped their political characters. Finally, to personalise the contributions of women during the liberation struggle, I present the stories of two extraordinary women leaders from the times of Nkrumah and Nyerere: Hannah Cudjoe and Bibi Titi Mohamed.

4.5.1. The inequality of women under colonialism

In pre-colonial African societies, the treatment of women varied between different cultures. Davidson (1991, 181) notes some of the distinctions:

Generally, all women in Africa suffered, as most of them have continued to suffer, from more or less gross forms of discrimination imposed by men ... [These were] increasingly worsened by the influence, wherever it took hold, of medieval Islam. To that too there were exceptions, especially among the Berbers of the desert oases ... Most of the Igbo societies ... were somewhere in the middle in this matter; and no doubt it was their relative lack of gender discrimination that accounted for the notably enterprising nature of their culture in questions of trade and innovation.

Have men and women ever enjoyed equality? Pat Brewer's (2011) study, "On the origins of women's oppression", affirms that this was the case prior to the Neolithic period and the development of animal domestication and plough agriculture. "It is ironic," Brewer writes, "that, while the discovery of agriculture by women at the beginning of the Neolithic period was such a positive leap forward, by the end of the Neolithic it had changed into a negative outcome for women" (ibid.) due to a division of labour that elevated the status of men.

History also records some "great occasions of power-sharing between genders" (Mazrui 1999, 914) in Africa. Mazrui names Yaa Asantewa of Ashanti (about 1830–1921) in Ghana as an example, as well as women who were directly involved in nationalist struggles, such as Somalia's Hawa Ismen, and Winnie Mandela in South Africa: the "often the unsung heroines of the struggle for freedom. They made a bigger difference to the success of the whole enterprise than has often been realised" (ibid., 19).

A small excursion to Europe in colonial times shows the rising voice of women in the fight for equal rights and a glimpse of the discourse that informed Nkrumah and Nyerere in their conceptual thinking on gender equality.

Queen Victoria ruled the British Empire from the time of the Industrial Revolution until the start of the 20th century. Although she brought several reforms to parliamentary democracy, Victoria did not support the vote for women in Britain (nor for her colonial subjects, male or female): “Let women be what God intended, a helpmate for man, but with totally different duties and vocations” (British Library 2015). The queen apparently did not see herself as a woman.

The struggle for women’s suffrage became a national movement in the UK of the late 19th century, proclaiming women’s equal dignity and demanding the same rights that men enjoyed, including education, economic activities and equal pay for equal work. A few men supported them, including J.S. Mill, who was also a member of parliament.

At least part of the European left rejected the notion that women’s inequality was ‘natural’. In 1879, August Bebel, a founder of the German Social Democratic Party, argued that, “as each stage in social development has its own methods of production, thus each stage also has its own code of morals, **which is only a reflection of its social conditions** (Bebel 1910, emphasis in original). Friedrich Engels explored a similar line in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*, which appeared in 1884. When Clara Zetkin interviewed Lenin on the “woman question”, he said that men had to revise their attitudes:

So few men – even among the proletariat – realise how much effort and trouble they could save women, even quite do away with, if they were to lend a hand in “women’s work”. But no, that is contrary to the “rights and dignity of a man”. They want their peace and comfort. The home life of the woman is a daily sacrifice to a thousand unimportant trivialities ... Our communist work among the women, our political work, embrace a great deal of educational work among men. (Zetkin 1920)

However, there was also tension between socialist and feminist objectives. Referring to Clara Zetkin among others, Cynthia Eller (2005, 3) writes, “socialist feminist leaders polished up their socialist credentials by insisting that a focus on gender injustice distracted from the more important work of fomenting the worker’s revolution”. To my knowledge, neither Nkrumah nor Nyerere explicitly referred to Lenin’s message on women’s equality, nor to the progressive socialist voice of Clara Zetkin.

In *Women in African Colonial Histories*, Jean Allman, Susan Geiger and Nakanyike Musisi (2002) explore the range of African women's lives under colonialism, sometimes even in 'cooperation' with the colonial administration:

Through their daily lives, through their families and their communities, in ritual and belief, in their travels, their struggles, and their travails, African women, as historical subjects, were active agents in the making of the colonial world ... [C]onsidering the lives of farmers, queen mothers, urban dwellers, migrants, and political leaders in the context of particular colonial conditions at specific periods of time challenge[s] the notion of a homogeneous "African women's experience". (Allman et al 2002, 1)

Musafare Mupanduki's (2007) extensive literature review of African women in pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial states concludes that colonial rule contributed to greater inequality and impoverishment for women. He finds that "[w]omen's exclusion from the formal economy was mirrored in their exclusion from the colonial political administration. Colonial states generally developed strong relationships with men as workers, administrators and officials." This was true for Gold Coast and for Tanganyika.

4.5.2. Colonial influence on African women

The European discourse on women's rights beginning of the 20th century had also an impact on women living in Africa. Marie Rodet (2004), for instance, tells the story of a woman in French Sudan named Mariam Diodo Haw who fled her home in Kayes to acquaintances in Dakar after her husband beat her. The husband filed a charge of "disobedience" against her and demanded her return. The French colonies followed a legal code known as *droit colonial* (colonial law) that encouraged the administration to 'enlighten' its colonial subjects about the ideals of human rights in the French Revolution. In this case, the colonial administration in Kayes sent an extradition order but the authorities in Dakar refused the extradition. The woman was officially accepted as a person, rather than the 'property' of a man.

Independence brought some major contributions to women's development in Ghana and Tanzania. Firstly, women gained new rights, including the vote, while discrimination in the family was prohibited by marriage and land laws. Secondly, free access to primary schools for girls and boys and adult education saw the end of mass illiteracy and a big reduction in discrimination against women. Ghana also provided free secondary education and easy access to universities. The reform of public administration and legal matters promoted employment equality in public office and equality in social services. Women's equal right to own and inherit land was supported by Nkrumah, and later by Nyerere. Helen Kijo-Bisimba and Peter (2010, 155) note that Tanzania was by tradition "highly conservative" on this issue. Nkrumah and Nyerere also accomplished a progressive reform of labour laws: equal pay for equal work was introduced in Ghana in 1960 and in Tanzania in 1962. The Arusha Declaration in 1967 enacted equality throughout Tanzanian society.

Nkrumah was an early champion of women's development through education. In the 1950s, he started educational projects that pushed girls into schools. June Milne (2006, 108) claims that progress was "nowhere more marked than in the sphere of education":

By 1965/6, the 1951 figures of 1 700 primary schools enrolling some 226 000 children had increased to approximately 11 000 schools with nearly 1.5 million pupils. The access of girls to education increased dramatically so that by 1965/6 girls constituted nearly 44 per cent of total primary school enrolments, 35 per cent at middle school and 25 per cent at secondary level. It was CPP policy to advance women's social, political and economic roles in nation building.

Besides the economically active market women, who helped Nkrumah to gain and keep power, he also praised women as "the chief field organisers" of the party (Nkrumah 1965b, 89). However, he rarely wrote about women and their fate, and did not consider their need for empowerment outside of the "class struggle" (Nkrumah 1970a). In 1960, Nkrumah inaugurated a powerful central women's organisation, the National Council of Ghana Women, which "established branches throughout the country. It sent its younger members abroad to study, and assisted them in finding employment. The members who were market women controlled the allocation of space and goods there" (Mansah Prah 2004,

29). When Nkrumah ordered that party membership was obligatory for Council members (Allah-Mensah 2005, 14), both progressive women and the conservative opposition parties boycotted the organisation as dogmatic and socialist. For Mansah Prah (2013) women were considered to be lesser persons in Ghana, particularly in the traditional patriarchal Akan communities and in the rural areas.

In socialist Tanzania, women had similar rights and opportunities as in Ghana, despite the differences in historical, economic and geographical conditions. Notably, Tanzania had a much higher rural population. Ghana's rural population in 1981 was 69 percent (World Bank 2016b), while 87 percent of Tanzania's mainland population was rural, according to the 1978 census (Swantz 1985, 12). Nyerere's early experience was rural, and he was always concerned for rural people, particularly the women who carried the main burden of development. Susan Geiger (1998, 1) writes that he often "reflected disapprovingly on the sexist traditions of his own ethnic group, the Zanaki, urging the women to abolish all discriminatory traditions and to be active in politics in order to maintain the equality that had been gained through legislation."

The United Nations' Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace from 1976 to 1985 focussed on issues like equal wages, discrimination and violence against women. However, according to Mary Turok (in Onimode 1990), "[t]he conditions of most [African] women deteriorated during the Decade". She notes that "[h]azardous practices such as early marriage and pregnancy, female circumcision, nutritional taboos, inadequate child spacing and unprotected deliveries are still current realities in many African countries and little progress has been achieved in their abolition" (ibid., 133).

4.5.3. Violence against women

Because of its continued urgency, this section considers the problem of violence against women from the times of Nkrumah and Nyerere up to the present. Our contemporary perception of gender-based violence is quite different from theirs,

when it was hardly an issue for public discussion. Men often believed (and still do) that it is their right to 'discipline' women, and "[i]n a society where women cannot openly defy male authority, they have no other way than staying quiet" (Marja-Liisa Swantz 1985, 112). As Bibi Titi Mohamed put it, "these were our customs" (in Susan Geiger 1998). It is also true that colonialism was the pressing issue of their day. Rather than focussing on gender discrimination, women took a strong part as leaders and activists in the liberation struggle.

Violence against women is closely tied to the power relations expressed by patriarchy and paternalism. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, patriarchy is "a system of society or government in which men hold the power and women are largely excluded from it" and paternalism is "the policy or practice on the part of people in authority of restricting the freedom and responsibilities of those subordinate to or otherwise dependent on them in their supposed interest". Both words derive from pater, the Latin word for "father". As Mansah Prah (2013) explains, "we know that patriarchy is complex, dynamic, hierarchical and not monolithic. It intersects with gender, class, race and ethnicity, can be contradictory, and does not denote a simple pattern of power (of men over women)". Patriarchy, discrimination, and violence against women are all "obstacles to the achievement of peace, equality and development" (Susanna Osam 2007, 10). Consideration should also be given to the current free-market economic orthodoxy. Can women's rights be promoted within a framework that prioritises profits over people?

The 4th World Conference on Women, held in Beijing in 1995, adopted a 'people-centred' position against gender-based violence in all cultures. In 2003, the African Union made a big step against violence with the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (also known as the Maputo Protocol). By October 2015, 37 of the African Union's 54 member states had signed and ratified it, including Ghana and Tanzania (Asuagbor 2016).

This process of building awareness and urging governments to promote women's equality has been a milestone for all human rights and feminist activists.

However, equal rights and partnership are a distant reality in many African societies, where grave discrimination and brutal acts of violence against girls and women are common and often condoned as 'traditional' practices. Human rights organisations and researchers in Ghana and Tanzania (Susanna Osam 2007; Legal and Human Rights Centre and Zanzibar Legal Services Centre 2013) have documented significant forms of violence against children and women including:

- sexual violence against children
- sexual harassment and physical assault by intimate partners
- female genital mutilation/cutting (United Nations Children's Fund 2013)
- enslavement
- killings related to witchcraft beliefs
- widowhood rites in Ghana
- schoolgirl pregnancy and drop-out in Tanzania (Mary Mboya and Stella Bendera 1998)

Often the judiciary is also biased against women. Ghanaian feminist academic Akosua Adomako Ampofo notes "a deep lack of sympathy and understanding of the deep emotional scars left behind for the victim on the part of the courts" (in Susanna Osam 2007, 6). In 2004, the Women's Manifesto for Ghana outlined the key issues of concern to women and addressed them publicly. The Domestic Violence Law, which was one of its demands, was passed in 2007.

4.5.4. Nkrumah and Nyerere on women's equality

After independence, many new presidents received the honorific of "Father of the Nation". This included Kenneth Kaunda, Nelson Mandela and Mahatma Gandhi, as well as Kwame Nkrumah and Julius Nyerere. Raised with such patriarchal traditional assumptions, Nkrumah and Nyerere learned to support equality. How did this happen? And were their actions consistent with their ideas?

They were both influenced by their mothers' lives in traditional polygamous families and by the colonial order. Addo (1999, 52) describes Nkrumah's relationship with his mother as "typical of the matrilineal Akan for whom the

centrality of the mother is celebrated. One is the mother's *blood*'. Nkrumah held her in high esteem, saying, "My mother is a tower of strength to me ... I have never cared for any woman as much as I have cared for her. We are both alike in one thing – we seem to draw strength from each other" (Marais 1972, 85). Nyerere also cherished his mother and often referred to her difficult lot in the family (Smith 1973; Molony 2014).

As they came of age in the larger world, they were also inspired by the liberal spirit of their Christian teachers and by some socialist political thinkers. Their studies abroad allowed them to interact with young men with very different views of history, science and philosophy. Only a few women challenged their views (Nkrumah 1971; Marika Sherwood 1996; Smith 1973; Molony 2014). Almost all of their teachers, to my knowledge, were men but, as discussed above, their intellectual models generally supported women's equality. Nyerere told his biographer that J.S. Mill's "essays on representative government and on the subjection of women ... had a terrific influence on me" (in Smith 1973, 43).

Nkrumah supported women's equality but also assumed patriarchal traditional authority in political life. He accepted polygamy, was influenced by mysticism (Addo 1999; Marais 1972), and encouraged "a personality cult in which he assumed the role of Christ" (Ellis and Gerrie ter Haar 2004, 91). Scholars of Ghanaian religion, spirituality and mysticism point to Nkrumah's instrumental use of the belief in his magical power. In *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah*, he himself declared that "Nkrumah never dies" (Addo 1999, 144). This "idolization and divinization of Nkrumah" worried the Christian Council and many Ghanaians (ibid.).

Some commentators argue that Nyerere's speeches had an authoritarian edge (Susan Geiger 1998), but even his sharpest political critics do not call him a patriarch (Babu 1985; Lamb 1986). Most attest to his humility and common touch (Smith 1973; Othman 2000; Marjorie Mbilinyi 2004; Chachage and Annar Cassam 2010). Nyerere preferred to be addressed as *Mwalimu*, which is still the title of all teaching professionals in Tanzania. Mmari (in Legum and Mmari 1999, 178) remembers Nyerere's

distaste for, and personal discouragement of, such grandiose and ostentatious words as *Bwana* (Sir, Mister), *Mheshimiwa* (Honourable) ... *Mkombozi* (Redeemer, Saviour) as titles for formal or official address. Instead, he succeeded in popularising *Ndugu* (Comrade) as a title for formal address to be applied to all Tanzanians.

Nkrumah and Nyerere contributed to new thinking about gender equality and promoted equal opportunities for women. Their socialist policies enabled women to take a step forward to emancipation. They also showed respect for women. The liberation struggle created a new image of strong and powerful women working shoulder to shoulder with men.

4.5.5. Women leaders in the struggle

Mazrui (1999, 16–17) touches on the problem of history written by men:

Most of our historians ... have presented the struggle for independence in terms of *people* rather than genders. Unfortunately, when the story is presented without reference to gender, there is often a hasty presumption by observers that the only significant participants in the drama were men. Such a presumption is of course false.

It is well known that the victory over colonialism was not won by men alone: it depended very much on the active support of fearless women who worked tirelessly to keep the campaign for independence going. Many women assisted with traditionally female work while others had leadership functions as campaign managers or propaganda secretaries.

Salome Donkor and Doreen Andoh (2016) celebrate the “heroic acts of women” in Ghana, including activists like Akua Asabea, Hanna Cudjoe (see below), the educationist Letitia Obeng and other engaged “nurses, broadcasters, judges, and lawyers ... women were efficient organisers who could bring thousands of people together for a rally at very short notice” (ibid.).

However, there were no women in Ghana’s parliament until 1960. Accra played host to a Conference of the Women of Africa and African Descent in July 1960 and during that period, the CPP government “passed the Representation of the People (Women Members) Bill ... [which] facilitated the unopposed election of

ten women as Members of Parliament” (Azikiwe 2016). The first woman appointed to Nkrumah’s cabinet, in 1965, was Susan Al-Hassan, the minister of social welfare and community development (ibid.).

The early situation in Tanganyika was slightly better but also fell far short of equality and fair representation in parliament, government and the ruling party. Directly after independence, Nyerere encouraged women to stand for parliament and also appointed a few women to his cabinet. Bibi Titi Mohamed (see below) was among the first women elected in 1961 and became a deputy minister in Nyerere’s first cabinet in 1962. This was not welcomed by TANU leaders who believed that political life was for men only. Women and men fought together in the struggle, but they were not equally included in the new dispensation. Why?

Mazrui’s comment about male historiography avoids the real question of the non-acceptance of women as equal persons, even during the armed struggle. In C.L.R. James’ (1977, 56) view, the driving forces for independence in Ghana were the “workers, the market-women and, above all, the stratum of youth educated in primary schools who had not been subjected to the influence of British university education”. But, he continues, “one market-woman in Accra, and there were fifteen thousand of them, was worth any dozen Achimota graduates”. In this spirit, let us remember two outstanding leaders at the side of Nkrumah and Nyerere: Hannah Cudjoe and Bibi Titi Mohamed.

Hannah Cudjoe (1918–1989)

Hannah Cudjoe¹⁵, born in Busua, Gold Coast, was a “leading Ghanaian nationalist and among the first female nationalists to assume a prominent and sustained public role in Ghana’s struggle for independence” (Gates, Akyeampong, and Niven 2012, 434). Chinbuah (2007) relates that, as the tenth child of her parents, she was “*badu*”: “a taboo, a bad omen, unacceptable, should not see the light of day. However, she was fortunate that her enlightened and civilised parents took the risk to keep her and even named her Esi Badu”.

¹⁵ Her surname is sometimes spelled “Kudjoe” (e.g. Little 1973; Jean Allman 2009).

In June 1949, Nkrumah and some confidantes stayed in her family house in Tarkwa to found a new revolutionary party, the CPP. When Nkrumah publicly resigned from the United Gold Coast Convention, Cudjoe “seized the stage and led the crowd in singing ‘Lead Kindly Light’, a hymn that, from that day forward, became the unofficial anthem of the CPP” (ibid., 435). After the CPP won the 1951 elections, she intensified her work as propaganda secretary. Then, after independence in 1957, she founded the All-African Women’s League, a Pan-African organisation that became the Ghana Women’s League in 1960 under her leadership (ibid.). Throughout her political life, she worked to improve social services for families in poor rural areas, “teaching women hygiene, dress, and child-rearing techniques” (ibid.) and organising day nurseries across the country. After the military coup in 1966, she left political life but carried on with social work.

To my knowledge, Hannah Cudjoe’s name does not appear in any of Nkrumah’s writings. His autobiography recalls the “Lead Kindly Light” episode, but refers to her only as “one of the women supporters” (Nkrumah 1971, 88). Hannah Cudjoe’s name was not honoured during Ghana’s 50th anniversary celebrations in 2007, nor in the 2009 centenary jubilee of Nkrumah’s birth. While “the heroes of that struggle were publicly honoured by street naming ceremonies, the unveiling of statues, and historical re-enactments, Hannah Cudjoe’s name was nowhere to be found” (Jean Allman 2009).

This disregard of Cudjoe’s extraordinary contribution to Ghana’s freedom, and particularly to education and social welfare for women and girls, calls for reflection on the ‘gender deficit’ in historiography and popular memory. Gates et al. (2012, 435) tell the poignant story of the end of her life:

On International Women’s Day, 8 March 1986, she was invited by the New Democratic Movement in Ghana (a pro-democratic movement struggling for a return to civilian rule) to reminisce about her CPP days. This was one of the very few times after the coup in 1966 that her central role in Ghana’s nationalist struggle was publicly recognized. She died at home the following evening, on 9 March 1986.

Bibi Titi Mohamed (1926–2000)

During my seven years in Tanzania, I had occasion to talk and to work with women who were significant in the struggle for independence and for a society based on human equality. They included Gertrude Mongella, Maria Kamm, Tabitha Siwale, Majorie Mbilinyi, Asha-Rose Migiro, Margareth Sitta – and Bibi Titi Mohamed.

Susan Geiger (1998, 45) describes Bibi Titi as a “typical Muslim townswomen” in Dar es Salaam and a “most forceful, dynamic, and significant nationalist leader”. In the 1950s, as leader of TANU’s women’s wing, she led countrywide demonstrations of women in support of independence. The women’s wing also helped to put down the mutiny against Nyerere in 1964 (Annie Smyth and Seftel 1998). She was Tanzania’s first woman parliamentarian and campaigned successfully for the implementation of Ujamaa. Then in 1967, Bibi Titi resigned from TANU leadership because of new restrictions against “capitalist tendencies” in the leadership code of the Arusha Declaration. Ali Mazrui reflects one view of this event: “A well known female leader felt compelled to resign her office ... because she valued her business interests and collection of houses for rent more highly than a political career under TANU” (cited in Susan Geiger 1998, 3). In 1969, Bibi Titi Mohamed was accused of involvement in an attempted coup masterminded by Nyerere’s onetime friend and former foreign minister, Oscar Kambona (Annie Smyth and Seftel 1998). Although she denied all charges, she was convicted of treason and sentenced to life in prison (Susan Geiger 1998, 173–84). Nyerere pardoned her in 1972, rehabilitated her in 1985 (Susan Geiger 1998, 1) and, in 1995, publicly acknowledged her earlier nationalist work. These “public actions served as an apology for the time of the treason trial” (Sheldon 2005, 155).

In an extensive 1984 interview (Susan Geiger 1998), Bibi Titi spoke about her lifelong struggle for equality:

I studied up to Standard Four. Then I had to stop because I had reached puberty and couldn't leave the house ... I had no worries. This is our religion and I knew these were our customs. (ibid., 47)

To mobilize the women, I went to the *ngoma* [musical dance] groups ... “I am telling you that we want independence. And we can't get independence if you don't want to join the party. We have given birth to all these men.

Women are the power in this world” ... So they went and joined the party. (ibid., 58)

As junior minister for community development ... I used to fight for the development of women in the rural areas and to advocate good childcare – good, balanced nutrition, educating the children – because women were not insisting that their children go to school ... Frankly, the biggest support came from Nyerere. He was very helpful to women. (ibid., 167–168)

Bibi Titi Mohamed is well known in Tanzania and a major road in Dar es Salaam is named after her. She died in a Johannesburg hospital on 5 November 2000.

In a nutshell: Nkrumah and Nyerere treated women as equals during the campaign for independence and promoted education for girls and women as well as affirmative action measures in the new government. However, the administrative and political support was too weak to have a lasting impact, particularly in Ghana, for the memorialisation of women leaders or for equitable elected representation. Just over 12 percent of Ghana’s parliamentarians are women, with Tanzania sitting at around 36 percent (Inter-Parliamentary Union 2017), and most of these are active in urban centres and in the capitals. Public opinion – unfortunately including women’s opinion – still seems biased against women’s participation in politics. Rwanda offers a counter-example; with the highest rate of women parliamentarians worldwide (61.3 percent), women have also advanced significantly in other sectors of society (NISR 2016).

4.6. Social and human development

As previously explained, my use of the term “human equality” in this study combines “equality” and “human development”. The previous sections conceptualised Nkrumah’s and Nyerere’s views on equality, in terms of both political philosophy and practical action, with particular focus on race- and gender-based inequality. I turn now to the closely related concept of human development, which addresses the material conditions of people’s lives. Put simply, more human development means less poverty and more equality. Conversely, a lack of human development aggravates poverty and inequality (Sen 1999; 2009): “underdevelopment” is poverty (Rodney 1981).

“Development” and “poverty” are interrelated and multifaceted terms that were understood differently in the mid-20th century. “Social development” was the language of development when Nyerere and Nkrumah came to power. It refers to the communal living conditions of people primarily in terms of quantity and quality of basic goods and services. Since the end of 1980s, the UN has promoted “human development” (see 4.6.7.) as a more holistic approach that promotes opportunities for “self-actualisation”. To investigate these contexts and meanings, my conceptual approach is hermeneutic and structured in six phases.

First, what is poverty? It is measured with statistics but, more importantly, it is suffered by human beings as their personal lot. Second, I give a brief view of underdevelopment as a colonial legacy in Ghana and Tanzania. The third considers the significance of both education and women’s liberation for postcolonial social and human development. Four women from Ghana and Tanzania propose ways to advance this at the beginning of the 21st century.

The fourth phase is a discourse on ‘neo-liberal’ versus ‘people-centred’ paradigms for development. Here, I also briefly reflect on personal psychological development. The dignity of persons, which was the centrepiece of the socialist policies of Nkrumah and Nyerere, is a psychological and political project.

Fifth is a brief overview of three phases of global development concepts, from the “development decade” through “structural adjustment” to the Millennium (2000–2015) and Sustainable (2015–2030) Development Goals. Finally, I reflect on ethical development and poverty reduction policies other than international aid. These reflections are based on Nkrumah’s and Nyerere’s aspirations, but they reach beyond those times as part of their legacy of leadership to our contemporary struggle for equality.

4.6.1. Perception and assessment of development and poverty

The objective of the anticolonial liberation movements was not narrowly economic but to develop conditions for individuals in community to overcome poverty and gain dignity as equal human beings. The report of the South Commission (1990), which Nyerere chaired from 1987 to 1990, describes development as the “growth of the individual and of the community of which the individual is part” and its first objective

must be to end poverty, provide productive employment, and satisfy the basic needs of all the people, any surplus being fairly shared. This implies that basic goods and services such as food and shelter, basic education and health facilities, and clean water must be accessible to all. (ibid., 13)

The measurement of poverty is a complex issue. National census surveys give a picture of the population and their living conditions: male and female, young and old, meals per day, access to drinking water, state of health, level of formal education, income, etc. Ghana’s last population and housing census was in 2010, Tanzania’s was in 2012 (Ghana Statistical Service 2014; United Republic of Tanzania 2013). Governments set national poverty lines according to the conditions and perceptions of poverty in their society, which makes the numbers difficult to compare. For example, “Uganda’s national poverty lines are based on a minimum daily calorie intake of 3 000 kcal per adult, which is much higher than the norms used in neighbouring Kenya (2 250 kcal) and Tanzania (2 200 kcal)” (Kathleen Beegle et al. 2016, 48).

The international poverty line (IPL) is set by the World Bank in terms of income per person per day. For Goal 1 of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) – to halve poverty – it was set at US\$1.25 per day. Many experts objected:

The lower you set the IPL, the nicer-looking a trend you will find. So the Bank’s rosy picture crucially depends on its choice of a low IPL: \$1.25 rather than, say, \$2.50 per person per day in 2005 US dollars converted at PPPs [purchasing power parities]. I have attacked this IPL as absurdly low by pointing out that it would count a US household in 2010 as poor only if its entire consumption for the year had been under \$510 per person. (Pogge and Bhatt 2011)

In 2015, the World Bank updated the IPL to \$1.90 (2011 PPP) for “extreme poverty” and a higher poverty level of \$3.10. Poor people move in and out of extreme poverty because they are “extremely vulnerable to even small upsets in their income or ... in terms of a disease of a family member or a change in food prices; anything like that can throw them into destitution” (Pogge and Bhatt 2011). “Working poor” households that cannot survive on one insufficient income have to take a second or third job as well as casual opportunities to make a bit of money. Often the children have to work instead of going to school (Ngalomba 2016).

In 2012, sub-Saharan Africa, with a regional population of 1 billion people, had an extreme poverty rate of 42.7 percent (headcount ratio), the highest in the world. Using the higher poverty level, that figure jumps to 67 percent: two-thirds of the population, or 610.4 million people (World Bank 2016a). Sub-Saharan Africa also has the highest rates of population growth and illiteracy (World Bank 2016a; Kathleen Beegle et al. 2016).

Ghana, which was categorised as a “lower middle-income country” in 2010 (Economy Watch 2016), does better than Tanzania, which has been on the UN’s list of least developed countries (LDCs) since 1971 (UNDP 2016). Ghana’s rate of extreme poverty in 2005 was 25.2 percent, and 49 percent using the higher rate; Tanzania in 2010 was at 46.6 percent and 76.1 percent respectively – significantly higher than the African average (World Bank 2016a).

In 1998, South African President Nelson Mandela gave a poignant speech in parliament about extending basic goods and services in a constitutional democratic framework that guarantees education, work, civic participation and human rights for all citizens:

We are proud of the achievements we have made. But the poverty that continues to stalk millions, the problems of education, housing, health, landlessness and lack of jobs that continue to afflict the majority of our citizens – all these are reminders that the mission of meaningful freedom, democracy and human rights is yet to be fulfilled. (Mandela 2011, 166)

To “fulfil the mission” of human development, poverty has to be reduced; therefore it is necessary to research the situation of people living in poverty. But

each statistic represents the fate of a human being and all development has to be people-centred. In the UNDP's (1990, 9) formulation:

People are the real wealth of a nation. The basic objective of development is to create an enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives. This may appear to be a simple truth. But it is often forgotten in the immediate concern with the accumulation of commodities and financial wealth.

It is clear that these basic objectives were burning issues for Nkrumah and Nyerere. Against structural poverty and hunger, ignorance and inequality, they were ready to fight with their socialist understanding of human society. Nyerere (1966, 177) often spoke of a "war against poverty, ignorance and disease". Nkrumah (2003, 1) articulated the historical roots of poverty: "It has often been said that Africa is poor. What nonsense! It is not Africa that is poor. It is the Africans, who are impoverished by centuries of exploitation and domination."

4.6.2. Colonial (under)development in Ghana and Tanzania

During colonial times, economic development went hand in hand with poverty for the great majority. The colonialists had little interest in 'development' in the rural areas and the people there remained poor. In Gold Coast, the local population laboured in mining and farming oriented for export, and not for local consumption. Local producers who succeed often came into conflict with powerful British and European 'landowners'. Social and economic differences between women and men were reinforced by the fact that although women had to manage the households alone while men were working in distant mines or farms, they could not be landholders.

The richer the region in potential commodities, the more infrastructure was developed. Minerals, timber and cocoa had to be transported to ports for export. Local people were educated in order to assist these operations and in administration. The poor northern area was bled of men for the labour reserve needed to increase the colonial wealth of the southern region. Uneducated poor people struggled to survive as cheap labour:

Northern Ghana fell a century behind the south in terms of educational development. The southern cocoa-mining economy needed ... cheap,

untrained and docile labour from the north as the initial efforts at educational development in southern Ghana had provided adequate cadres in the professional, but principally in the clerical, category to service the export economy of the south itself. (Songsore 2011, 70)

Economic activity in Tanganyika was often accomplished by forced labour under the colonial dominance of first the Germans, until 1918, and then the British. According to Shivji (1986, 7), “the Germans were pretty lax about the use of slaves on plantations. The Germans issued some 52 313 certificates of freedom but there were still several thousand slaves until the system was completely abolished [in 1922].” Moreover, “the headmen of ... villages were obliged to provide the settler with a fixed quota of workers every day. Use of force was so common and vicious during the German period that it is said to have been one of the causes of the great Maji-Maji uprising of 1905” (ibid., 16). Under British rule, labour was conscripted for both private farms and industries – making up 10 percent of the labour force of the sisal industries – as well as the military. Official figures show that “from 1940 to 31 July 1943 some 67 000 Tanganyika Africans were taken into military service” (ibid., 10).

Women and children had little protection from the worst working conditions and low wages. Despite the Employment of Women and Young Persons Ordinance of 1940, which fixed the minimum working age at 14 years, children as young as 8 or 10 sorted diamonds in the mines and tea on the plantations (ibid., 70). Children’s education was also affected when they left school to help on *shambas* (small farms) or went to work on bigger farms for a month during the harvest season.

The Hut and Poll Tax Ordinance of 1922, and later the House Tax Ordinance, created another path of forced labour and exploitation. Tens of thousands of poor tax-defaulters discharged their obligations by working for the government in public works and services: “[h]undreds of miles of roads were cut, tens of buildings were built and maintained, dams were constructed and agricultural works carried out by the sweat and blood of these so-called tax-defaulters” (ibid., 9).

In the view of government authorities, such measures were simply necessary in the “primitive conditions” of Tanganyika. Regarding the ILO Convention on Forced Labour, Governor Byatt had this to say:

It is impossible to apply to primitive social systems such as those of the native tribes in this territory social principles and political ideals which have been evolved by and accepted as suitable for peoples in an advanced stage of civilization and it is no exaggeration that the European who penetrates to the interior of tropical Africa steps back 2,000 years or so in the history of human progress, the circumstance which is often not realized by the philanthropist who has no personal knowledge and experience of primitive Negro communities. (in Shivji 1986, 9)

4.6.3. Nkrumah and Nyerere: Education for human development

The aim of colonial power, writes Nkrumah (1962, 10) around 1945, was “to prevent the colonial subjects from acquiring the knowledge of modern means and techniques for developing their own industries”. Thus education would be needed to recast the colonial economy and free the person. Nyerere, who shared Nkrumah’s analysis, saw education as a condition for self-esteem and self-realisation. Education had to open Africa’s own history and perspective on the world.

Both leaders were teachers, and had studied education, pedagogy and philosophy. They were first influenced by African scholars and missionaries. Nkrumah began his teaching studies in Accra and Nyerere attended Makerere University in Uganda. During their studies in the United States and Europe, they discussed ‘critical education’ and pedagogy with their colleagues (Obeng 1997; Othman 2000). Both leaders developed a “critical consciousness” along the lines of Frantz Fanon’s (1952) “*conscientiser*”. Both had similar ideas to the Brazilian educator Paulo Friere’s (1970) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Both saw adult education as a priority, and Nyerere set up literacy projects in several rural areas.

The two leaders broadly understood education as including primary, secondary and university schooling, adult education, professional, civic, religious and political education. Education was the tool for understanding how society works and for human development. It was necessary for producing goods, providing

services, and utilising natural resources in agriculture (Nyerere) and to build a modern industrialised economy (Nkrumah).

A brief look at educational statistics in Ghana and Tanzania before and after liberation shows the importance that Nkrumah and Nyerere placed on education for development. In the economically productive Gold Coast of 1882, 4 500 children were enrolled in primary schools – much higher than the 3 300 enrolled in agricultural Tanganyika in 1921, the year before Nyerere was born, despite Tanganyika's much bigger population. In 1950, three years after Nkrumah's return from the UK and one year after the founding of the CPP, the Gold Coast had a population of around 5 million people, with 234 000 pupils in primary schools and 73 000 in secondary schools. Tanganyika, with 7.7 million people, had 219 000 pupils in primary schools and only 5 900 pupils in secondary schools – a twelvefold difference in the Gold Coast's favour! There were also wide variations between provinces and ethnic groups in Tanganyika. In 1948, the literacy rate among children aged 6–15 varied from 21 percent in Tanga Province to 5 percent in Central Province. In 1956, some 90 percent of Chagga children were at school, while among the Arusha the share was only 34 percent (Iliffe 1979, 445; Sender and Shiela Smith 1986).

Nyerere used his first speech in the Legislative Council in 1954 to endorse people's "great urge for education" in opposition to "the colonial government's quest to cut down expenditure" (Chachage and Annar Cassam 2010, 179). Nkrumah also pushed for increased education from the time he became prime minister in 1952. By 1960, three years after Ghana's independence, the number of pupils at school had increased significantly, with 441 000 pupils attending primary schools, an enrolment ratio of 38 percent, with female enrolment at 25 percent and 162 000 in secondary schools (enrolment ratio total: 5 percent; female: 3 percent); private schools excluded. Soon education became free, from primary school to university. This made a strong contribution to women's and girls' equality. The adult literacy rate was 30.2 percent in 1970 (Sender and Sheila Smith 1986).

Nyerere was chief minister in Tanganyika in 1960, when there were 451 000 pupils attending primary schools (enrolment ratio total: 25 percent; female: 18 percent) and 15 000 in secondary schools (enrolment ratio total: 2 percent; female: 1 percent). Female participation was about two-thirds the level of male participation and particularly low in secondary schools. In 1962, the year Nyerere became president, adult literacy was only 9.5 percent. By 1980, it was 79 percent (ibid.).

After independence, at the opening of the institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana in 1963, Nkrumah said:

We must regard education as the “gateway to the enchanted cities of the mind”, and not only as a means to personal economic security and social privilege ... We have been doing a great deal to make education available to all. It is equally important that education should seek the welfare of the people and recognise our attempts to solve our economic, cultural, technological and scientific problems ... The educated man should be so sensitive to the conditions around him that he makes it his chief endeavour to improve those conditions for the good of all. (Obeng 1997, 131)

Nkrumah also emphasised political education that was ideologically oriented to the CPP and promoted “scientific socialism” and “Nkrumaism” (T.P. Omari 1970). The party school in Winneba was the centre to develop “socialist personalities” and to strengthen the African Revolution (Nkrumah 1970b). There were critics of this, even within the CPP. In 1964, Nkrumah’s autocratic influence as the chancellor of the University of Ghana undermined teaching and caused serious conflicts of interest within the administration (Bretton 1967).

Nyerere, throughout his life, stressed “education for self-reliance” and for liberation. In 1971, Paulo Freire visited Tanzania and “was deeply impressed by what he saw Nyerere trying to achieve in Tanzania, particularly with the villages of Ujamaa. Nyerere was one of two African leaders to influence his thinking during this decade” (Kirkendall 2010, 106), the other being Amilcar Cabral of Guinea-Bissau. The influence went both directions. In the development of Tanzania’s compulsory adult education, “the wording of the directive, which emphasized the need to liberate people ‘economically, ideologically, and

culturally, to teach them how to transform their environment', demonstrated Freire's influence" (ibid.).

Marjorie Mbilinyi remembers the early days euphorically:

Can you recall the excitement, the energy generating among teachers and students alike, when they debated the role of the intellectual in a socialist society at the University ... Students were encouraged to think for themselves. Historians were galvanised to produce a locally relevant story of the past which met the concerns of the present. Not only African kings and queens, to replace the old English ones, but stories about slaves, peasants, workers, anti-colonial activists ... There were real efforts to democratise the school and classroom: to throw away the cane; reduce the terrible power of the final examinations, reward critical thinking, creative ideas, and challenging questions. (in Othman 2000, 201–2)

In the retrospective view of Maria Kamm, a renowned educationist and former member of parliament, however:

[t]he period of political "revolutionary" ideas suffocated the emergence of a systematic development of a skilled labour force. The dichotomy is that even the philosophy of "education for self-reliance" (Julius K. Nyerere) was not understood and therefore could not meaningfully be implemented. (in Meyns 1996, 276)

Nyerere (2000a, 70–74) gave his last words on education in a 1998 speech in Tanzania, "Education for service and not for selfishness", a statement of concern about the increasing instrumentalisation of education for economic reasons and governments' decreasing attention to quality and equality in education.

Contemporary education in Africa is caught between local situations of poverty and international development programmes such as the Millennium Development Goals and the more recent Sustainable Development Goals. The need to reach high targets for enrolment and school attendance affects the quality of teaching and learning. The quality of data used to measure and make comparisons is also questionable (SACMEQ 2016; UNESCO 2010; MacGregor 2009). Research by the Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality (SACMEQ) concluded that the conditions for pupils in primary schools in Tanzania deteriorated between 2000 and 2007, in terms of mathematics textbooks, pupil-teacher ratios and class sizes, putting Tanzania at the bottom of the 10 countries in the study (SACMEQ 2011, 6). Ngalomba (2016) points to the

dramatic level of child labour in Tanzania, where “more than a quarter of children aged between 5 and 14 – about 3 million children – are working rather than attending school. Many have been forced into this situation by adults”.

This is a stark contrast to the situation in 1980, when Tanzanian primary schools had the top enrolment rate in Africa, with a ratio of 104 percent, and the adult literacy was one of the best at 79 percent (Sender and Sheila Smith 1986, 63). As Nyirenda (1996, 18) states: “Given the realities of African societies today, particularly in the rural areas, Freire’s educational ideas seem more relevant than ever before”. Nkrumah and Nyerere would certainly agree.

4.6.4. Contemporary discourse: ‘Full’ development and women’s participation

Despite human rights legislation, human development programmes and considerable progress in education, health, labour conditions and political participation, women are still prevented from fully developing their capabilities and their contributions to society (Valeria Salles 2005). Direct and structural violence against women is deeply rooted in patriarchal dominance and ‘traditional’ thinking. Customary law and the power of chiefs still limit a human rights-oriented life (de Coninck, Culp, and Vivienne Taylor 2013, 21). This section presents snapshots of four feminist activists and their strategies for ‘full’ development through increased participation by women in all spheres.

Ghanaian professor Mansah Prah (2013) proposes a change in “so-called ‘cultural consent’ – the norms, attitudes and values that are constantly constructed, re-constructed and re-enacted in daily life and politics” between men and women. The facts of gender inequality, discrimination and patriarchal oppression have to be brought to the public and to opinion leaders, in order to create awareness and to initiate steps for a fair partnership. She argues that “[g]ender in the development discourse ought to transform power relations between men and women and shift them to social relations that reflect their equal

access to productive resources, opportunities, and social and material benefits” (ibid.).¹⁶

In her book, *Male Support for Gender Equality*, University of Ghana professor Olivia Kwapong (2009, 175) asserts, “Men’s predominant control of economic assets, political power and cultural authority shows how much influence and control men have”. She targets education and offers a pragmatic approach based on cooperation between girls and boys and dialogue for the reduction of conflict and violence. She also suggests strategies to empower men to support gender equality. In family and private life, parents should use language that responds to the “context of men’s and boy’s experiences and concerns”, sending “messages about the positive aspects of masculinity rather than messages that point out the negative or assign blame” (ibid., 173). However, she believes

the change must begin with women and girls ... If women want men to change, women have to change their emotional and social expectations of men. They have to change the way they raise their boys and their girls. They have to strive for gender justice in their own homes and places of work. (ibid., 173–174)

Asha-Rose Migiro, a Tanzanian politician and former law lecturer at the University of Dar es Salaam, has served in three government ministries and was deputy secretary-general of the United Nations from 2007 to 2012. Against the low level of women’s leadership in politics, the judiciary and academic institution, she proposes affirmative action programmes, including quotas, for women:

It is a well-known fact that a good number of women MPs have been doing well, but that does not seem to have convinced the rest of society that, given equal opportunity, women have been and can be very good leaders. Thus even though we have had affirmative action for twenty years now, only affirmative action has been able to guarantee women’s participation in Parliament and local government authorities. (Migiro 2012)

Migiro also strives for greater educational access for girls and women and has spoken against the practice of expelling pregnant schoolgirls, pointing out that pregnancy is not only a female affair.

¹⁶ See also Takyiwaa Manuh (1991, 2014).

Women “defied the power of the colonial state and the power of African patriarchy”, says Marjorie Mbilinyi (2010, 85), a Tanzanian educationist. She agitates for more women leaders in politics and education, for better ethical training for teachers, and for taking responsibility for the future fruits of the society. Mbilinyi also has challenged the political leadership about the place of women and girls:

What kind of leaders do we have in a nation where more than 40 percent of young girls’ first experience of sex is violent – involving incest or rape in the majority of cases by someone close to them – or where, 47 years after independence, the economy still depends on the head-loads of women to provide fuel, water and foodstuffs for their families and communities? (Mbilinyi 2010, 86–87)

4.6.5. Human development: Economic, social and personal

What comes first for a society: economic growth or democratic development? And what approach to development will work in Africa?

In the era of neo-liberalism, economistic thinking continues to shape theories of human development and poverty reduction. Neo-liberal political theory imposed a trickle-down strategy for development: economic growth comes first, to be followed by democratic development, economic redistribution and consequent poverty reduction. However, research has not shown any positive correlation between positive economic performance and democratisation (Sen 2009; Stiglitz 2013; Piketty 2014), nor has it found a clear relation between economic liberalisation and development (Van de Walle 2001) or a relationship between democratisation and economic growth (Wood 2014). Rodrik and Wacziarg (2005) find that democratisation “tends to follow rather than precede declines in growth. In a typical country, growth falls rather precipitously in the fourth year preceding democratisation ... [and] the volatility of growth tends to be lower in democracies (ibid., 54). They also note that “[d]emocratisation surely yields benefits, in terms of individual freedom and empowerment, that are valued independently of their consequences for material wealth” (ibid., 55).

The rise of neo-liberalism had a great impact on the discourse on human development. Despite registered economic growth, rates of poverty and hunger are also growing. In sub-Saharan Africa, 175.7 million persons were starving in 1990–1992; that number may have grown to 220 million people in 2014–2016 (FAO 2015, 8). In India, around 194 million people faced starvation in 2014–2015 and 3 000 children died daily (FAO 2012). According to activist Vandana Shiva (2001), “the dominant model of ‘economic development’ has in fact become anti-life ... Economic globalisation is fuelling economic insecurity, eroding cultural diversity and identity, and assaulting the political freedoms of citizens”.

This model is countered by “people-centred development”, based on three principles: participation of individuals in a democratic community; equal rights and obligations with equal opportunities and choices; and economic growth for poverty reduction and decent livelihoods. In the view of the South Commission (1990, 10), “If development is about people, who are both individuals and members of a society, there is consequently an organic link between genuine development and democracy. In the longer run neither is sustainable without the other”. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)’s 1990 Human Development Report, shaped by Amartya Sen’s “capabilities” approach to poverty reduction, saw development as a process “to mobilise and manage resources, to produce sustainable and justly distributed improvements in their quality of life, consistent with their own aspirations” (Korten 1999).

Sen (1981) goes beyond narrow economic development to stress the expansion of choices and opportunities as the objective of development. At the same time, his arguments about the “global imperatives” (Sen 2009, 383) for basic economic and social rights don’t touch on the question of responsibility or deepen the ethical aspects of a state’s obligation to, for example, protect children from hunger and malnourishment. This is a complex minefield, but it reaches to the core of people-centred development. Hunger has to be articulated in terms of a human being’s elementary right to food (Pogge 2007; Grefe and Pogge 2015) and to life (Article 3 of the UDHR).

Martha Nussbaum (2000, 242), another proponent of the capabilities approach, advocates women's participation in development as a matter of justice:

women, like men – and unlike rocks and trees, and even horses and dogs – have the potential to become capable of these human functions, given sufficient nutrition, education, and other support. That is why their unequal failure in capability is a problem of justice. It is up to all human beings to solve this problem.

People-centred or human development also raises questions of the psychological development of a person, and Nkrumah and Nyerere both read psychology. Molony (2014, 248) notes Nyerere's interest in child psychology and development. Nkrumah (1964, 58) refers to Sigmund Freud's theory of the unconscious in a reflection on philosophy and ideology in *Consciencism*.

Abraham Maslow's *Motivation and Personality* (1954), one of the most influential works on human development in the twentieth century, presented a five-stage "hierarchy of needs" of the human being, of which "physiological needs" are the most pressing of all. Other needs follow, such as "safety", "love/belonging" and "esteem". "self-actualisation" is the ultimate need that can be reached when the other needs are satisfied.

Sen (2009, 50) questions the limitations of Maslow's model: "Certainly, people do have needs, but they also have values and, in particular, cherish their ability to reason, appraise, choose, participate and act. Seeing people only in terms of their needs may give us a rather meagre view of humanity." Mwamwenda (1995, 345) reasons that there is some universality to Maslow's theory because of the biological nature of our needs. Hunger and thirst are painful in all cultures. Further, he notes,

Maslow believed that man has an inherent capacity for constructive growth, as well as the capability to exercise qualities such as love, kindness, generosity and honesty. However, such qualities can flourish only if provided with an appropriate cultural environment. (ibid., 344)

But such qualities require that basic needs be met. In Africa as elsewhere, sharing food and drink is an expression of human dignity and equality. The political ideals of Nkrumah and Nyerere, formed by their humanist views, were

materialised in socialist concepts of poverty reduction and social development that aimed to develop a full “African personality”, living as equals in community.

Thus, while economic growth is needed, it should contribute to social and human development and therefore to poverty reduction. It is counter-intuitive to expect this from a ‘free market’ neo-liberal focus on growth and maximum profit. Development policies and programmes have to be people-centred, democratic and oriented towards reducing inequalities between men and women, rich and poor.

Following these conceptual reflections on economic and human development, I turn now to the international development concepts that influenced Nkrumah and Nyerere and continue to inform contemporary programmes for global poverty reduction.

4.6.6. International aid programmes for development

The United Nations’ development aid programmes fall into three major periods: the 1960s Development Decade; neo-liberal structural adjustment in the 1980s and ’90s, and the Millennial and Sustainable Development Goals (MDG, SDG) programmes from 2000. These will be briefly described, with their underlying concepts.

In 1961, US President John Kennedy addressed the UN General Assembly to propose an official “Decade of Development” to encourage international cooperation for poverty reduction based on economic growth, saying:

the mysteries of outer space [as explored by the thriving new US space programme] must not divert our eyes or our energies from the harsh realities that face our fellow men. Political sovereignty is but a mockery without the means of meeting poverty and illiteracy and disease. Self-determination is but a slogan if the future holds no hope ... And development can become a cooperative and not a competitive enterprise – to enable all nations, however diverse in their systems and beliefs, to become in fact as well as in law free and equal nations. (Kennedy 1961)

At the beginning of the 1960s, Nyerere was coming into power in Tanzania and Nkrumah was pushing industrialisation in Ghana. Nkrumah and Nyerere were both attracted by Kennedy's global approach, despite the capitalist economic orientation. Kennedy in turn treated Nkrumah and Nyerere as equals.

The 1962 UN Proposals for Action understood that "[t]he problem of the underdeveloped countries is not just growth, but development ... Development is growth plus change. Change, in turn, is social and cultural as well as economic, and qualitative as well as quantitative ... The key concept must be improved quality of life" (Sachs 1992, 13). The proposals were based on the expectation that "developing countries would progress through the same stages of growth as the developed countries had already done, through a process of industrialisation" (Jolly et al. 2004, 87). It set a growth target for underdeveloped countries at a minimum annual rate of 5 percent in aggregate national income by 1970 and recommended that developed countries would increase their capital flows and financial assistance to 1 percent of their total GNP (ibid.). The reduction of disease was also targeted:

[t]he most dramatic of all the goals was the one set in 1966 for the eradication of smallpox. Its achievement eleven years later has saved millions of lives and billions of dollars which would otherwise have had to be spent each year on control and treatment. None of the other goals have been fully achieved – though impressive achievements have been recorded in the 99 percent reduction of polio cases, the 74 percent reduction of deaths from measles, and the substantial falls in mortality and morbidity from other communicable diseases. (Jolly 2014, 12)

The second phase of development programmes started in the mid-1970s. Rocketing oil prices caused a fall in world market prices for agrarian products, which had a strong impact on the exports of countries like Ghana and Tanzania. This was followed by the rise of neo-liberal economic policies with rigidly implemented programmes of deregulation and privatisation to reduce the public sector and the role of the state. The IMF and World Bank dictated structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) for many developing countries. These measures forced states to cut spending in order to pay debts and to finance investment, and led to

the 1980s becoming a lost decade for development in much of Latin America and most of sub-Saharan Africa – and in many countries this

continued into the 1990s ... Per capita income in Latin America, which had grown from 1960 to 1980 by eighty percent, then grew by only a miserable nine percent over the twenty years to 2000. In Sub-Saharan Africa, the results were even worse: over 1960–1980, per capita income increased by 36 percent; from 1980–2000, per capita income actually fell by fifteen percent. The result was that by 1996, no less than fifty-seven developing countries in Latin America and sub-Saharan Africa had lower per capita incomes than they had two or three decades earlier. (Jolly 2014, 18)

Earlier projects of global cooperation, such as the 1980 Brandt Commission on International Development Issues, were abandoned – much to Nyerere’s disappointment. In 1981, he went to the International Meeting on Cooperation and Development in Cancun “still harbouring hope that even if [US President Ronald] Reagan took a stubborn position, some of the social-democratic friends in the North would support the aspirations of the South” (Shivji 2009, 25), but the Brandt Report was “tacitly buried” (ibid.).

Along with critical debates in the International Labour Organisation and other UN institutions, worldwide protests against World Bank/IMF programmes and their negative effects on people’s quality of life led to a rethinking of ‘development’, particularly for the ‘least developed’ countries. The third phase of international development programmes opened with the 1990 launch of the annual UN Human Development Report, with a capabilities-based Human Development Index that went beyond the limited economic view:

The purpose of development is to offer people more options. One of their options is access to income – not as an end in itself but as a means to acquiring human wellbeing. But there are other options as well, including long life, knowledge, political freedom, personal security, community participation and guaranteed human rights ... People cannot be reduced to a single dimension as economic creatures. (UNDP 1990, iii)

In 2000, world leaders adopted the Millennium Developments Goals for poverty reduction, with specific goals related to hunger, education, child and maternal health, diseases including AIDS and malaria, environment sustainability and international partnership. The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (UN 2015) includes 17 new sustainable development goals. The goals express an ethical commitment to human equality with equal opportunities that stands in

contrast to the current socio-economic reality, especially for Tanzania and other least developed countries.

Tanzania averaged 6–7 percent economic growth over the last decade but did not reach the MDG of halving poverty, although inequality was already low. If the economic indicator is the decisive factor, then there is already evidence that the 'equality' envisioned in the SDGs cannot be achieved in Tanzania. The 3.0 percent annual population growth rate, which is higher than the African average of 2.55 percent (UN-DESA 2015), will instead contribute to more poverty and will likely postpone the goal of gender equality again.

Ghana is ranked in the lower middle-income group with an average economic growth rate of 5.4 percent between 2005 and 2012 (Ghana Statistical Service 2014). Government strategies were able to reduce poverty and keep "extreme poverty" – which SDG1 again measures at less than US\$1.25 a day – under control.

4.6.7. Non-aid measures for development and poverty reduction

Four alternative or supplementary approaches to sustainable development and poverty reduction are briefly discussed here: the Club of Rome, population growth policy, developmental state, and cash grants.

Club of Rome

Graeme Maxton (2015), secretary-general of the Club of Rome, argues against the "self-constructed economic treadmill" that has held sway since the late 1970s:

It is the notion, held by so many, that economic growth is good. It is the idea that individual freedom is paramount, that open markets are good, and that small government is essential ... These ideas are toxic. What we need are fulfilled individuals, managed markets, sufficient trade and effective government. That will all take time, perhaps a generation, for most people to understand. We need to change the way we teach economics so people learn that the neo-liberal free market system is only one of many systems. We need to open a debate in society about what economic growth is for and about how externalities are being dumped on the environment, the sick, the poor and future generations.

To move towards “a fairer economic system”, Maxton suggests that “six hurdles” have to be overcome. In addition to toxic beliefs about economic growth, these include the unstable financial sector; unemployment due to “robotisation”; dominant corporate power; climate change; and global food production and food insecurity.

Population growth policy

Social and political reform is imperative to slow population growth and reduce poverty (Sadik 1990; Pogge 2010; Agwanda and Amani 2014). As long as people have more children in order to strengthen their chances of survival (Aribisala 2013), population growth will present a serious challenge to programmes to reduce poverty. With social development and the perspective of a better life, a high birth rate can be reduced, as it happened in Europe as well as in Ghana and the northern parts of Tanzania (Agwanda and Amani 2014).

The South Commission (1990, 281–82) noted that “the present high rates of population growth increase the burden of dependency and reduce the resources available for raising productivity to what is sufficient just to maintain subsistence levels”. Acknowledging “that we are dealing with issues that touch on some of the deepest human emotions”, the Commission recommended policy strategies and social dialogue towards “willing acceptance of the small-family norm”.

However, by 2008, the population of Africa had increased by more than 50 percent in less than 2 decades, from approximately 630 million in 1990 to approximately 960 million people. Around 391.5 million people were living in extreme poverty in sub-Saharan Africa (using the \$1.90 poverty line) in 2008: 100 million more than in 1980. Citing UN projections that “Africa’s population will reach 2 billion by 2050 if current birth rates remain unchanged”, the AU’s Social Policy Framework for Africa warns:

As a rule of thumb, a threefold increase in economic growth is required if the population growth rate is to enhance socio-economic development. However, since no African country has enjoyed such high economic growth rate for a sustained period of time, it is likely that the continent will, for the foreseeable future continue to face demographic challenges that negatively affect sustainable socioeconomic development. (African Union 2008, 13)

The Framework urges member states to implement the Continental Policy Framework on Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights, step up the effective implementation of the Maputo Plan of Action on Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights, and provide comprehensive family planning programmes (ibid., 14). Almost 10 years later, not much has been done in that regard.

Developmental state: A complex political alternative

With egalitarian development as their objective, Nkrumah and Nyerere built up new states with strong governments, expecting that the party and state would grow in a constructive symbiosis, creating conditions for a socialist society that would replace colonial capitalist relations.

However, a developmental state can have various ideological bases. In Tanzania and Ghana, the developmental state was based on people-centred social and democratic principles. Singapore, a more authoritarian state, sacrificed civic and human rights for socio-economic advantages. Held and McGrew (2007, 124) argue that this developmental state model

represents a distinctive brand of capitalism, which differs in significant ways from its European and American counterparts. It simultaneously combines strong state direction of the economy with managed liberalization to produce high rates of economic growth but crucially without increased inequality.

Further, they suggest, it is “only through the apparatus of national welfare regimes and the determined pursuit of national wealth and economic power ... [that] effective and legitimate solutions to the problem of global social injustice can be realized” (ibid.).

Cash grants

Most governments in developing countries maintain some form of cash grant programme to assist specific groups. We can take a brief look at the use of grants for poverty alleviation and social development in Brazil, South Africa, Ghana and Tanzania.

Facing similar high disparities between the rich and the poor, Brazil and South Africa are comparable cases for the socio-economic impact of social grants. Brazil's Bolsa Familia has been more effective than South Africa's programme. Between 1995 and 2003, income inequality in Brazil decreased from 59.6 to 54.7, as measured by the Gini Index. South Africa increased slightly from 63.0 to 63.1 in the same period (World Bank 2016a).

Brazil

The Bolsa Familia programme was started in 2003 by the Workers' Party government of President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, with strong support from the national trade union federation. Ninety-five percent of the grant recipients are women, and the grant comes with conditions that include "regular visits to health clinics, attendance of pregnant or breastfeeding women in scheduled prenatal and postnatal visits, attendance at educational activities on health and nutrition, full vaccination of children under age 7 and routine health checkups and growth monitoring" (UNDP 2015, 170).

After ten years, Bolsa Familia was heralded – with some surprise – as an anti-poverty breakthrough. World Affairs editor Jonathan Teppermann (2016) wrote, "Not long ago, the idea that Brazil might have something to teach the world about reducing inequality would have sounded like a joke", but the numbers spoke for themselves. Brazil had cut its poverty by more than half:

from 9.7 to 4.3 percent of the population ... [I]ncome inequality also fell markedly, to a Gini coefficient of 0.527, an impressive 15% decrease. BF now reaches nearly 14 million households – 50 million people or around 1/4 of the population, and is widely seen as a global success story, a reference point for social policy around the world. (Deborah Wetzel 2013)

The UNDP (2015) credited the programme with increasing school enrolment by 5.5 percentage points in grades 1–4 and 6.5 percentage points in grades 5–8, although its effect on dropout rates has not been as good. Over the period 2001–2009 Brazil's mean years of schooling rose from 6.8 to 8.3, while the Gini index of years of schooling fell from 0.347 to 0.288. The regular cash transfers have also contributed to more employment and more tax revenue for the state to support its social security programmes (Machado et al. 2011). However, the Bolsa Familia is not celebrated by all. Among the middle classes, resentment, greed and egoism, coupled with a neo-liberal attitude, led to a backlash against the Bolsa and other public welfare projects (Nocera 2014; Rossi 2016).

South Africa

The socio-economic situation in South Africa since the end of apartheid in 1994 is very complex. Here, I will only draw a rough sketch, with a focus on social grants for poverty alleviation.

Official statistics show that unemployment rose dramatically since 1995, reaching a high of 5.9 million unemployed people in 1999. But even those who were working often lived in poverty: 1.8 million workers earned less than R400 per month (Taylor Committee 2002, 139). In 2002, the national government appointed a committee of experts led by Vivienne Taylor to propose a reform of the social security system in order to reduce poverty, based on the Constitution's vision of dignity for all, including the socio-economic conditions for a decent life and chances for human development. In its final report, the Taylor Committee called for

the introduction of a range of measures, including a universal Basic Income Grant (BIG) of at least R100 a month, to eliminate destitution, to address different aspects of poverty, to stimulate local consumption-driven economic growth and job creation, and to lay a foundation for sustainable livelihoods. (BIG Financing Reference Group 2004, 4)

The ministry of finance rejected this approach, claiming that it would cost “between R45 billion and R65 billion” (ibid., 23) per annum and was unaffordable, even though the Taylor Committee's economists calculated the net cost of a BIG at “about R24 billion per annum” (ibid., 38). Other groups tried and failed to

convince the government that poverty and inequality could be significantly reduced in the long run through a basic income grant.

In 2004, South Africa instead introduced a programme of social grants for vulnerable groups, including grants for child support, older persons, disability, foster care, care-dependency, war veterans, and social relief of distress (Kelly 2016). In 2014, around 16 million South Africans accessed these grants.

A decade after the Taylor Committee Report and its recommendations, poverty and inequality remain high, although official statistics suggest a reduction of poverty. In 2014, Statistics South Africa claimed that South Africa was winning the war on poverty, stating that “poverty levels in the country have dropped since 2006, reaching a low of 45.5% in 2011 ... This translates into roughly 23 million people living below the upper-bound poverty line” (Statistics South Africa 2014), which is roughly the World Bank’s line of US\$1.90 per day. In a resource-rich country like South Africa, can one really speak of “winning the war against poverty” when almost half of the population lives in extreme poverty?

Ghana

Ghana’s grant programme, Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP), was started in 2008 to supplement a weak social security system, to which only around 10 percent of the labour force contributed (Osei 2011, 3). It aimed to reduce extreme poverty in targeted groups by

supplement[ing] their basic subsistence needs and link[ing] them up with complementary services to enable them to LEAP out of poverty. The target groups include subsistence farmers and fisher folk, extremely poor citizens above 65 years; caregivers of orphans and vulnerable children (particularly children affected by AIDS and children with severe disabilities), incapacitated/extremely poor people living with HIV/AIDS and pregnant women/lactating mothers with HIV/AIDS. (ibid.)

In 2010, Ghana spent 8.3 percent of its annual budget on grants, with 74 percent of that going to old age pensions and 26 percent to child support (ibid., 16). Osei (ibid., 15) expected that “social grants programme of the nature described in this study will impact positively on the fight against poverty”. A 2013 evaluation for UNICEF did find strong positive impacts on children’s health and school

attendance, increased savings in LEAP households (although little increase in consumption), as well as a “strengthening of social networks through gifts and transfers, debt repayment, savings, and overall self-esteem, aspirations and happiness” (Handa et al. 2013, iii). The report also noted problems with implementation that needed to be addressed.

Tanzania

The level of income inequality in Tanzania is one of the lowest in Africa, but the country is also one of the poorest. Tanzania has no non-contributory social grants, although a National Provident Fund was established in 1964. This was supplanted in 1998 by the National Social Security Fund (NSSF), which is funded by mandatory contributions from employers and employees. It provides long-term benefits for retirement, disability and survivors of a deceased qualifying member, and short-term benefits in the form of funeral grants, maternity benefits, work-related injury benefits and health insurance. It is a multifaceted system, but “not all eligible poor people in the urban and rural areas have access to social assistance ... [and] even those who are provided with this kind of assistance don’t get enough to meet their minimum needs” (Rwegoshora 2016, 47). The membership “fluctuates from 420 000–450 000, which is just over 1 percent of the population” (ibid., 87).

Although Tanzania had economic growth of between 6 and 7 percent GDP per capita from 2000 to 2010, this could not really improve the social situation of the masses. The high population growth rate and the fact that 70 percent of the population lives in rural areas creates immense challenges for the fair provision of goods and services for social development. Agwanda and Amani (2014, 61) optimistically suggest that increased urbanisation can facilitate development in Tanzania.

4.7. Conclusion

This chapter has explored the core characteristics of “leadership”, “equality” and “human development”, with reference to Nkrumah and Nyerere as principled and

charismatic intellectuals and leaders who faced enormous tasks. The review of international research produced indicators of good leadership, including gender egalitarianism.

The hermeneutic approach of dialoguing with the protagonists and with “second voices” enabled, first, an understanding of the view and the spirit of their time and ours, and of their beliefs and behaviour in their different contexts. Nkrumah emerges as dogmatic, self-centred, idealistic and spiritualistic, and keen to modernise Ghana technologically and industrially. Nyerere seems pragmatic, visionary, loyal, ethically committed, and also stubborn. Second, the hermeneutic dialogue helped to reflect their ideas and deeds to our contemporary time without succumbing to inappropriate presentist judgement. My objective is to better understand the leaders, not to denounce them.

Having sketched the main issues of equality, poverty and development, we can now enquire more deeply into the two leaders’ views and the messages they may offer to contemporary leaders in Africa and elsewhere. The next chapter develops a hermeneutic interpretation of texts by Nkrumah and Nyerere, by means of the triple-jump method of analysis.

Chapter 5. The triple-jump: A model to understand text (better)

5.1. Introduction: Content analysis of texts and practical hermeneutics

This chapter presents the practical research for text analysis, which calls for a brief theoretical reflection on my research objectives. These are twofold: first, to analyse selected texts by Kwame Nkrumah and Julius Nyerere for their views on human equality and development in their times, and then to discuss their relevance for present times. My hermeneutic triple-jump model (Häussler 2009a) facilitates this research challenge. However, there are limits to hermeneutic understanding.

The central task is to make a 'good' hermeneutic interpretation in order to achieve a 'better' understanding for all readers. To approach this question scientifically, I apply principles of text analysis and practical rules of conceptual analysis (Babbie and Mouton 2001, 492) by coding the manifest and latent content of a fair selection of the topical writings of Nkrumah and Nyerere. Radegundis Stolze (2011, 15) states that a translator "is burdened with the responsibility to translate faithfully", and this is equally true for interpreters. Interpretations are partly objective and partly subjective, but a good and correct interpretation is possible if the texts are readable, the interpreter capable, and the methodical process is logical, transparent and reflective.

The selected original texts by Nkrumah and Nyerere refer to concepts of equality and human development and cover their political lifespans. I employ my triple-jump method of text analysis to reach a good and valid interpretation. The first two steps (manifest and latent coding) are more quantitative, although latent coding already includes an interpretative function in the preparation and organisation of texts and questions for the Conversation. The third step is the moderated Conversation, which will be performed and explained in Chapter 6.

The hermeneutic Conversation will be 'moderated' by the researcher, who is conversant with the life and work of Nkrumah and Nyerere. I expect to lead with some conceptual questions about equality and human development that will allow a better understanding of their leadership, and to draw some meaningful conclusions. I am aware of my biases and prejudices, at least of some of them, while the hermeneutic model also promotes (self-)reflection in the search for textual and social 'truth'.

5.2. The 'good' interpretation for a 'better' understanding

The interpretation of a text's meaning is always a 'new creation' that is influenced by the different contexts and lifeworlds of the author, the interpreter, and the topic at hand. In this chapter, I am aware that reaching a 'good' interpretation, or avoiding a 'bad' one, is a complex matter.

For the Conversation with Nkrumah and Nyerere, I endeavour to consider the difficulties that all three of us may have because of cultural and intercultural differences and different experiences with language and translation. English is not the first language of any of us and our cultures and traditions are different as well. Even geographically, Nkrumah's birthplace in Ghana is about 6 000 kilometres from Nyerere's in Tanzania – about the same distance as my home in Avignon is from Accra.

"Every translation is at the same time an interpretation", confirms Gadamer (2013, 402), and every interpretation a translation as well. Even with the best intentions of the interpreter to recreate the author's voice (Schleiermacher 1995), the 'translated' work becomes a new text, a new product, moulded by the objective text and its world and the reflexive subjective biases and limitations of the author and the translator that are immanent in hermeneutic processes. Even an extraordinarily ethical and careful translator who is competent in the language and the content will produce a 'new' language that "comprises aspects of both objective features in grammar and lexicon ... and subjective features of individuality" (Radegundis Stolze 2011, 33).

There are many theories of interpretation and hermeneutics. Scholtz (1995, 93–96) differentiates three basic streams, which I have grouped for my work in two different orientations of hermeneutic thinkers: the philosophical (Heidegger, Gadamer, Ricoeur, Habermas) and the methodological (Betti, Hirsch, Grondin, Radegundis Stolze). My triple-jump method uses elements of both for the scientific triangulation.

Gadamer is the focal philosopher for the theoretical framework, particularly his view of dialogue and conversation. For the process of interpretation, I also refer to Ricoeur and Hirsch. Ricoeur (1991b) supplements Gadamer with the concept of “distanciation”, which sets out the critical reflective position of the interpreter. Ricoeur’s (1991b) essay, “The model of the text: Meaningful action considered as a text”, provides a useful way of engaging in the dialogue.

Following Schleiermacher, Hirsch (1967, 206–7), balances objectivity and subjectivity to achieve “good guesses”. Considering the work in interpretation, I think this term sounds arbitrary and I prefer to use “good” and “adequate” (satisfactory) to define the quality of the interpretation. However, some of Hirsch’s (ibid.) principles of validation are worth considering:

While there is not and cannot be any method or model of correct interpretation, there can be a ruthlessly critical process of validation to which many skills and many hands may contribute ... Conflicting interpretations can be subjected to scrutiny in the light of the relevant evidence, and objective conclusions can be reached ... [T]he root problem of interpretation is always the same – to guess what the author meant. Even though we can never be certain that our interpretive guesses are correct, we know that they can be correct and that the goal of interpretation as a discipline is constantly to increase the probability that they are correct ... It lies in our capacity to say on firm principles, “Yes, that answer is valid” or “No, it is not.”

Gadamer’s description of text interpretation partly informs my Conversation with Nkrumah and Nyerere. I agree with his view that

the real meaning of a text, as it speaks to the interpreter, does not depend on the contingencies of the author and his original audience ... It is always co-determined also by the historical situation of the interpreter and hence by the totality of the objective course of history ... Not just occasionally but always, the meaning of a text goes beyond its author ... [U]nderstanding is

not merely a reproductive but always a productive activity as well (Gadamer 2013, 307).

In the coming practical interpretation, I try to enter the historical and personal situation of Nkrumah and Nyerere and to dialogue with them to understand them as well as possible, while avoiding errors of “presentism”. As an interpreter, the contemporary situation is a second reality for assessing the two men’s significance as leaders. Because I perceive their views in this new light, my interpretation creates a new ‘text’, which can lead to a better understanding.

Gadamer (2013, 307) hesitates to make this claim, writing, “Perhaps it is not correct to refer to this productive element in understanding as ‘better understanding’ [*Besserverstehen*] ... It is enough to say that we understand in a different way, if we understand at all.” In contrast, Habermas (1999, 91) sets out Karl-Otto Apel’s position that hermeneutics must be a scientific discipline with the objective and measure of “better understandings” (my transl.).¹⁷

We know that a hermeneutic process is not linear and that there is no single perfect and complete “best” interpretation (Mantzavinos 2016), but we can achieve good interpretations that relate to the interpreter’s paradigm and perspective, in this case informed by Heidegger (2001), Gadamer (2013), Ricoeur (1991a), Hirsch (1967) and Habermas (1992, 1996).

Thus my analysis takes up the techniques of manifest and latent coding to prepare the hermeneutic Conversation. I suggest that the authors’ utterances, responsibly structured and guided by my questions, can go farther than a “good guess” to achieve a better understanding. However, there are no miracles: I select the texts and let the texts speak for the authors. As the researcher, I have an influence on the meaning of the thoughts expressed by the authors on human equality and what they say to us here and now.

¹⁷ “Demgegenueber beharrt Apel darauf, dass die Hermeneutik als eine Wissenschaftliche Disziplin anZiel und Masstab des ‘Besserverstehens’ festhalten muss.”

5.3. Selection of speeches and essays

This research is based on a selection of primary texts from speeches, essays and books written by Nkrumah and Nyerere. The 11 texts by Nkrumah (Table 5.1) contain 85 729 words from approximately 203 original pages. The 12 Nyerere texts (Table 5.2) contain 84 813 words from some 155 pages. Annexes 5.1a to 5.1d and 5.2 contain the complete coding of their texts; all speeches and essays are publicly accessible.¹⁸ The tally sheets (Annexes 5.2 and 5.3) include small summaries.

Table 5.1 Nkrumah texts selected for manifest and latent coding

	Title, year, source	Abbr.
Nr.1	Towards Colonial Freedom, 1945 (Nkrumah 1962, i-45)	TCF
Nr.2	The Motion of Destiny, speech in parliament, 10 July 1953 (Nkrumah 1971, 189–207)	MoD
Nr.3	The African Personality (Nkrumah 1961, 125–34)	AP
Nr.4	Flower of Learning, speech at installation as chancellor of the University of Ghana, 25 November 1961 (Obeng 1997, Vol 2, 138-147)	FL
Nr.5	Building a Socialist State, speech to CPP Study Group, 22 April 1961 (Obeng 1997, Vol 2, 69-82)	BSS
Nr.6	Work and Happiness Plan, broadcast 5 May 1962 (Obeng 1997, Vol 3, 1-4)	WH
Nr.7	We Must Unite Now or Perish, speech at Conference of African Heads of State, OAU, 24 May 1963 (Obeng 1997, Vol 3, 30-46)	OAU
Nr.8	The African Genius, speech at opening of the Institute of African Studies, Legon, 25 October 1963 (Obeng 1997, Vol 3, 127-139)	IAS
Nr.9	Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for Decolonization and Development (Nkrumah 1964, 1–77)	Con
Nr.10	Class Struggle, Socialist Revolution, from Class Struggle in Africa (Nkrumah 1970b, 80–88)	CS
Nr.11	Axioms of Kwame Nkrumah, 1967 (Nkrumah 2003, 1–5, 20-123)	Axioms

¹⁸ The Internet provides access to many speeches and articles. For **Nkrumah**, see: <http://www.nkrumah.net/lit-review/litrwv6-primarysrc-01.html>; and <https://consciencism.wordpress.com>. For **Nyerere**, see: <http://www.juliusnyerere.org/resources/speeches> (accessed 03.09.2016).

Table 5.2 Nyerere texts selected for manifest and latent coding

	Title, year, source	Abbr.
Nr.20	Women's Freedom: Women are Eagles, Not Chickens, 1944 (Nyerere 2013, 14–17, 47–54, 66–75)	WF
Nr.21	The Race Problem in East Africa, 1952 (Nyerere 1966, 23–29)	R
Nr.22	President's Inaugural Address, 1962 (Nyerere 1966, 176–187)	PIA
Nr.23	Introduction to Freedom and Unity (Nyerere 1966, 7–18, 20–21)	IFU
Nr.24	Arusha Declaration, 1967 (Nyerere 1968, 231–50)	AD
Nr.25	Education for Self-Reliance, 1967 (Nyerere 1968, 231–50)	ESR
Nr.26	Socialism and Rural Development, 1967 (Nyerere 1968, 337–66)	SRD
Nr.27	Ujamaa is Tanzanian Socialism (Nyerere 1968, 1–36)	Ujamaa
Nr.28	Speech: The Church and Society, 1970 (Nyerere 1973, 213–28)	Church
Nr.29	Speech: Self-Government is Self-Reliance, 1987 (Nyerere 1987)	SGSR
Nr.30	Speech: Collective Self-Reliance, 1997 (Nyerere 2000b)	CSR
Nr.31	Highlights of four speeches: The Purpose is Man, 1967 (Nyerere 1968, 315–26) Things We Must Correct (broadcast), 1968 (Nyerere 1973, 72–79) All Men are Equal, 1972 (Nyerere 1973, 370–73) Without Unity, There is No Future for Africa, 1997 (Nyerere 1997)	HL 1-4

Most texts were written between 1944 and 1970. I also include selections from *Axioms of Kwame Nkrumah* (Nkrumah 2003), a collection of quotes that Nkrumah prepared in exile as a handbook for anti-imperialist revolutionaries. As a counterpart, I include highlights of four important speeches by Nyerere (Nr.31).

The texts were selected to present an overview of the two leaders' lifework in relation to concepts of equality and human development. Further criteria for text selection are fourfold and overlapping. First is their relevance as "motivational discourse". The second is their relevance for the "second voices", such as critical philosophical and political writers (see 2.1.2). The third criterion is the accessibility of the texts for contemporary (young) leaders and interested readers. The fourth criterion is that the selections demonstrate the two leaders' intellectual and practical capabilities. I also selected texts that I believe the

authors would have wanted included. To protect the private sphere, personal notes or comments, e.g. the disputes between them, were not included.

There is an emphasis on speeches for several reasons. Speeches are themselves a kind of 'fictive dialogue'. The speaker treats the audience, often a large group, as 'partners in dialogue', anticipating their responses and comments even though they speak for themselves only exceptionally, through heckles or brief comments. Effective speakers try to be in tune with the people as they deliver their message and provoke the listeners' interest and emotional involvement.

Good speeches can also move mountains; their power is well documented (e.g. Mudimbe 1992; Engels 1883; MacArthur 1996; Butler 1997; Garvey 2004; Daley 2006; Williams 2013; Koselleck 2006) – although the consequences of that power may be good or bad, for the speakers, followers and others. Martin Luther King Jr's "I Have a Dream" in 1966 and Nelson Mandela's speech from the dock in 1964 were powerful speeches of freedom and equality in the face of violent racism.

In 1963, Kwame Nkrumah made two extraordinary speeches that are still landmarks for Africa's peoples. The first, "We Must Unite Now or Perish" (Nr.7), was delivered in Addis Ababa at the founding of the OAU, where Nkrumah reportedly "appealed, cajoled, and did everything in perhaps his greatest speech ever to convince his colleagues to go the whole hog and create a strong continental union" (New African 2013). He gave the second, "The African Genius" (Nr.8) at the University of Ghana Legon where he opened the Institute for African Studies, the first such institute in Africa. Julius Nyerere, an excellent extempore speaker, gave many political speeches in the four decades of his political career. One of the most significant was certainly his 1962 inaugural address (Nr.22) in Dar es Salaam. These impressive speeches all share a common theme of human rights and the dignity of all people.

Speeches have also been particularly influential where there is a high rate of illiteracy, as during the independence struggle and the consolidation of new

states in Ghana and Tanzania. They served to raise people's consciousness of injustice and galvanise them to join the fight for liberation, built momentum, and caused governments and powerful organisations to listen and finally to act against violence and historical structural injustice.

Nkrumah and Nyerere regularly gave public speeches, both in person at venues of every size and on radio or television. The speeches were often published either in full or excerpts in newspapers and in huge editions as party pamphlets. They were discussed in political or academic articles and debated in schools and universities (Tandon 1982), and provided material for identity formation (Nkrumah 1961, Nr.3), ideological orientation (Nkrumah 1961, Nr.5; Nyerere 1967, Nr.24), and civic education (Nkrumah 1963, Nr.8; Nyerere 1967, Nr.25).

The selected texts also include excerpts from the major essays and books Nkrumah and Nyerere wrote to develop their socialist concepts, to explain their socio-economic policies, and to respond to criticism. Nkrumah's 1964/2009 *Consciencism* (Nr.9) deals with the history of philosophy, decolonisation and the African revolution. His conceptual thinking on egalitarianism and human equality is analysed in all its complexities. Nyerere developed his philosophical thoughts in essays such as "Education for Self-Reliance" (Nr.25) in 1967 and "Ujamaa is Tanzanian Socialism" in 1968 (Nr.27).

My selection of the 23 texts was based on a combination of subjective and objective factors, including my knowledge of Nkrumah, Nyerere and the secondary literature. However necessary, every selection is also an exclusion of hundreds of other possibilities.

5.4. Manifest coding and the magic of keywords

In this section, I take the first jump of my triple-jump method of hermeneutic text analysis, which is manifest coding, using keywords to spot concepts of equality and human development, and suggesting a first, cautious interpretation. In the second jump, latent coding will organise the authors' textual 'answers' in tally

sheets. Following this, excerpts of these questions and answers will be organised in topics to prepare the Conversation.

This textual analysis is related to Palmquist's eight-step process (Babbie and Mouton 2001, 493). My experience with content analysis shows that the selection of concepts and keywords is crucial. In a hermeneutic process, manifest coding goes beyond a mechanical process of browsing texts.

Keywords can be single words ("person"), a sub-concept ("personality") or part of a web or field ("persons" as human beings). As Radegundis Stolze (2011, 117) explains, "The word groupings (*Wortfelder*) comprise words sharing a common conceptual feature, what constitutes an isotopy, a semantic web. Semantics assumes that the meaning of lexemes, the concept, is built up of various semes as sense-carrying particles".

The weakness of this method is its scientific validity. As Mouton (2001, 166) states, the "representativeness of texts analysed ... makes the overall external validity of the findings limited". Indeed, the analysis remains superficial in this first step, and the figures have a limited significance. However, it usefully serves to shape an understanding in preparation for the dialogue with Nkrumah and Nyerere.

5.4.1. Keywords and sub-concepts

Twenty keywords – ten each related to "equality" and "human development" – were selected to explore the selected texts by Nyerere and Nkrumah. The keywords locate significant parts of the texts that bring out the two leaders' visions, opinions and perceptions in terms of these concepts.

The final selection was the result of ongoing testing during the research process. Keywords and sub-concepts were chosen because of their common relevance to the meaning and character of the concepts and because they were present in

Nkrumah's and Nyerere's major texts. Reference words and antonyms help to indicate contexts but are not included in the coding.

For the concept of equality, the keywords are:

- equality, egalitarian/ism, person, dignity, colonial/ism, justice/rights, freedom, race/racial, religion/religious, unity. (As reference: *leadership*; as antonym: *inequality*.)

For the concept of human development, the keywords are:

- human/ity, develop/ment, social/ism, life/lives, health/hospital, education, food/water, work/er, participation, economy. (As reference: *people*; as antonym: *poverty*.)

The texts were searched for every concept and keyword, each of which could include up to four cognates. For example, the count for the keyword "human" also includes occurrences of "humanity", "humanist" and "humanness". "Colonial/ism" includes "colony", "colonialist" and "neo-colonial". The use of these related words helps to extend the field of similar meanings and improves the quality of interpretation in this first step. Each of the 10 keywords of the two concepts can also be treated as a sub-concept, which can be explained by other terms/keywords.

The keywords are located by means of the search function of a word processor, highlighted and counted. Those with the highest frequency are checked to reduce the trap of homographs (e.g. "the lives", "he lives"). Keywords are very useful for screening huge amounts of texts, but they are tricky! All the texts chosen were read at least three times in different contexts. I made notes and often had to further enrich my knowledge and my understanding of context and text.

The following sections present the quantitative results of manifest coding in the reference texts as well as some introductory findings.

5.4.2. Initial results and analysis

Table 5.3 presents the manifest coding results for the texts by Nkrumah with the ranking and count from highest to lowest for the “equality” and “human development” keywords. The results per individual text can be found in the tally sheets (Annexes 5.2 and 5.3). Below, I make some comments and interpretation, reflecting in particular on the highest and lowest occurring – the high-fliers and low-fliers – to highlight the authors’ priorities in these texts in relation to their political undertakings as leaders.

Table 5.3 Manifest coding: Nkrumah texts

RANKING	KEYWORD	HITS
Equality Keywords		
1	colonial/ism	758
2	unity	220
3	freedom	171
4	justice/rights	91
5	egalitarian/ism	51
6	race/racial	51
7	religion/religious	44
8	person	36
9	equality	35
10	dignity	10
Subtotal		1467
Human Development Keywords		
1	social/ism	417
2	economy	270
3	develop/ment	225
4	work/er	101
5	human/ity	98
6	education	85
7	life/lives	83
8	health/hospital	12
9	food/water	10
10	participation	10
Subtotal		1311
Total		2778

Initial interpretation, reflection and comments

Looking at the equality keywords, it is remarkable to see how Nkrumah's attention to colonialism is highlighted. Even subtracting the 380 hits from the *Towards Colonial Freedom* extract, the remaining 378 occurrences of the keyword "colonial/ism" are still far ahead of "unity" (220) and "freedom" (171). The combined 1149 hits of these top three keywords represent approximately 80 percent of the findings; the three last keywords, with 81 hits, represent less than 6 percent.

"Colonialism" is the only equality keyword that appears in all the selected texts, and the fight against colonialism was indeed central to Nkrumah's life and politics. Already during the 1945 Pan-African Congress, he indicated the need for anti-colonial struggle, and the conference's "Declaration to the Colonial People" stressed the conditions of inequality and dependence under colonial oppression. As a pioneer, Nkrumah's anti-colonial struggle was much more difficult than Nyerere's would be some years later. He showed that colonialism also blocked the way to free and equal self-governance for Ghanaians and all Africans. That "unity" ranks second is understandable because Nkrumah believed that real socio-economic development could only be found in a united Africa – a dream that lives on in the Constitutive Act of the African Union (African Union 2000).

Nkrumah's philosophy in *Consciencism* is strongly based on "egalitarianism", and this keyword appears 45 times in the selection (Nr.9), coming second after "colonialism" (90). However, the only other selection where it appears is *Axioms* (Nr.11), with 6 hits.

Despite Nkrumah's promotion of a socialist "African personality", his aim was directed more towards an "egalitarian" (51) society than equal human rights for individuals. This could be indicated in the fewer occurrences of the low-flier keywords: "person" (36), "equality" (35), and "dignity", which was found only 10 times.

The human development keywords relate to social development, services and goods for people, and economic and political participation – which, both for

Nkrumah and Nyerere, meant some form of socialism. Nkrumah's top three high-fliers, "social/ism" (415), "economy" (270) and "develop/ment" (222) fit well together as an overarching concept. The three together (912) represent almost 70 percent of all 1311 hits. The three low-fliers (81) make up about 6 percent.

The idea of socialism, including development and a sharp economic turn against capitalist exploitation, was the centrepiece of Nkrumah's national policy, and "economy" is present in all the speeches. Reconstruction was announced with the seven-year development plan in 1964, which was a difficult political and economic time for Nkrumah and Ghana. Expanded services in "education" (85 hits) and "health" (12) were introduced already in the 1950s and improved the quality of life significantly, especially in the rural areas. However, the keywords "food/water" (16), "health/hospital" (12) and "participation" (10) together make only around 3 percent of all hits in the selected texts. Some development services and goods are also hidden in the keyword "life/lives" (83), which often appears in the context of a "better" or "happier" life.

Nkrumah believed that Pan-Africanism had to be built on scientific socialism rather than any other model. Holding that "[s]ocialism and African unity are organically complementary" (Nkrumah 2003, 117), there was no need for political alternatives. What did the people think? Simply said, young people, poor people and intellectuals supported Nkrumah's ideas. Women and girls stood to benefit from his policies for equality. But conservative forces in the middle class and the traditional elite, which had both lost power, fought against him, particularly after the decline of prosperity in the early 1960s. Along with an "epidemic of corruption" (Hadjor 1988) within the CPP and government leadership, Nkrumah's increasingly dictatorial attitudes (Mudimbe 1988, 95) undermined the chances for political stability and socio-economic improvement for the people. When Nkrumah was ousted in 1966, many frustrated farmers and workers either joined the opposition or were too unhappy to stand against them. Nkrumah's powerful appeals for a socialist armed revolution, broadcast from exile in Conakry, influenced some liberation fighters but could not reverse the reactionary military and civil governments in Ghana.

Now we turn to the manifest coding of the texts by Nyerere, as shown in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4 Manifest coding: Nyerere texts

RANKING	KEYWORD	HITS
Equality Keywords		
1	equality	147
2	justice/rights	130
3	freedom	120
4	unity	84
5	colonial/ism	73
6	person	72
7	race/racial	58
8	dignity	41
9	religion/religious	40
10	egalitarian/ism	4
Subtotal		769
Human Development Keywords		
1	social/ism	428
2	work/er	309
3	develop/ment	261
4	education	246
5	life/lives	150
6	economy	129
7	human/ity	126
8	food/water	61
9	health/hospital	30
10	participation	26
Subtotal		1766
Total		2535

Initial interpretation, reflection and comments

The top three equality keywords in the selected Nyerere texts are “equality” (147), “justice/rights” (130) and “freedom” (120). Nyerere’s first essay, written at the age of 22 in 1944, was about equal rights for women and men. The selection from *Women’s Freedom* (Nr.20) for this study also reveals two other fundamental

principles for the young Nyerere: “justice” (30) and “freedom” (27). He would build both his personal life and the political concept of Ujamaa on this foundation.

Freedom and Unity (1966) assembles Nyerere’s essays and speeches from 1952 to 1965. In the selected excerpt from his “Introduction” (Nr.23), “equality” (35) is again the most frequent of the equality keywords, followed by “freedom” (20) and “justice/rights” (15). Yet another two decades later, in a critical and self-reflective speech to the CCM in 1987 (Nr.29), Nyerere still endorsed Ujamaa as Tanzanian socialism, based on human equality. Despite Tanzania’s economic woes, he described neoliberal “strategic adjustment” measures as having undermined the social and economic policies needed to reduce poverty.

The low-flier equality keywords in the Nyerere texts are “dignity” (41), “religion” (40) and “egalitarianism”, which occurred only four times in the 1967 treatise *Education for Self-Reliance*. A professing but tolerant Christian, Nyerere believed that every religion should support human equality and development. The selection from his 1970 speech to the Maryknoll Sisters, a Catholic missionary congregation in New York, includes multiple hits of many of the equality and development keywords: “justice/rights” (31), “development” (29), “social/ism” (25), “economy” (20), “human” (12), “dignity” (11) and “religion” (9).

The top human development keywords in the Nyerere texts are “social/ism” (428), “work/er” (309), “develop/ment” (261) and “education” (246). Accounting for 70 percent of the occurrences of the 10 keywords, they go together very well to characterise Nyerere’s national project of Ujamaa. In contrast to Nkrumah, Nyerere often questioned scientific socialism and its usefulness for Africans, with their traditional social structures. Ujamaa was socialism grounded both in tradition and universal human rights. He promoted it as a people-centred approach that called for hard work to develop more human equality.

In the selected texts, “Ujamaa is Tanzanian Socialism” (1968, Nr.27) highlights the core elements of Nyerere’s vision to improve the lives of people in a poor agrarian society. The frequent keywords here are “socialism” (152), “human” (24), “equality” (24), “worker” (24), “development” (19) and “education” (10). The

significance of “education” (20) and “worker” (26) appears as well in “Highlights” (Nr.31), selections from four speeches written between 1967 and 1997.

The three low-flier development keywords – “food/water” (61), “health/hospital” (30) and “participation” (26) account for 6–7 percent of hits. However, they are important for the satisfaction of basic human needs. In *Socialism and Rural Development* (1967, Nr.26), Nyerere stresses the chance for better “life/lives” (42) in Ujamaa villages.

Nyerere and the TANU movement came to power in the 1961 elections with more than 90 percent of the votes because they fought for freedom, national identity, and social and human rights. He did not face the kind of opposition that Nkrumah did in Ghana. Tanzanian socialism was a model to fight the “war against poverty”, and Nyerere upheld Ujamaa as a way of life with equality for all. In such a poor agrarian society, everybody had to contribute work to the community and all benefits were shared in the community. Nyerere also had to deal with the question of racial equality, for which he worked unwaveringly both in Tanzania and in the struggle against apartheid. In 1997, Nelson Mandela and the South African parliament honoured Nyerere as an outstanding leader of the liberation movements in southern Africa (Nr.30).

5.4.3. Comparative ranking: Sketching a rough picture

Table 5.5 presents in comparison the manifest coding results of Nkrumah’s and Nyerere’s texts. In total, the 11 Nkrumah texts comprise 85 729 words, with 2778 keyword hits; the 12 Nyerere texts comprise 84 813 words and 2535 hits.

Table 5.5 Comparative ranking of keywords

NKRUMAH			NYERERE		
Equality Keywords					
RANKING	KEYWORD	HITS	RANKING	KEYWORD	HITS
1	colonial/ism	758	1	equality	147
2	unity	220	2	justice/rights	130
3	freedom	171	3	freedom	120
4	justice/rights	91	4	unity	84
5	egalitarian/ism	51	5	colonial/ism	73
6	race/racial	51	6	person	72
7	religion/religious	44	7	race/racial	58
8	person	36	8	dignity	41
9	Equality	35	9	religion/religious	40
10	Dignity	10	10	egalitarian/ism	4
Human Development Keywords					
RANKING	KEYWORD	HITS	RANKING	KEYWORD	HITS
1	social/ism	417	1	social/ism	428
2	economy	270	2	work/er	309
3	develop/ment	225	3	develop/ment	261
4	work/er	101	4	education	246
5	human/ity	98	5	life/lives	150
6	education	85	6	economy	129
7	life/lives	83	7	human/ity	126
8	health/hospital	12	8	food/water	61
9	food/water	10	9	health/hospital	30
10	Participation	10	10	participation	26

Manifest coding brings out some important similarities and differences in Nkrumah's and Nyerere's situations and perceptions. The coding shows their shared sensibility that a new society would be shaped by "socialism" (417/428) and "development" (225/261), built on "freedom" (171/120) and "justice" (91/130).

The differences lie in their big national projects. Nkrumah focused on anti-colonisation (758), pan-African unity (220), modernisation and industrialisation on the basis of scientific socialism. The "economy" (270) was central to "development" (225). *Class Struggle in Africa* (1970, Nr.10), written in exile,

called for an armed struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism (26). The excerpt selected for the study includes 52 mentions of “social/ism” and 26 of “colonial/ism”, but gives little space to the ideals of “human/ity” (0), “equality” (0), “dignity” (0), “justice” (1), “freedom” (3) and “religion” (0).

Nyerere, leading a poor agrarian society that was worse off than Ghana, focused on human “equality” (147) and poverty reduction; “work” (309) was a priority for political and social development. Education (246) was firstly significant for liberation and the decolonisation (73) of culture and mind; secondly, under “socialism” (428), education for women and men, girls and boys, was the central strategy to overcome poverty, develop society and realise more human equality.

5.4.4. The five core keywords

The manifest coding results and the initial interpretation also serve to generate five topics or categories for latent coding and the hermeneutic Conversation. Table 5.6 shows the combined number of hits for each keyword for both authors.

Table 5.6 Combined ranking of keywords

	Equality keywords	KN	JN	Total	Human development	KN	JN	Total
1	colonial/ism	758	73	831	social/ism	417	428	845
2	unity	220	84	304	develop/ment	225	261	486
3	freedom	171	120	291	work/er	101	309	410
4	justice/rights	91	130	221	economy	270	129	399
5	equality	35	147	182	education	85	246	331
6	race/racial	51	58	109	life/lives	83	150	233
7	person	36	72	108	human/ity	98	126	224
8	religion/religious	44	40	84	food/water	10	61	71
9	egalitarian/ism	51	4	55	health/hospital	12	30	42
10	dignity	10	41	51	participation	10	26	36

The top ten keywords – the top five for each concept – are grouped by affinity to yield the following “core keywords”:

- *Colonialism*: “colonialism” (831) and “unity” (304)
- *Development*: “development” (486), “work/er” (410), “economy” (399), “education” (331)
- *Equality*: “equality” (182)
- *Freedom*: “freedom” (291), “justice/rights” (221)
- *Socialism*: “social/ism” (845)

These five core keywords will inform the search process in latent coding and frame the sections of the Conversation with Nkrumah and Nyerere. They again help to highlight differences in emphasis between the two leaders. Table 5.7 compares their use of the five core keywords.

Table 5.7 Comparison of Core Keywords

Core keyword	Nkrumah	Nyerere
<i>Colonialism</i> : “colonialism”, “unity”	978	157
<i>Development</i> : “development”, “work/er”, “economy”, “education”	681	945
<i>Equality</i> : “equality”	35	147
<i>Freedom</i> : “freedom”, “justice/rights”	262	250
<i>Socialism</i> : “social/ism”	417	428

5.4.5. Reflection on manifest coding

The manifest coding process took place at least three times over four years. During this time, my knowledge and critical awareness grew as I researched the lives and contexts of Nkrumah and Nyerere (Chapter 3) and performed the literature review (Chapter 4), with “equality” and “human development” becoming the centrepieces for my research questions and the eventual hermeneutic dialogue with Nkrumah and Nyerere.

5.5. Latent coding: From interpretation to understanding

Latent coding is the second jump of the triple-jump method. Looking for underlying meaning, it enables inferences to be made about the authors and their texts (Babbie and Mouton 2001, 491–92). Guided by questions that are informed by the manifest coding results, I search for and extract passages that can suggest answers about Nkrumah’s and Nyerere’s understanding of equality and human development.

Latent coding is already part of the process of understanding that is pictured in Gadamer’s “hermeneutic circle” (2013, 278ff). Reading the whole text to gain an understanding and then going back to re-read certain parts for better understanding is basic to all methods of understanding and interpretation (Serequeberhan 1994; Bortz and Nicola Döring 2006).

5.5.1. Tally sheets in the coding process

Rules and procedures for the coding operation were formulated and tested. I developed two-page tally sheets to record the basic data of each of the selected texts and the results of the manifest and latent coding (see Figure 5.1). As a process of continuous rereading, supplemented by ongoing research over time, every latent coding went through many iterations to reach its final form.

The “basic data” and “context” sections take note of the setting of the text and the relevant historical, personal, political aspects in Nkrumah’s and Nyerere’s lives at the time the text was written. This information enriches the hermeneutic circle of understanding and interpretation.

The task of “latent coding” entailed reading the whole of the selected texts at least three times. The first reading was to spot word strings, sentences and paragraphs that were pertinent to the basic research question of Nkrumah’s and Nyerere’s views on human equality and development. The top keywords, which

were marked in different colours during the manifest coding, helped to locate significant passages. These were highlighted in bold or, if very important, in bold italic. The second reading noted and extracted such passages with regard to a) equality/inequality, and b) human development/poverty. The third reading was to note and bring in new contextual aspects.

Figure 5.1 Tally sheet template

Header
text number (Nkrumah Nr. 1 to 11, Nyerere Nr. 20 to 31); title; abbreviation; type (book (b), essay (e), speech (s)); date; number of pages
1. Basic data
event or reason for the speech/essay
date and venue
source
target group or audience
topic and objective
summary
2. Manifest coding results
3. Context
4. Latent coding
relevant core keyword: <i>Colonialism (C), Development (D), Equality (E), Freedom (F), Socialism (S)</i>
selected passage
source
5. Questions

The next task was to extract crucial passages – 1 or 2 pages per text – that pertained to the research question and the top keywords, to study them, and to add notes or commentary. The passages were then sorted in terms of the five core keywords that will structure the sections of the Conversation to come. These were then added to the tally sheet and marked with the abbreviation of the text and the page number from the original source.

The process of latent coding allowed the formulation of two short “questions” for each text, one each for the two concepts equality (eq) and human development (hd). These questions will form the basis for the moderator’s Conversation with Nkrumah and Nyerere in the next chapter (see questions in Annex 5.5).

The following sections present, as examples, the tally sheets for the first selected texts of Nkrumah (from *Towards Colonial Freedom, TCF*) and Nyerere (from *Women's Freedom, WF*). The tally sheets for all texts are provided in Annexes 5.2 and 5.3.

5.5.2. Tally Sheet: Nkrumah Nr.1

Tally Sheet: Nkrumah Nr.1 Towards Colonial Freedom, TCF, b, 1945/1962, 25p

1. Basic Data

Event/Reason: Threat of colonialism/neo-colonialism in Africa

Date and venue: 1944/1945 draft for 5th Pan-African Conference, 1945 in Manchester/UK.

Source: Nkrumah. 1962, *Towards Colonial Freedom*, Heinemann, London, UK.

Target group/audience: Participants of Pan-African Conference 1945; two decades later published as “a guide to students of the ‘Colonial Question’” (Nkrumah 1962,xi)

Topic and objective: colonial oppression and exploitation; appeal for liberation struggle

Summary: Nkrumah wrote this draft during his studies in the United States (1935 to 1945) and presented it as a pamphlet at the 5th Pan-African Conference in 1945. He discusses slavery and analyses the economic damage of colonial exploitation. He criticizes social and cultural inequality and calls for national liberation with the “organisation of labour and of youth ... to bring the final death of colonialism” (41). His “Declaration to the colonial peoples of the world” (Appendix, p 44) was approved by the Conference’s participants. It demands that “all colonies must be free from foreign imperialist’s control ... and must have the right to elect their own government”.

2. Coding (manifest, Annex 3)

Equality		Human Development	
Equality/equal	3	Human/ity/ism	3
Egalitarian/ism	0	Develop-ment	31
Person-ality	2	Social/ism	9
Dignity	0	Life/Lives	4
Colonial/ism	388	Health/Hospital	5
Justice/Rights	23	Educat-ion	6
Freedom	25	Food/Water	0
Race/Racial	2	Work	9
Religion/Religious	0	Particip-ation	2
Unity/Union	17	Economy/ic	67
<i>Leader/ship</i>	4	<i>People</i>	73
Inequality	0	Poverty	3

3. Context: Throughout his schooling and under the influence of intellectuals such as the Nigerian journalist Azikiwe in Ghana (1936), Nkrumah learned about the British Empire and its socio-economic impacts in Africa. The draft of this book was written during his ten-year studies in the United States, among his Afro-American activities for equal rights and against discrimination of black people. Nkrumah was “a fervent advocate of Garvey’s Pan-Africanism” (Hadjor 2003, 36) and inspired by Marxist intellectuals (Du Bois, Padmore, C.L.R. James). His studies opened his eyes about the extent of colonial oppression and exploitation and the danger of neo-colonialism.

4. Coding (latent): excerpts/quotes from the text Nr.1, TCF

Beneath the ‘humanitarian’ and ‘appeasement’ shibboleths of colonial governments, a proper scrutiny leads one to discover nothing but deception, hypocrisy, oppression and exploitation. Such expressions as ‘colonial charter’, ‘trusteeship’, ‘partnership’, ‘guardianship’ ... and other shabby sham gestures of setting up a fake machinery for ‘gradual evolution towards self-government’ are means to cover the eyes of colonial peoples with the veil of imperialist chicanery. But the eyes of colonial peoples are beginning to see the light of day and are awakening to the true meaning of colonial policies. TCF xvi; C

[In South Africa:] nearly seven million Africans, almost three-fourths of the entire population of the Union of South Africa, possess less than twenty per cent of the total area of the Union. They are by law denied the right of acquiring more land either by purchase or by other means ... Further, they are gravely limited in their right to organise, to form trade unions, in their right to strike, to move about freely, to buy land, to trade, to acquire education, and to aspire to full citizenship in their own country. TCF 6; F, D

Take Britain, for instance, and see what she does in her African colonies. She controls exports of raw materials from the colonies by preventing direct shipment by her colonial 'subjects' to foreign markets, in order that, after satisfying the demands of her home industries, she can sell the surplus to other nations, netting huge super—profits for herself. The colonial farmer—producer has no share in these profits. The question may be raised to the effect that the colonial powers utilize part of these profits for public works, health projects and 'loans'. The fact generally forgotten is that such 'loans' come from taxing the colonial 'subjects'... TCF 15; C, D

The colonial powers build hospitals because if the health of the colonial subjects is not taken care of it will not only jeopardize their own health but will diminish the productive power of the colonial labourer. They build schools in order to satisfy the demand for clerical activities and occupations for foreign commercial and mercantile concerns. The roads they build lead only to the mining and plantation centres. In short, any humanitarian act of any colonial power towards the 'ward' is merely to enhance its primary objective: economic exploitation. TCF 27; C, D

It is the colonial peasants who suffer most considerably from this evil system ... colonial subjects will not progress to any notable extent and will always remain poverty stricken with a sub-normal standard of living. That is one of the reasons why we maintain that the only solution to the colonial problem is the complete eradication of the entire economic system of colonialism, by colonial peoples, through their gaining political independence. Political freedom will open the way for the attainment of economic and social improvement and advancement. It must be otherwise under foreign rule. TCF 20; D, F

[We will reach development] by fighting for trade union rights, the right to form co-operatives, freedom of the press, assembly, demonstration and strike, freedom to print and read the literature which is necessary for the education of the masses ... There is only one road to effective action—the organisation of the masses.” TCF 45; F

5. Questions (eq, hd): How does colonial politics impact on the rights of the people/s? (eq) What has to be done to overcome rural poverty and achieve social development? (hd)

5.5.3. Tally Sheet: Nyerere Nr. 20

Tally Sheet: Nyerere Nr.20. Women’s Freedom, WF, b, 1944, 14p (excerpt)

1. Basic Data:

Event/Reason: The student Nyerere presents his concerns about gender inequality in his first book

Date and venue: 1944, Makerere University/Uganda (essay); published in 2009 in Kiswahili by the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation, MNF, Tanzania; published in 2011 in English (Makerere University)

Source: Nyerere. 2011. *Women’s Freedom-Women are Eagles, Not Chickens*. Makerere University, Female Scholarship Foundation, Fountain Publishers Kampala, Uganda. pp14 – 17; 47 – 54; 66 – 75

Target group/audience: academics and students in Uganda and Tanzania

Topic and objective: The lives of African women and a call for equal rights and justice

Summary: The text presents the (rural) inequalities between men and women and aims to convince men and women that equality and equal opportunities are mandatory. Nyerere does not attack paternalism, but puts forward the understanding that certain traditions and customary laws violate women’s rights. The chapters include ‘Women are Slaves’, ‘Polygamy’, ‘Women and Men’, and ‘Education for Women’. He proposes freedom and justice, and asks for fairness in the relation between men and women while defending education for girls/women. The extract ends with Nyerere’s addressing the practice of women kneeling to men as an act of enforced submission and the significance of women’s education as essential to dignity and equality.

2. Coding (manifest, Annex 3)

Equality		Human Development	
Equality/equal	4	Human/ity/ism	18
Egalitarian/ism	0	Develop-ment	5
Person/ality	16	Social/ism	1
Dignity	0	Life/Lives	13
Colonial-ism	0	Health/Hospital	3
Justice/Rights	30	Educat-ion	45
Freedom	27	Food/Water	5
Race/Racial	0	Work	3
Religion/Religious	9	Particip-ation	2
Unity/Union	2	Economy/ic	1
Leader-ship	0	People	39
Inequality	1	Poverty	0

3. Context: As a young man, Nyerere was already concerned with the inequality between men and women. He came from a polygamous family. His father, a minor chief, had 22 wives. He started school when he was 12 years old. His education strengthened his stand for equality (by the White Fathers missionaries). Nyerere was far ahead of his time in promoting women's rights and education (Molony 2014), particularly in patriarchal Africa (A. Mazrui). In the West (at the end of WWII) women were still second-class citizens, with limited rights and opportunities. Nyerere later indicated that he was much influenced by John Stuart Mill & Harriet Taylor (1869/1999) when he wrote this essay (Chachage and Annar Cassam 2010, 167), in 1944, when he was just 22 years old. The essay was first published as a book in 2009 (in Swahili by the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation, MNF)

4. Coding (latent): excerpts/quotes from the text Nr. 20, WF

On one side, there are people who think and believe that the peace and tranquillity of all humankind depend on justice, freedom, mutual love and help for one another. On the other side are nations which profess that they are much better people than all other people, that they are the only ones who deserve to be

free, and that all other nations – whether they like it or not – must be ruled by them. WF 14; C

Many of us feel happy that we are on the side of the nations which are fighting for freedom and justice, because we do not agree even one little bit that there are some people who were created to rule and others to be ruled always. Come on everybody; let us fight for freedom and justice! WF 15

Slavery has not yet gone away and my whole intention ... is to show how many women in many tribes in these countries are still in reality in a state of slavery. WF 17; E, F

Men differ from women in this major respect (for people who are uncivilised), POWER. Men are very conceited because they are physically stronger than women. On that basis they have denied women freedom and barred them from participating in most spheres of human endeavour; and if you ask for a reason you will be answered that women have no intellectual capacity – women are like children – or some other response related to those. In all affairs that depend on the intellect there is no known difference between women and men. WF 48; E, F

We demand independence and rights. However, we Africans have to learn one major lesson which the world has now started realizing, and that is the fact that for independence and rights to have value, they must be given to everybody. If one nation gets independence and rights but denies other nations; or if people of one religion get freedom and justice but make people of another religion slaves; history has shown that in such circumstances that type of independence and rights will not last. WF 51; C, F

But many African women hate and are sorry for the fact that they were born women and this is because we deny them freedom and justice. Any African who loves his tribe must fight tirelessly until all women get freedom and justice and are given opportunities like men. WF 54; F

The best thing to do is to let men study together with women: if they will turn out to be equal to them or if they are surpassed by them in some courses of study in education, which are currently deemed to be the prerogative of men, only then will they believe that women are human beings. In educational matters, let there

be no restrictions stopping any woman from pursuing or taking any course of study she chooses. WF 69; D

There is unlimited value in modern education value – which gives one fulfilment without being directly beneficial in their job. Education for women will be incomplete if it does not offer them anything more than merely preparing them to be used by their masters. 71 If men rule over women in schools, I don't see why women who have the ability should not rule over men. ... Women are indeed human beings. “ WF 73; E, D

5. Questions (eq, hd): Through which mechanism have women been historically subjugated? (eq) What are important policies/projects for the development of women? (hd)

5.5.4 Reflection on latent coding

Latent coding, by means of the five core keywords and the extraction of passages, was a further interpretation of the texts, which generated questions in preparation for the Conversation. It also raises methodological questions. First: are the quoted passages answers to the central research question of Nkrumah's and Nyerere's perceptions on human equality and development? Second, after a certain period of reflection and “distanciation” (Ricoeur): are the brief questions that came from the latent coding process still adequate to the task?

The selected quotes are indeed answers but, of course, there are still other good quotes not considered. This approach shows the inherent subjectivity. The brief questions, two of each text, indicate the breadth of the problems of human equality, serve as a critical reminder for the ongoing dialectical process in the discourse, and prepare for the Conversation. The questions are deeply contemplated by the moderator in preparation for each section.

The preparation for the Conversation has already deepened our understanding of Nkrumah's and Nyerere's thinking about their new societies and African development. Some 'dialogue' with the two authors happened in the circular hermeneutic process during the latent coding, and the wide-ranging selection of

passages and the questions they raised will give some “good guesses” (Hirsch) – but not more than that. The researcher is still an observer. The selection is still quite subjective. Only the structured and moderated Conversation with Nkrumah and Nyerere can result in an adequate and ‘good’ interpretation.

5.6. Conclusion: On the way to the textual ‘truth’

The first two jumps of my triple-jump method of practical hermeneutic interpretation focussed on gaining a basic understanding of Nkrumah’s and Nyerere’s views on human equality and development in preparation for the third jump, the moderated Conversation (Chapter 6).

This chapter began with some theoretical considerations on critical hermeneutics, highlighting the problem and the conditions of good interpretation. A good interpretation is more than “good guesses”, but it is not speaking an objective or final truth. In the best case, with competent, systematic, transparent and ethical work, a good interpretation moves toward a textual, situational or social ‘truth’.

The handpicked selection of 23 texts gathered excerpts of original speeches, essays and books that deal with equality and development, and cover most of the authors’ political lives. The criteria for selection included relevance to the topic, accessibility for the contemporary reader, and their likely acceptability to Nkrumah and Nyerere because of the significance of the texts.

Then to the practical work with these texts, which is the heart of the chapter. I analysed the texts in manifest and latent coding processes, guided by a circular hermeneutic approach that includes reflective verification, with the objective to get a good understanding of the two leaders and their perspectives.

The first jump was “manifest coding” for the two concepts “equality” and “human development”, with ten clarifying keywords for each. As a first textual interpretation, the tabulated results of the occurrences (hits) of keywords (including selected related words) already show rough profiles and clear

preferences. Nkrumah spoke to the concept “equality” primarily in terms of “colonial/ism”, “unity” and “freedom”, and to “human development” in terms of “social/ism”, “economy” and “develop/ment”. For Nyerere, “equality” was spoken more often in terms of “equality”, justice/rights and “freedom”; for “human development”, he spoke of “social/ism”, “work/er” and “develop/ment”. The top ten keywords from the combined texts of Nkrumah and Nyerere were then formed into five core keywords: *Colonialism*, *Development*, *Equality*, *Freedom*, and *Socialism*.

The latent coding process – the second jump – used these core keywords as indicators to search for appropriate passages in Nkrumah’s and Nyerere’s texts that provide the base for the moderated Conversation. They are also listed in the tally sheets (Annexes 5.3 and 5.4) with basic information to the text and coding processes.

The Conversation in the next chapter is the third and final step of the triple jump method. It relies broadly on Gadamer’s theory and the model of a “spiral of conversation” – a modification of the hermeneutic circle – along with some Habermasian principles for ethical discourse.

Chapter 6. The Conversation

6.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I moderate a hermeneutic Conversation with Nkrumah and Nyerere on human equality and development. It is a fictive discourse: both leaders are no longer alive, but their ideas live on in their texts. The Conversation is structured by the five topics that emerged from the coding and preliminary analysis in the previous chapter, and their responses to my questions form a colourful picture of their shared and divergent views. This final jump of my method produces responses to the research questions about Nkrumah's and Nyerere's perspectives on equality and human development in their own times. It allows for an informed reflection on their significance as leaders and role models for future leaders – women and men.

6.2. From hermeneutic circle to spiral of conversation

My dialogue with Nkrumah and Nyerere takes place in two different times: theirs and mine. As Gadamer (1979, 267) acknowledges, "If we are trying to understand a historical phenomenon from the historical distance that is characteristic of our hermeneutic situation, we are always subject to the effects of effective history". An awareness of the impact of "effective history" on our understanding is particularly relevant as we consider Nkrumah's and Nyerere's attempt to build new postcolonial African societies in the 1950s and '60s. Gadamer (ibid., 271) adopts the metaphor of a "horizon":

Understanding of the past, then, undoubtedly requires a historical horizon. But it is not the case that we acquire this horizon by placing ourselves within a historical situation. Rather, we must always already have a horizon in order to be able to place ourselves within a situation.

Understanding and interpretation then occurs within a "fusion of horizons". As we start to hermeneutically discover the standpoint and horizon of the other in a dialogue, we

acquire the right historical horizon of the other person, his ideas become intelligible, without our necessarily having to agree with him. The person who thinks historically comes to understand the meaning of what has been handed down, without necessarily agreeing with it, or seeing himself in it. (Gadamer 1979, 270)

Ricoeur (1979, 270) describes the fusion of horizons similarly: “Beyond my situation as reader, beyond the author’s situation, I offer myself to the possible ways of being-in-the-world which the text opens up and discovers for me.”

Ricoeur then moves away from Gadamer:

[M]y claim is that the hermeneutic circle is not correctly understood when it is presented (1) as a circle between two subjectivities, that of the reader and that of the author, and (2) as the projection of the subjectivity of the reader in the reading itself ... The coming to language of the sense and the reference of a text is the coming to language of a world and not the recognition of another person ... I should rather say that the reader understands himself before the text, before the world of the work. (ibid.)

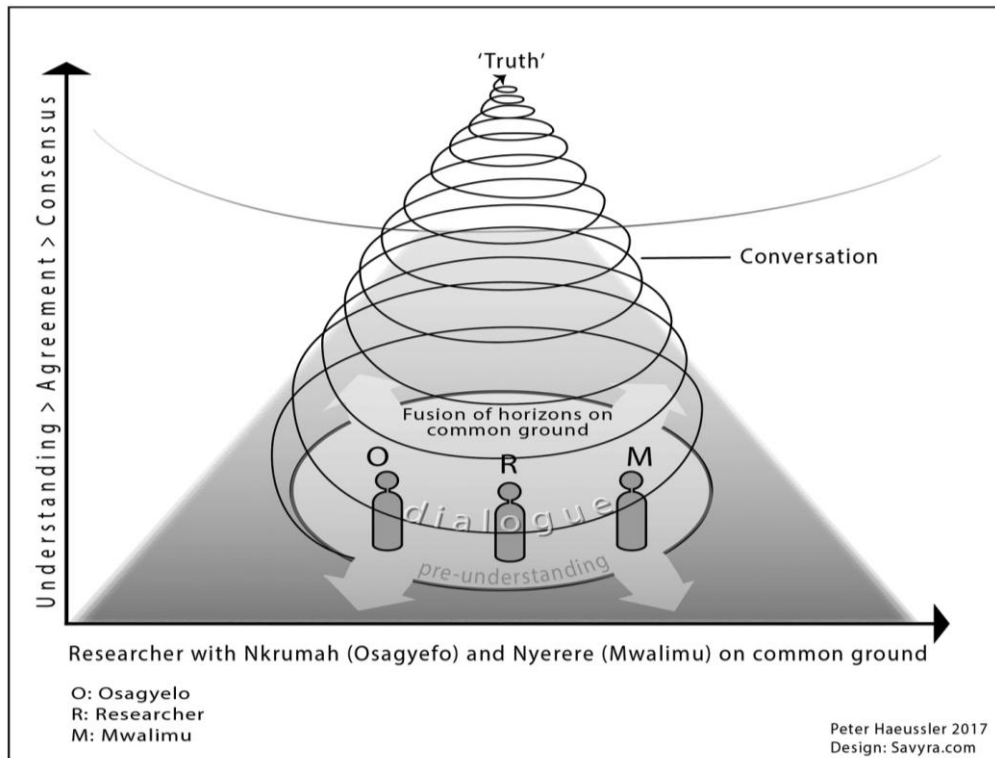
However, a fictive conversation with texts differs from a living “process of coming to an understanding” (Gadamer 2013, 403) with other people: “Texts are ‘enduringly fixed expressions of life’ [Droysen] that are to be understood; and that means that one partner in the hermeneutic conversation, the text, speaks only through the other partner, the interpreter” (ibid., 405). Gadamer warns us not to expect too much, not to be too demanding or too sure that a fusion of horizons will show us the ‘truth’. There are no measurements and tools here that a positivist might hope to find. We have to know our prejudices, says Gadamer, but we cannot force the result. We are part of the process.

My modification of the hermeneutic circle into a hermeneutic spiral of conversation has three elements. First, I combine Gadamer’s (2013) traditional approach to hermeneutic interpretation with Habermas’s (1996; 2001) social, human-rights oriented and ethical discourse. Known for his deep and deconstructive critical analysis, Habermas (1992b) criticises Gadamer’s traditional approach for avoiding ideological considerations. He claims that Gadamer “overlooks the potential of critical reflection” and would easily accept the thinking of “tradition and authority”.

Second, I apply the rules of ethical discourse. Interestingly, the concepts of “conversation” and “equality” are interrelated. As Zeldin (1996, 41) notes in a chapter on women and conversation, “Conversation ... demands equality between participants. Indeed, it is one of the most important ways of establishing equality ... Only when people learn to converse will they begin to be equal.” Habermas and Ricoeur talk in this context of ‘ideal’ discourse and of a ‘depth hermeneutics’ that reveals the presence of force and violence. This phenomenon of coercive authority plays a role in both Nkrumah’s and Nyerere’s treatment of the political opposition, which led to an end of dialogue at that time. Habermas believes that the dialogue with the other should never stop, not even in times of violence and terror (Borradori 2003). I see the ethical-discourse approach also as a contribution to democratic emancipation and to systematic critical reflection on the interpretation of texts in the social sciences. Ricoeur (1991b, 289) confirms the scientific quality of critical hermeneutics guided by “the interest in emancipation, which Habermas also calls self-reflection”.

Finally, I modify the metaphor of a “circle of understanding” to a “spiral of conversation” that points towards a textual ‘truth’ in order to better understand the other and the topic of conversation, as Figure 6.1 represents. The ground is the “pre-understanding” (Heidegger). Two dimensions (the hermeneutic circle) build an expanding common ground for understanding, where the researcher/moderator meets Nkrumah and Nyerere in dialogue. The third dimension indicates the growth of knowledge and better understanding. The inner circle has to be broken; it transforms into a new dimension.

Figure 6.1 The spiral of conversation



As the final step of the triple-jump hermeneutic methodology, the Conversation leads toward a better understanding, agreement or even consensus. It includes all the knowledge that has been gained throughout the journey, and the understanding that has been gained in communication with the motivational discourse of Nkrumah and Nyerere and the second voices of others.

The Conversation is shared out fairly between Nkrumah and Nyerere. Following Habermas's principles for ethical discourse, the texts supplied as their responses are rational, fair, truthful, on equal footing and understandable. In all of this, the researcher has two roles.

As moderator, I select texts and then lead the Conversation systematically through the five sections. The questions and answers emerge from earlier interpretations of text (e.g. contextual, conceptual and textual analysis). The aim is to bring out a 'good' – 'adequate' and 'appropriate' – interpretation of

Nkrumah's and Nyerere's perspectives, and to achieve, if not consensus, at least agreement on the topics.

As researcher, I then critically assess their statements as 'answers' to the research questions, in view of their socialist human-rights paradigm. The "researcher's reflection" offers what Ricoeur (1991b) calls a "distanced" consideration of the authors, the texts and their messages, the background context, and my biases as moderator and researcher. I refer back to the questions that were formulated in the latent coding process and summarise each section in terms of commonalities, differences and unresolved questions. Significant aspects of each section undergo a descriptive interpretation towards a deeper and broader understanding of Nkrumah's and Nyerere's perspectives on equality and human development, and may generate further interest in the topics. This reflective exercise requires confronting the texts and secondary sources through new readings as new aspects of the research questions emerge.

6.3. *My Conversation with Nkrumah and Nyerere*

The moderator addresses the leaders by the honorifics accorded to them by their compatriots. Osagyefo, one of the highest traditional titles in Ghana, means "victorious warrior" and "redeemer"; Mwalimu is "teacher" in Swahili.

6.3.1. Colonialism and unity

MODERATOR: Honourable Osagyefo Nkrumah and Honourable Mwalimu Nyerere, I am pleased to lead a conversation with you. As African leaders, you fought against colonialism, for independence and unity, and for the dignity of the African people. You dreamed of socialism, of equality for all people, and of a peaceful world. We would like to understand your views better and know more about your ideas and your projects to achieve human equality.

Osagyefo, you were a pioneer in the anti-colonial struggle. How do you view the impact of colonialism in Africa?

NKRUMAH: Beneath the “humanitarian” and “appeasement” shibboleths of colonial governments, a proper scrutiny leads one to discover nothing but deception, hypocrisy, oppression and exploitation. Such expressions as “colonial charter”, “trusteeship”, “partnership”, “guardianship”, “international colonial commission”, “dominion status”, “condominium”, “freedom from fear of permanent subjection”, “constitutional reform” and other shabby sham gestures of setting up a fake machinery for “gradual evolution towards self-government” are means to cover the eyes of colonial peoples with the veil of imperialist chicanery. But the eyes of colonial peoples are beginning to see the light of day and are awakening to the true meaning of colonial policies. (TCF, xvi)

[In South Africa in 1947,] [n]early seven million Africans, almost three-fourths of the entire population of the Union of South Africa, possess less than twenty per cent of the total area of the Union. They are by law denied the right of acquiring more land either by purchase or by other means ... Further, they are gravely limited in their right to organise, to form trade unions, in their right to strike, to move about freely, to buy land, to trade, to acquire education, and to aspire to full citizenship in their own country. (TCF, 6)

MODERATOR: What are the social and economic effects of colonial dominance? How does it impact on the rights of the people?

NKRUMAH: Take Britain, for instance, and see what she does in her African colonies. She controls exports of raw materials from the colonies by preventing direct shipment by her colonial “subjects” to foreign markets, in order that, after satisfying the demands of her home industries, she can sell the surplus to other nations, netting huge super-profits for herself ... The colonial farmer-producer has no share in these profits. The question may be raised to the effect that the colonial powers utilize part of these profits for public works, health projects and “loans”. The fact generally forgotten is that such “loans” come from taxing the colonial “subjects”. (TCF, 15)

It is the colonial peasants who suffer most considerably from this evil system ... Colonial subjects will not progress to any notable extent and will always remain poverty stricken with a sub-normal standard of living ... That is one of the reasons why we maintain that the only solution to the colonial problem is the complete eradication of the entire economic system of colonialism, by colonial peoples, through their gaining political independence ... Political freedom will open the way for the attainment of economic and social improvement and advancement. It must be otherwise under foreign rule. (TCF, 20)

The social effects of colonialism are more insidious than the political and economic. This is because they go deep into the minds of the people and therefore take longer to eradicate. The Europeans relegated us to the position of inferiors in every aspect of our everyday life. Many of our people came to accept the view that we were an inferior people. (Axioms, 33)

MODERATOR: Mwalimu, you certainly agree with Osagyefo Nkrumah's analysis. Africans lived for centuries in discrimination and oppression as second-class persons with few rights. Peasants, women and girls suffered the most. How to overcome such exploitation and humiliation?

NYERERE: On one side there are people who think and believe that the peace and tranquillity of all humankind depend on justice, freedom, mutual love and help for one another. On the other side are nations which profess that they are much better people than all other people, that they are the only ones who deserve to be free, and that all other nations – whether they like it or not – must be ruled by them. (WF, 14)

As long as one community has a monopoly of political power and uses that power not only to prevent the other communities from having any share in political power, but also to keep those other communities in a state of social and economic inferiority, any talk of social and economic advancement of the other communities as a solution of racial conflict is hypocritical and stupid. (R, 2)

We demand independence and rights. However, we Africans have to learn one major lesson which the world has now started realizing, and that is the fact that for independence and rights to have value, they must be given to everybody. If one nation gets independence and rights but denies other nations; or if people of one religion get freedom and justice but make people of another religion slaves; history has shown that in such circumstances that type of independence and rights will not last. (WF, 51)

MODERATOR: Mwalimu Nyerere claims that all people must have equal rights and freedoms, including in religious issues, which means nothing less than independence. Osagyefo, do you think that is realistic?

NKRUMAH: Let there be no doubt that we are equally determined not to rest until we have gained [our rights] ... We are able to govern ourselves and thereby we are putting an end to the myth that Africans are unable to manage their own affairs, even when given the opportunity. (MoD, 192)

Our colonial apologists and social-democratic reformists ... fail to grasp the essential point, that capitalist development reproduces among the population of the imperialist countries the class structure of the metropolis (i.e. the imperial centre or 'Mother Country') while the indigenous native population of the colonial territories are either exploited, subjugated or exterminated. (TCF, 31–32)

MODERATOR: Osagyefo, British and French colonial powers offered a gradualist strategy for independence. Isn't such an approach more sustainable than striving for immediate self-government?

NKRUMAH: In the dominions, not only do the capitalists present the colonial extension of the capitalism and imperialism of the mother countries but their colonial interests, directly or indirectly, coincide. That is why the term "self-government", "dominion status", or what the French imperialists now call "autonomic", are nothing but blinds and limitations in the way of the struggle of the national liberation movement in the colonies towards self-determination and complete national independence. (TCF, 32)

The total liberation and the unification of Africa under an all-African socialist government must be the primary objective of all Black revolutionaries throughout the world. It is an objective which, when achieved, will bring about the fulfilment of the aspirations of Africans and people of African descent everywhere. (CS, 88)

Only a United Africa with central political direction can successfully give effective material and moral support to our freedom fighters, in Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, etc., and of course, South Africa. All Africa must be liberated now ... With these steps, I submit, we shall be irrevocably committed to the road which will bring us to a Union Government for Africa. (OAU, 45)

Researcher's reflection: Colonialism and unity

Both Nkrumah and Nyerere criticised the impact of colonialism on people's dignity and equality. People were not treated as equal; psychological oppression led to an inferiority complex (Fanon 1952). People were used as cheap labour and hardly had chances for education and development. However, the post-independence economy in Ghana was "buoyant ... with rising export prices" (Pinkney 1987, 36).

African leaders were divided over Nkrumah's proposal for immediate unification following countries' independence, with some (e.g. Nyerere) favouring regional unification first and others in favour of nationalism, in order to keep the status, reputation and privileges that came with power. Most of the leaders present at the OAU Conference in Ghana in 1965 did not support a union with one (socialist) government. This was a heavy defeat for Nkrumah. While they were in power, Nkrumah, Nyerere and other post-independence leaders persisted in their struggle against colonialism and spurred the Pan-Africanist principle in the following decades. Tanzania became the centre for the southern African liberation movements until Namibia and South Africa won their freedom. In 2002, the OAU became the African Union, establishing a Pan-African Parliament (PAP) in line with the idea of a central government, as Nkrumah once proposed, and Nyerere supported. Nkrumah is particularly remembered as a pioneer of African

unification and a large statue of Osagyefo greets visitors in front of the AU headquarters in Addis Ababa.

6.3.2. Socialism versus capitalism

MODERATOR: Why do you affirm that it is only possible to achieve freedom, justice and human equality in a socialist society?

NKRUMAH: We live in a world in which one quarter of the people is becoming richer and richer, while the rest grow poorer and poorer. This situation can only be remedied by world socialism. For as long as capitalism and imperialism go unchecked, there will always be exploitation, an ever-widening gap between the haves and have-nots, and all the evils of imperialism and neo-colonialism which breed and sustain wars. (Axioms, 117)

NYERERE: First, and most central of all, is that under socialism Man is the purpose of all social activity. The service of man, the furtherance of his human development, is in fact the purpose of society itself. There is no other purpose above this; no glorification of “nation”, no increase in production – nothing is more central to a socialist society than an acceptance that Man is its justification for existence. (Ujamaa, 4)

MODERATOR: Mwalimu, I know that when you say “Man”, you do include women as equals! (see 6.3.3)

NKRUMAH: When socialism is true to its purpose, it seeks a connection with the egalitarian and humanist past of the people before their social evolution was ravaged by colonialism. (Con, 106)

History has shown how a relatively small proletariat, if it is well organised and led, can awaken the peasantry and trigger off socialist revolution. In a neo-colonialist situation, there is no half-way to socialism. Only policies of all-out socialism can

end capitalist-imperialist exploitation. Socialism can only be achieved through class struggle. (CS, 84–85)

The highest point of political action, when a revolution attains its excellence, is when the proletariat – comprising workers and peasants – under the leadership of a vanguard party, the principles and motivations of which are based on scientific socialism, succeeds in overthrowing all other classes. (CS, 80)

MODERATOR: Mwalimu, can you please explain your view of socialism?

NYERERE: There is ... an apparent tendency among certain socialists to try and establish a new religion – a religion of socialism itself. This is usually called “scientific socialism” and the works of Marx and Lenin are regarded as the holy writ in the light of which all other thoughts and actions of socialists have to be judged ... Marx was a great thinker ... But he was not God. The years have proved him wrong in certain respects just as they have proved him right in others ... It is therefore unscientific to appeal to his writings as Christians appeal to the Bible, or Muslims to the Koran. (Ujamaa, 14)

The purpose of socialism is to enlarge the real freedom of man, to expand his opportunity of living in dignity and well-being ... An obviously essential part of this is that the laws of the society shall be known, be applied equally, and that people shall not be subject to arbitrary arrest, or persecution by the servants of the society ... The Rule of Law is a part of socialism; until it prevails, socialism does not prevail. (Ujamaa, 8)

MODERATOR: What are the practical ideas behind scientific socialism and your philosophy of consciencism, Osagyefo? And, Mwalimu, what is behind the democratic socialism of Ujamaa?

NKRUMAH: Socialism is the only pattern that can, within the shortest possible time, bring good life to the people ... Socialist production is production of goods and services in fulfilment of the people’s needs. It is not production for individual

private profit, which deprives such a large section of the people of the goods and services produced, while their needs and wants remain unsatisfied. (BSS, 69)

We are in the process of establishing a society in which men and women will have no anxiety about work, food and shelter; where poverty and illiteracy no longer exist and where disease is brought under control; where our educational facilities provide our children with the best possible opportunities for learning; where every person uses his talents to their fullest capacity and contributes to the general well-being of the nation. (Axioms, 49)

In short, socialism recognizes dialectic, the possibility of creation from forces which are opposed to one another; it recognizes the creativity of struggle, and, indeed, the necessity of the operation of forces to any change. It also embraces materialism and translates this into social terms of equality. (Con, 106)

NYERERE: A truly socialist state is one in which all people are workers and in which neither capitalism nor feudalism exists. It does not have two classes of people: a lower class composed of people who work for their living and an upper class of people who live on the work of others. In a really socialist country, no person exploits another; everyone who is physically able to work does so; every worker obtains a just return for the labour he performs; and the incomes derived from different types of work are not grossly divergent. (AD, 233)

What matters in socialism and to socialists is that you should care about a particular kind of social relationship on this earth. Why you care is your own affair. There is nothing incompatible between socialism and Christianity, Islam, or any other religion which accepts the equality of man on earth. (Ujamaa, 13)

MODERATOR: Mwalimu, how does TANU's party policy articulate the principles for a new social order?

NYERERE: The policy of TANU is to build a socialist state. The principles of socialism are laid down in the TANU Constitution and they are as follows: Whereas TANU believes ... (i) That it is the responsibility of the state to intervene

actively in the economic life of the nation so as to ensure the well-being of all citizens, and so as to prevent the exploitation of one person by another or one group by another, and so as to prevent the accumulation of wealth to an extent which is inconsistent with the existence of a classless society. (AD, 231–232)

[T]he principal aims and objects of TANU [are] as follows ...: (b) To safeguard the inherent dignity of the individual in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; (c) To ensure that this country shall be governed by a democratic socialist government of the people ...; (h) To see that the Government gives equal opportunity to all men and women irrespective of race, religion or status; (i) To see that the Government eradicates all types of exploitation, intimidation, discrimination, bribery and corruption. (AD 232–233)

Researcher's reflection: Socialism, violence and leadership

Socialism. Both leaders repudiated the capitalist system and hoped to find in socialism a viable alternative that was linked to democracy, freedom, social justice (Nkrumah) and human equality (Nyerere) and that provided the perspective of rapid social development to end entrenched poverty. Both leaders believed that education was a key to creating better social and political conditions: Nkrumah promoted 'education for all' and Nyerere put his weight behind 'education for self-reliance'.

However, they related to socialism differently. Nkrumah's twelve years in the United States and the United Kingdom and his involvement in the Pan-Africanist movement exposed him to socialism, Marxism and Leninism as ideological tools to fight against exploitation and oppression and to liberate Ghana and Africa. Distancing himself from the sort of 'democratic socialism' promoted by Senghor and Nyerere, Nkrumah took up Marxist 'scientific socialism' and historical materialism. From this he developed consciencism, which is defined in the book's subtitle as a "philosophy and ideology for decolonisation and development with particular reference to the African revolution".

Nkrumah (1967) states that some progressive leaders abandoned the term "African socialism" because "it tends to obscure our fundamental socialist

commitment” and can rather be “associated with anthropology than with political economy.” He only accepted ‘scientific socialism’ which was supported by few African leaders at that time.

As numerous anecdotal examples show, Nyerere was already outspoken as a schoolboy, revealing a sense of social justice and equality. He was possibly influenced by Catholic teachers of the White Fathers’ order, and their values of peace, fairness and equality. Socialist theories reached him only later when he attended the University of Edinburgh. I am inclined to agree with Hyden’s (1987, 89) characterisation of Nyerere as a “puritanical personality” who was influenced by “Fabianism in Britain and rural communes in China”.

Violence. In regard to the core question of violence, it is important to highlight that Kwegyir Aggrey, Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr were role models for both leaders. In practice, though, they diverged.

Nkrumah argued for violent revolution as a last resort, after all non-violent measures to achieve freedom and equality had been tried and failed, or for self-defence. Early in his political life, he practiced different forms of non-violent resistance. His 1950 call for ‘positive action’ and a general strike landed him in prison for a year and led to a resounding win for the CPP in 1951. However, Nkrumah (1970b) later revised his position, stating that Marx, Lenin and Fanon were to show the way towards liberation. Later still, in exile, Nkrumah (2003, 109) wrote that non-violent methods were “‘anachronistic’ in the context of a revolution”.

Nyerere adopted a general discourse and practice of non-violence, as shown in the creation of a united republic with Zanzibar, in the aftermath of a bloody revolution that saw black Africans oust the ruling Arabs from the islands. However, Nyerere did support the use of violence – as a last resort – against aggression, recognising the independence of Biafra from Nigeria (1967–70), and going to war when the Ugandan dictator Idi Amin invaded Tanzanian territory (1978–79). Nyerere later was called to mediate peace in the Burundi conflict (1996–1999). Nyerere’s socialist model was motivated less by the desire to

overthrow a regime than to create the political space for a postcolonial state that would overcome poverty in Tanzania. The pillars for building Ujamaa were people's democratic participation and human equality, self-reliance in education and economy, and rural development (see 6.3.5).

Leadership. In my view, "leadership is about organising people to achieve common goals for the good of society" (Häussler 2013). Nkrumah and Nyerere were recognised as "towering leaders" (Mazrui) and "giants" (James 1977), and ranked high among the "greatest Africans of all time" (New African 2004). Despite this, the role of leadership in their socialist projects needs closer scrutiny, as the differences show the basic structure of the two models of socialism in Africa.

Nkrumah implemented Lenin's idea of a vanguard party in leadership. Already in the Circle – a "small political sect" that Nkrumah started in the UK in 1947 as a "revolutionary vanguard of the struggle for West African Freedom and Independence" (Hadjor 1988, 40) – leadership was authoritarian. Members "were required to swear personal loyalty to Mr Nkrumah", reads a report included in Nkrumah's (1971, 70) autobiography. From 1949, the CPP leadership was hierarchical, selected under the guidance of a political elite with Nkrumah at the top. From 1964, Nkrumah had unlimited power as president for life in a one-party system and, after the dismissal of the chief justice, master of the Constitution and judiciary. Some loyalties were heavily remunerated to keep the system in place, which ended up entrenching a system of corruption within the party.

Nyerere points to another direction: all TANU government and party leaders had to follow the same rules, including Nyerere himself. The Arusha Declaration (Nyerere 1968, 231–50) is an egalitarian tool of leadership – and very strict. No leader was allowed to be "associated with the practices of capitalism. No ... leader should hold shares ... should hold directorships in any privately-owned enterprises. ... should receive two or more salaries. ... should own houses which he rents to others". Some ministers, including Bibi Titi Mohammed (see 4.5.5), could not fully accept this and stepped down.

Both leadership approaches fell short of their expected outcomes. Nkrumah progressively developed a 'god-like' persona, excluding the opposition and critics from any constructive dialogue. As leader of the vanguard, he hand-selected people for positions and barred non-socialists from political participation, such as traditional leaders from the powerful Ashanti people. Some of his leading critics died in prison, including J.B. Danquah of the UGCC and some from his own CPP. Although Nkrumah did not enrich himself corruptly, he started too late with effective measures and 'punishments' to deal with corruption and avarice. Corruption "created suspicion and mistrust between the people and the governing party" (Hadjor 1988, 87), undermining the work and impact of the CPP. The public expected more than speeches.

Nyerere's strict Leadership Code provoked a strong, mostly clandestine, opposition, which led to a coup attempt in 1969, headed by close friends and peers. Dedicated leaders also felt the 'injustice' when former comrades went into business and became rich. Bibi Kanasis Mtenga expressed this at a TANU meeting in 1969: "We leaders have agreed whole-heartedly to follow the Arusha Declaration code, but for how long will non-leaders continue to be left to exploit the masses?" (Mohiddin 1981, 211).

6.3.3. Equality, egalitarianism and equal opportunities for women and men

MODERATOR: The first article of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights". The African Charter of Human and Peoples' Rights also speaks of "freedom, equality, justice and dignity" as basic human rights. Despite your different conceptualisation of socialism, you both put "egalitarianism" and "human equality" at the centre of your political vision. Why is equality a central value for you?

NKRUMAH: I was introduced to Plato, Aristotle, Descartes, Kant, Hegel, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, Marx and other immortals, to whom I should like to refer as the university philosophers. (Con, 2)

Socrates ... was a firm theoretical believer in egalitarianism. In selecting a slave boy for the purpose of his proof, he showed that he held a belief in the common and equal nature of man. This belief activates Socrates' whole philosophy ... He believed in the equal endowment of all with innate ideas, the equal ability of all to lead a good life. (Con, 39–40)

The cardinal ethical principle of [my] philosophical consciencism is to treat each man as an end in himself and not merely as a means. This is fundamental to all socialist or humanist conceptions of man. (Con, 95)

NYERERE: The word “man” to a socialist, means all men – all human beings. Male and female; black, white, brown, yellow; long-nosed and short-nosed; educated and uneducated; wise and stupid; strong and weak; all these, and all other distinctions between human beings, are irrelevant to the fact that all members of society – all human beings who are its purpose – are equal ... Socialism, as a system, is in fact the organization of men's inequalities to serve their equality. Their equality is socialist belief. (Ujamaa, 4)

There must be equality, because only on that basis will men work co-operatively. There must be freedom, because the individual is not served by society unless it is his. And there must be unity, because only when the society is united can its members live and work in peace, security, and well-being. (IFU, 8)

MODERATOR: Mwalimu, how do you relate the concept of human equality in Ujamaa to the hierarchical aspects of tradition?

NYERERE: By the use of the word “Ujamaa” ... we state that for us socialism involves building on the foundation of our past, and building also to our own design. We are not importing a foreign ideology into Tanzania and trying to smother our distinct social patterns with it. (Ujamaa, 2)

The traditional African family was an almost self-contained economic and social unit. Most of the necessities of birth, life, and death could be supplied within the

unit on a level which was certainly low, but equally low for all members, and still higher than [what] sub-groups of that family could obtain by themselves. (IFU, 8)

The “authority” is basically the “first among equals”; his position is based upon the foundation of mutual respect between all members and their common expectation that the compromises which are necessary in all group life will be made by all – including the “authority” himself. (IFU, 9)

Such experiences presuppose the economic as well as the social integration of the society, and rest squarely on the group’s joint ownership of basic property. It is, and must be, “our” house, “our” food, “our” land, for only under these conditions can equality exist among the members ... The members may not all get an equal share in the food available – this will be determined by need. But they all have an equal right to their share ... There is, therefore, no absolute and simple rule which can be easily applied everywhere and to all aspects of life in relation to equality. Instead we are forced back to concepts of human dignity; every member of society must have safeguarded by society his basic humanity and the sacredness of his lifeforce ... We have to organize our institutions and build attitudes which promote universal human dignity and social equality. (IFU, 9, 10, 15, 16)

MODERATOR: The African educator Kwegyir Aggrey, who was an inspiration for both of you, once said, “The surest way to keep a people down is to educate the men and neglect the women. If you educate a man, you simply educate an individual; but if you educate a woman, you educate a family.” How do you achieve the goal of equality between men and women?

NKRUMAH: To the men I say: assist the women to take an active part in the political life of the country, for remember no country can be truly democratic in which women do not have equality with men. (Axioms, 93)

The women of Africa have already shown themselves to be of paramount importance in the revolutionary struggle. They gave active support to the

independence movement in their various countries, and in some cases their courageous participation in demonstrations and other forms of political action had a decisive effect on the outcome. They have, therefore, a good revolutionary record, and are the source of power for our politico-military organisation ... The degree of a country's revolutionary awareness may be measured by the political maturity of its women. (Axioms, 124)

We cannot build socialism without socialists and we must take positive steps to ensure that the party and the country produce men and women who can handle a socialist programme. (BSS, 82)

MODERATOR: How do you achieve equal rights and opportunities for women and men?

NKRUMAH: The paramount task before us and the nation is the raising of an equitable and progressive social order ... that will reflect a higher standard of living in the happiness of our people. Economically, this means full employment, good housing and equal opportunity for educational and cultural advancement up to the highest level possible for all the people. (BSS, 69)

NYERERE: It is true that the women in traditional society were regarded as having a place in the community which was not only different, but was also to some extent inferior ... If we want our country to make full and quick progress now, it is essential that our women live on terms of full equality with their fellow citizens who are men. (SRD, 339)

Slavery has not yet gone away and my whole intention ... is to show how many women in many tribes in these countries are still in reality in a state of slavery. (WF, 17)

Men differ from women in this major respect, POWER. Men are very conceited because they are physically stronger than women. On that basis they have denied women freedom and barred them from participating in most spheres of human endeavour; and if you ask for a reason you will be answered that women

have no intellectual capacity – women are like children – or some other response related to those. In all affairs that depend on the intellect, there is no known difference between women and men. (WF, 48)

But many African women hate and are sorry for the fact that they were born women and this is because we deny them freedom and justice. Any African who loves his tribe must fight tirelessly until all women get freedom and justice and are given opportunities like men. (WF, 54)

Researcher's Reflection: On Equality

While their positions seem similar at first glance, differences between the two leaders' concepts of equality are unveiled when they speak about the role of women in families and in the new society. These differences are also signalled in the manifest coding, where Nkrumah uses "woman/women" 20 times in the 85 000 words of the selected texts, compared to 160 for Nyerere. Nkrumah was not explicitly concerned with the traditional role of families or with inequality within the family. "Family/ies" appears only five times in his texts that were selected for this study. In comparison, there are 90 hits in the corresponding texts by Nyerere.

Although Nkrumah's achievements in reducing inequality through education have been rightly praised, he seemed resigned to (or unaware of) the fact that the 'education for all' approach neglected girls and women living in remote rural areas, leaving the enduring pattern of poverty in the northern regions unchanged. Mansah Prah (2004) understands that the speeches and promises by the CPP government could not change the discriminatory situation for women. This is not to say that Nkrumah's political, legal, social and administrative reforms did not contribute to women's poverty reduction, better healthcare and education and the right to own and inherit land. Such policies did not translate, however, into women occupying high positions in the CPP or government. Even hardworking leaders in the independence struggle like Hannah Cudjoe (see 4.5.5) were not as honoured alongside the male heroes.

Nkrumah's personal experience of family life was limited to his first 17 years. He was the only child of his mother and they moved to live with his polygamous

father when he was three years old. He enjoyed some years with the big family and many kids, but later wrote that his “happiest hours were spent alone” (Nkrumah 1971, 7). At 17, he became a pupil teacher for one year before going to study at the Training College in Accra. From Accra, he went to teach in Elmina and a year later to Axim. In 1935, at the age of 26, he left for the United States. His knowledge about women’s social place was filtered through books and his African-American friends (Marika Sherwood 1996). Nkrumah did not seem to consider women’s particular need for empowerment outside of the class struggle and he rarely criticised the dominance of patriarchy in Ghana and Africa.

In contrast, Nyerere’s early life as the son of a local chief was rural and traditional. His experience informed his concern for rural people, particularly the women who carried the main burden of development. Nyerere idealised pre-colonial African family life and its values, but he also consistently criticised oppressive and exploitative attitudes against women, and urged women to fight against “all discriminatory traditions” (Susan Geiger 1998, 1). This apparent contradiction can be taken as a strategy to build a common Tanganyikan identity in the early 1960s, with the fusion of traditional communalism and ‘modern’ ideas of gender equality that would become Ujamaa, Tanzanian socialism.

The many examples of Nyerere’s attention to the equality of women are particularly striking when one takes into account that it was neither a particular concern of the independence movements nor of the international discourse. From his first public essay, Nyerere already proposed freedom and equal opportunities in all fields of daily life and he called for the end of ‘women’s slavery’ in Tanganyika and Africa in numerous meetings and public speeches.

Half a century later, a lot of progress has been made in many areas, but equal opportunity between men and women is far from being achieved. Family violence was (and still is) a taboo topic and neither Nkrumah nor Nyerere broached it as a social issue. Shocking forms of violence against girls and women continue in both countries. I recall Marjory Mbilinyi’s (2010, 86–87) passionate challenge to Tanzania’s leaders:

What kind of leaders do we have in a nation where more than 40 percent of young girls' first experience of sex is violent – involving incest or rape in the majority of cases by someone close to them – or where, 47 years after independence, the economy still depends on the head-loads of women to provide fuel, water and foodstuffs for their families and communities?

6.3.4. Freedom and justice

MODERATOR: Osagyefo, your motto “Freedom and Justice” still adorns Ghana’s coat of arms. These are also human rights. Is your vision of the “African personality” also a symbol of freedom and justice? How do you manage the tension between freedom and equality?

NKRUMAH: The right of a people to decide their own destiny, to make their way in freedom, is not to be measured by the yardstick of colour or degree of social development. It is an inalienable right of peoples which they are powerless to exercise when forces, stronger than they themselves, by whatever means, for whatever reasons, take this right away from them. (MoD, 191)

For too long in our history, Africa has spoken through the voices of others. Now, what I have called an African Personality in international affairs will have a chance of making its proper impact and will let the world know it through the voices of Africa’s own sons ... We shall not forget our brethren in many parts of Africa who unfortunately do not yet enjoy the freedom we have won. (AP, 125)

For too long we have had no say in the management of our own affairs or in deciding our own destinies. Now times have changed, and today we are the masters of our own fate. (AP, 126)

MODERATOR: Mwalimu, how do you understand freedom?

NYERERE: The principle on which we stood, and on which we stand today, is the principle of human rights. It is the dignity and well-being of all our people which is

the beginning and the end of all our efforts. For the freedom we demanded was not mere independence from colonialism; what we sought was personal freedom for all the people of Tanganyika; freedom for every individual, and the chance to make use of that freedom, in co-operation with his fellows-to provide for his own needs and theirs and so to live a life of human dignity. (PIA, 178)

An obviously essential part of this is that the laws of the society shall be known, be applied equally, and that people shall not be subject to arbitrary arrest, or persecution by the servants of the society ...The Rule of Law is a part of socialism; until it prevails, socialism does not prevail. (Ujamaa, 8)

MODERATOR: Racism, freedom of religious belief, and political opposition are areas of serious conflict for both of you. What are your experiences and positions on these? Let's start with racism and racial discrimination, which undermine freedom and equality.

NKRUMAH: We are developing a society free from racial discrimination ... a society in which the relation between man and man is fundamentally based on the social process of production. If we continue to maintain this harmony and work together for the common good, the plans which the Government has already set in motion for our progress, happiness and development will bear rich fruit for us all. (Axioms, 47–48)

The first step towards testing the right of rule in communities of mixed races and creeds is to give every adult, irrespective of race and creed the right to vote. When each citizen thereby enjoys equality of status with all others, barriers of race and colour will disappear and the people will mix freely together and will work for the common good. (Axioms, 95)

NYERERE: Our problem in East and South Africa is a problem of a White minority which sincerely believes that democracy's cardinal foundation is the will of the people, but which refuses to let the term "the people" include non-Europeans. Our whole quarrel boils down to the simple question, "Who are the people of East Africa?" (R, 28)

We reject the principle of equal racial representation on the same ground on which we condemned that of European domination. It is a principle which in spite of its deceptive name assumes the principle of racial superiority. It assumes that 50,000 Europeans, because they happen to be Europeans, are equal to the 17,000,000 Africans, that their inferiority in numbers is made up for with their superiority in wealth, intelligence, moral virtue and colour. (R, 27)

Our country cannot claim to be really independent if it continues to depend on other countries; and Africans cannot say that they are truly free if they are the shadows, puppets, or the stooges, of other countries. Freedom is equality, and the first step is for us ourselves to recognize our equality with other countries. But when I say this, I am not saying that we are better than the Europeans, the Asians, or the Chinese. I have never said this, and I shall not say it, because it would be a lie. (HL, 276)

MODERATOR: The Kenyan philosopher John Mbiti famously said that “Africans are notoriously religious”. What is the role of religion and the churches in your socialist societies? Do you guarantee religious freedom to Christians, Muslims and others?

NKRUMAH: We are developing ... a society in which people of different continents and different religious sects and beliefs can work together without molestation, a society in which the relation between man and man is fundamentally based on the social process of production. (Axioms, 47–48)

Religion is an instrument of bourgeois social reaction. But its social use is not always confined to colonialists and imperialists. Its success in their hands can exercise a certain fascination on the minds of Africans who begin by being revolutionary, but are bewitched by any passing opportunist chance to use religion to make political gains ... It is essential to emphasize in the historical condition of Africa that the state must be secular. (Con, 12–13)

Insistence on the secular nature of the state is not to be interpreted as a political declaration of war on religion, for religion is also a social fact, and must be understood before it can be tackled. To declare a political war on religion is to treat it as an ideal phenomenon, to suppose that it might be wished away, or at the worst scared out of existence. The indispensable starting point is to appreciate the sociological connection between religious belief and practice on the one hand, and poverty on the other. People who are most aggressively religious are the poorer people; for, in accordance with the Marxist analysis, religion is social, and contemporary religious forms and practices have their main root in the social depression of workers. (Con, 13)

NYERERE: The Arusha Declaration defines the ideology of the Party ...: That all human beings are equal. That every individual has a right to dignity and respect ... That every citizen has the right to freedom of expression, of movement, of religious belief and of association within the context of the law. (AD, 4)

[As I said earlier,] there is nothing incompatible between socialism and Christianity, Islam, or any other religion which accepts the equality of man on earth. (Ujamaa, 13)

This necessity for religious toleration arises out of the nature of socialism. For a man's religious beliefs are important to him, and the purpose of socialism is Man. Socialism does not just seek to serve some abstract thing called "the people"; it seeks to maximize the benefit of society to all individuals who are members of it. (Ujamaa 13–14)

MODERATOR: And the Church as an institution?

NYERERE: The members of the Church must work with the people ... For it is not the task of religious leaders to try to tell people what they should do. What is necessary is sharing on the basis of equality and common humanity ... Let us admit that, up to now, the record of the Church in these matters has not been a good one. The countries which we immediately think of as Catholic countries are

not those in which the people enjoy human dignity, and in which social justice prevails. (Church, 220–222)

In the Portuguese colonies in Africa we see the same thing. For centuries the Church has, without protest, accepted forced labour, torture, exploitation and alien domination. Even now [in 1970], the Church refuses to speak up against the colonialism and oppression in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau ... Exploiting the poor does not become a right thing to do because communists call it a wrong thing; production for profit rather than meeting human needs does not become more just because communists say it leads to injustice. (Church, 223–24)

If God were to ask the wretched of the earth who are their friends, are we so sure that we know their answer? And is that answer irrelevant to those who seek to serve God? (Church, 225)

I am suggesting that, unless we participate actively in the rebellion against those social structures and economic organizations which condemn men to poverty, humiliation and degradation, then the Church will become irrelevant to man and the Christian religion will degenerate into a set of superstitions accepted by the fearful. (Church, 215–216)

I believe that members of religious organizations must encourage and help the people to co-operate together in whatever action is necessary for their development ... Sometimes it will mean the Church leaders involving themselves in nationalist freedom movements and being part of those movements. (Church, 221–222)

MODERATOR: Osagyefo and Mwalimu, how can you justify the use of preventive detention of people from the opposition, keeping them in prison without trial? Shouldn't these "law and order" decisions be made by independent judges using the Constitution, the law and the courts – and not by politicians?

NKRUMAH: An emergent country which attempts to follow a policy of socialism at home and a policy abroad of positive non-alignment is challenging many vested interests ... [When I was elected as] President, I took an oath in which I swore that I would preserve and defend the Constitution and that I would do right to all manner of people according to law, without fear or favour, affection or ill will. (WH, 4)

The maximum period of five years detention as provided in the existing law will be retained, but the Preventive Detention Act [PDA] will be so amended as to provide that anyone released from detention who again indulges in subversion shall be detained again up to the present maximum of five years, and may, in addition, lose all rights as a citizen. (WH, 4)

I should have been false to my oath had I allowed the Constitution to be overthrown by force, but I consider that the obligations which the Constitution imposes upon me – not only call upon me – to do justice, but also, wherever possible to temper justice with mercy. (WH, 4)

MODERATOR: Osagyefo, how does the PDA “temper justice with mercy” for members of the opposition and dissidents?

NKRUMAH: In one or two cases detention orders have been made against subversive individuals who have since fled the country, and in the event of such people returning to Ghana, these orders would be reviewed. But in most cases, those who have fled from Ghana have done so because they had a bad conscience or else were frightened by some unscrupulous rumour-monger. (WH, 4–5)

We have by no means passed through all our difficulties. (WH, 4)

NYERERE: Freedom of speech, freedom of movement and association, are valuable things which we want to secure for all our people. But at the same time we must secure, urgently, freedom from hunger, and from ignorance and disease, for everyone. Can we allow the abuse of one freedom to sabotage our

national search for another freedom? Take the question of detention without trial. This is a desperately serious matter. It means that you are imprisoning a man when he has not broken any written law or when you cannot be sure of proving beyond reasonable doubt that he has done so ...

You are restricting his liberty, and making him suffer spiritually and materially, for what you think he intends to do, or is trying to do, or for what you believe he has done. Few things are more dangerous to the freedom of a society than that. For freedom is indivisible, and with such an opportunity open to the Government of the day, the freedom of every citizen is reduced. To suspend the Rule of Law under any circumstances is to leave open the possibility of the grossest injustices being perpetrated. (Nyerere 1966, 312)

MODERATOR: Yes, Mwalimu, but how can you then, as a socialist, accept and execute the Preventive Detention Act?

Nyerere: [K]nowing these things, I have still supported the introduction of a law which gives the Government power to detain people without trial. I have myself signed Detention Orders; I have done these things as an inevitable part of my responsibilities as President of the Republic ... While the vast mass of the people give full and active support to their country and its government, a handful of individuals can still put our nation into jeopardy, and reduce to ashes the effort of millions. (Nyerere 1966, 312)

Researcher's reflection: 'Race', religion and political opposition

Nation and 'race'. Nkrumah 'gave birth' to the African Personality with the aspiration to achieve freedom and equality for Africans on the personal, local, national and international levels. Nation-building was initiated and inspired by the (black) African Personality. Dignity, freedom and power are central to the African Personality, but how is equality incorporated? Equality between ethnic and religious groups is well defended, but equality between men and women seems to be overlooked. However, when the socialists Nkrumah and Nyerere address "men", they generally mean all human beings, male and female, as Nyerere explicitly states. Nkrumah's formulations of the African Personality sometimes

refer explicitly to the male gender – “Africa’s own sons”, “brethren” (AP, 125), a “new type of man” who “must be a man indeed” (BSS, 82) – which neglect women as equal representatives of the country and continent. In later writings in exile (*Axioms*), Nkrumah more often mentions women or speaks rather of workers, peasants or persons.

Nkrumah and Nyerere built societies “free from racial discrimination” (Nkrumah) on the “principle of equal representation” (Nyerere). Although these rights were legally guaranteed in both countries, Nkrumah and Nyerere differed in their implementation. Nkrumah’s interpretation of and respect for the Constitution was pragmatic (Drah 1992); he favoured Africanisation in response to the huge need for local employment as well as to the pressure within the CPP. Nyerere’s principled stand for human rights and the rule of law overruled Africanisation and angered TANU and trade union leaders who tried to oust him in 1964. Nyerere was ‘saved’ with the support of grassroots TANU women activists and politicians (Mbilinyi 2010).

Religion. Although both were Christian, Nkrumah and Nyerere had quite different perceptions of the role of religion in their new countries. For Nkrumah, it was an ambiguous social reality and he was suspicious of the church (Addo 1999). Nyerere called for the church to contribute socially and economically to society and to respect the secular state. Despite Nyerere’s attempts to be tolerant and fair, Muslims complained of social discrimination against them in healthcare and education, particularly on Zanzibar (Mukandala et al. 2006).

Political opposition and preventive detention. In speeches and essays before and after independence, Nkrumah and Nyerere indicated the significance of freedom in their political projects. In the texts selected for this research, the keyword “freedom” was the third highest for both, following “colonialism” and “unity” for Nkrumah (171 hits) and “equality” and “justice” for Nyerere (120 hits). However, after one year of independence, they each introduced a Preventive Detention Act (PDA), which could keep alleged criminals and political opponents and dissidents in prison for several years before a proper case was opened.

These acts reduced liberty, enforced political inequality, and led to a series of violent reactions by the opposition.

Why did both leaders use such methods of coercion? I see three main factors. The first is that the colonial administrations had made use of detention, and thus it was part of the 'package' inherited by the newly independent governments. It is understandable that both leaders had to rely on colleagues, administrators and legal advisers who were mostly educated and trained in a European-colonial ethos (and who all had their own agendas). They would be quite comfortable as bosses in a hierarchical system – and it was difficult to step out of that 'circle'.

The second factor is the herculean challenge of building new states and social relations in a short time. Both architects were brilliant intellectuals, teachers, thinkers, communicators and organisers, but they had little practical experience of building a democratic and socialist house for their communities and, moreover, people need time to transform themselves from 'colonial subjects' to 'socialist citizens'. The new states were barely planned and the architects often had to go back to the drawing board; Nyerere changed policies and regulations perhaps too often (Read, in Legum and Mmari 1999). Their time was also full of regional turbulence, such as the Congo crises, the aggression of the apartheid states, the OAU project, and the Biafran war, not to forget the economic crisis that Ghana faced in 1961–2.

The third factor was the direct and determined opposition to these socialist experiments. In Ghana, the new scientific-socialist dogma threatened the significant traditional power of the Ashanti and other monarchies. In Tanganyika, Nyerere's Ujamaa was challenged from the left by a group of dogmatic communists around Mohamed Babu (Shivji 2008) and from the right by rent-seeking local capitalists in TANU and the private sector (Annie Smyth and Seftel 1998). But Nkrumah and Nyerere, despite their differences, were both firmly committed to the fight for African liberation and socialism to reduce poverty and unite the continent. When they came under violent attack, both were convinced of the need to defend their parties and the fragile new socialist societies. They would not allow oppositional interference to break the new foundation and shake

the vulnerable walls of the houses they were building for future generations. Thus they felt 'obliged' to use the PDA in the name of state and nation building. Nyerere (1966, 312) said he would not allow that a "handful of individuals can ... reduce to ashes the effort of millions". Nkrumah justified its use with the oath he took as president "to do right to all manner of people according to law" (WH, 4), although Draah (1992, 22–23) argues that this was tactical and not entirely sincere. Indeed, Nkrumah's removal of the chief justice from office in 1963 met criticism from close leftist allies such as Basil Davidson (1973) and C.L.R. James (1977). Under Nkrumah, enforcement of the PDA caused the death of several persons; among them former allies, including UGCC founders J.B. Danquah and Emmanuel Obetsebi-Lampsey. I can imagine that the grief was not felt only by the families of the deceased, but also by Nkrumah, who then realised the limits of his power. Shortly after Danquah's death in 1965, Nkrumah was removed from power by a military coup. Despite Nkrumah's enforcement of the PDA, he tried to minimise the use of state violence. There were none of the political executions that were seen in many other countries. Even Nkrumah's critics acknowledge that "at no time does Nkrumah appear to have intentionally caused the death of a single person" (Bretton 1967).

In Tanzania, although the PDA indeed violated human rights, it was also widely accepted because of Nyerere's skills of communication. It was used more lightly than in Ghana, but it intimidated the opposition. The PDA was a great disappointment to democratic socialists worldwide who thought that Nyerere's Ujamaa socialism offered a humanist alternative to destructive capitalism and dogmatic communism (Saul 2005). As Helen Kijo-Bisimba and Chris Maina Peter (2010, 149) say, Nyerere's legacy is very complex, as he was both a human rights supporter and able to use the force of the state, however ambivalently, through the PDA.

Did Nyerere use the 'right' amount of force? He 'justified' the PDA, as Nkrumah did, as necessary to guarantee the stability of the state. Tanzania is indeed one of the most stable countries in East Africa, if not in Africa – and the same can be said of Ghana in West Africa since 1992. But violence also generates violence. In *Failed States: The Abuse of Power and the Assault on Democracy*, Noam

Chomsky (2006, 1) notes that a government's autocratic use of power can indicate "real trouble – that it is heading in a direction that spells the end of its historic values [of] equality, liberty, and meaningful democracy." Chomsky is writing about the United States, but the analogy with Ghana and Tanzania may be allowed. Nyerere the democrat would have accepted Chomsky's brilliant warning about the fragility of human rights, but Nkrumah probably would not. Who can cast the first stone?

6.3.5. Socialist societies for human development: Nkrumaism and Ujamaa

MODERATOR: Ghana and Tanzania suffered from high levels of poverty because of colonial exploitation. Social and human development relies on economics, employment and education. What can you say about your plans and experiences in developing new socialist economies?

NKRUMAH: We cannot ignore the teachings of history. Our continent is probably the richest in the world for minerals and industrial and agricultural primary materials. From the Congo alone, Western firms exported copper, rubber, cotton, and other goods to the value of 2,773 million dollars in the ten years between 1945 and 1955, and from South Africa, Western gold mining companies have drawn a profit, in the four years between 1947 to 1951, of 814 million dollars. (OAU, 33–34)

It is within the possibility of science and technology to make even the Sahara bloom into a vast field with verdant vegetation for agricultural and industrial developments. We shall harness the radio, television, giant printing presses to lift our people from the dark recesses of illiteracy ... We cannot afford to pace our needs, our development, our security, to the gait of camels and donkeys. (OAU, 35–36)

We have embarked upon an intensive socialist reconstruction of our country. Ghana inherited a colonial economy and similar disabilities in most other

directions. We cannot rest content until we have demolished this miserable structure and raised in its place an edifice of economic stability. (WH, 2)

This programme for “Work and Happiness” is an expression of the evidence of the nation’s creative ability, the certainty of the correctness of our Party line and action and the greatest single piece of testimony of our national confidence in the future ... We cannot afford to fail. We cannot afford even to think of failure. (WH, 3)

[The] public ownership of the means of production – the land and its resources – and the use of those means for production that will bring benefit to the people ... All talk of socialism, of economic and social reconstruction, are just empty words if we do not seriously address ourselves to the question of basic industrialisation and agricultural revolution in our country, just as much as we must concentrate on socialist education. (BSS, 70)

If our new economic and industrial policy is to succeed, then there must be a change of outlook in those who are responsible for running our affairs. They must acquire a socialist perspective and a socialist drive keyed to the national needs and demands, and not remain the servants of a limping bureaucracy. (BSS, 74–75)

The analysis of our economic and industrial policy imposes upon all civil servants and public functionaries an urgent duty to put into their work their very, very best. If there are some executives, whether they be expatriates or Ghanaians, who would obstruct and pull us back instead of pushing us forward, then they must be honest enough to quit their posts, bag and baggage. (BSS, 82)

NYERERE: Tanzania has already completed the tasks of taking the major means of production and exchange into public ownership. This is a vitally important achievement in any country, especially in a Third World country, which is trying to build socialism. (SGSR, 5)

We have very little capital to invest in big factories or modern machines; we are short of people with skill and experience. What we do have is land in abundance and people who are willing to work hard for their own improvement. (ESR, 272)

Last year [1971], when we nationalized the banks, the capitalists thought we would fail to keep them running because they knew that there were no Africans with the knowledge necessary to run a bank properly. And immediately the big banks withdrew all their managers ... [F]ortunately there were Asians who had this knowledge. So we immediately appointed the best qualified Asians to be managers. Then, instead of collapsing, the banks continued to operate, and work went ahead very well. (HL2, 77–78)

We criticise the efficiency of some of the Parastatals which run these enterprises on our behalf. And we reorganise them even allowing some minor units to go back to private ownership. But we do not revise the principle of public ownership and control. There may [be] some who want us to do so; they are not socialists. Public ownership and control is an essential element in socialism. (SGSR, 7)

One thing which makes me very happy is to see how our young men and women in positions of responsibility in government and parastatal organizations improve their work year by year ... Unfortunately things are not going so well as regards Local Government ... In some places good Local Government workers are unable to do their work properly because of interference and intrigue by the Councillors ... For these reasons the troubles in Local Government are continuing even in those places which have good employees. At present there are very few Councils which are able to prepare proper yearly estimates of revenue and expenditure. (HL2, 72–73)

Local authorities should plan to give service on the basis of local resources – the land, the people, good policies and good leadership. Villages must emphasize increased production to finance their own development. For to govern yourself is to be self-reliant. (SGSR, 22)

Village democracy must operate from the beginning; there is no alternative if this system is to succeed. A leader will have an opportunity to explain his ideas and to try to persuade the people that they are good; but it must be for the people themselves to accept or reject his suggestions ... It does not matter if the discussion takes a long time; we are building a nation, and this is not a short-term thing. (SRD 359)

Because of our great advances in education and health, the population is increasing very fast every year. Our numbers increase by about 700,000 people each year. These extra people have to eat. To feed them we have to increase our food output on the basis of self-reliance. (SGSR, 13)

MODERATOR: Osagyefo and Mwalimu, you believe that education is key for development and also for human equality. The economy, social services and participation in democratic politics all require an educated population, and education supports better lives and 'happiness' for all. What challenges have you encountered? How would you overcome the impact of colonial education?

NKRUMAH: The duty of any worthwhile colonial movement for national liberation ... must be the organization of labour and of youth; and the abolition of political illiteracy. This should be accomplished through mass political education which keeps in constant contact with the masses of colonial peoples. This type of education should do away with that kind of intelligentsia who have become the very architects of colonial enslavement. (TCF, 41)

The party cadres, who must be in the forefront of the educational drive, must reinforce their own understanding through party political education. Many of our ministers, party officials ... able men as they are and party members, are yet without a socialist understanding and orientation. (BSS, 81)

As you know, we have been doing a great deal to make education available to all. It is equally important that education should seek the welfare of the people and recognise our attempts to solve our economic, cultural, technological and

scientific problems. ... Our aim must be to create a society that is not static but dynamic, a society in which equal opportunities are assured for all. (IAS, 132)¹⁹

The ordinary people of the country provided the soil, the climate and the necessary nutrients which have facilitated the growth of a university ... It is my fervent hope that the university will be able to maintain all that is good from its associations with other universities and improve upon them. May the University of Ghana develop and prosper in her own natural African environment. (FL, 143–144)

NYERERE: Our educational system has to encourage ... the social goals of living together and working together for the common good. It has to prepare our young people to play a dynamic and constructive part in the development of a society in which all members share fairly in the good or bad fortune of the group, and in which progress is measured in terms of human wellbeing, not prestige buildings, cars, or other such things, whether privately or publicly owned. (ESR, 272–273)

The education provided by the colonial government in the two countries which now form Tanzania had a different purpose ... In these countries the state interest in education therefore stemmed from the need for local clerks and junior officials; on top of that, various religious groups were interested in spreading literacy and other education as part of their evangelical work ... This meant that colonial education induced attitudes of human inequality, and in practice underpinned the domination of the weak by the strong, especially in the economic field. (ESR, 269)

[T]he educational system of Tanzania must emphasize co-operative endeavour, not individual advancement; it must stress concepts of equality and the responsibility to give service which goes with any special ability, whether it be in carpentry, in animal husbandry, or in academic pursuits. And, in particular, our education must counteract the temptation to intellectual arrogance. (ESR 273)

¹⁹ This quote was added after latent coding was completed.

The education provided must therefore encourage the development in each citizen of three things: an enquiring mind; an ability to learn from what others do, and reject or adapt it to his own needs; and a basic confidence in his own position as a free and equal member of the society, who values others and is valued by them for what he does and not for what he obtains. (ESR, 274)

It is as much a mistake to over-value book learning as it is to under-value it. The same thing applies in relation to agricultural knowledge ... Yet at present our pupils learn to despise even their own parents because they are old-fashioned and ignorant; there is nothing in our existing educational system which suggests to the pupil that he can learn important things about farming from his elders. (ESR, 278)

We have defined our policies in education, in rural development, and have listed our expectations of leadership. But we are NOT a socialist society. Our work has only just begun. Of particular priority are the outstanding tasks of socialist adult education, and of strengthening the people's self-confidence and pride. (Ujamaa, 32)

MODERATOR: Do you have projects to promote education for women, to bridge the gap between women and men?

NKRUMAH: In this economic and industrial exercise, we shall need trained men and women in great numbers. The government has therefore decreed that free and compulsory primary and middle school education should be started from September next [1961], and that the whole country should be literate by the time we celebrate the 10th anniversary of our Republic [1967]. (BSS, 79)

NYERERE: The best thing to do is to let men study together with women: if they will turn out to be equal to them or if they are surpassed by them in some courses of study in education, which are currently deemed to be the prerogative of men, only then will they believe that women are human beings. In educational matters, let there be no restrictions stopping any woman from pursuing or taking any course of study she chooses. (WF, 69)

There is unlimited value in modern education – which gives one fulfilment without being directly beneficial in their job. Education for women will be incomplete if it does not offer them anything more than merely preparing them to be used by their masters ... If men rule over women in schools, I don't see why women who have the ability should not rule over men ... Women are indeed human beings. (WF, 71, 73)

MODERATOR: Finally, I would like to ask about your views on African unity and the future of human equality and development in Africa.

NKRUMAH: We, the independent states of Africa, seek to eliminate racialism by our own example of a tolerant, multi-racial community reflecting the freely expressed will of the people based upon universal adult suffrage. Within our own countries we must try to practise goodwill towards individuals and minorities, and we must also endeavour to demonstrate the same attitude in our relations with other nations. (AP, 127)

There is a searching after Africa's regeneration – politically, socially and economically – within the milieu of a social system suited to the traditions, history, environment and communal pattern of African society ... These are the main features still predominating in African society and we cannot do better than bend them to the requirements of a more modern socialistic pattern of society. This ... is the foundation of pan-Africanism. (FL, 145–146)

But this achievement, however impressive, is only the first step towards the political, economic and cultural unity which must come if we are to survive balkanisation and neo-colonialism and eventual political enslavement. (FL, 146)

NYERERE: Our country is one of those in Africa which is highly praised for its unity. We have no tribalism, no religious quarrelling, no colour discrimination, and we oppose discrimination and oppression on grounds of tribe, religion, or colour, wherever it exists. Those who know us are not surprised to see that we oppose the Portuguese and the South Africans. They are not surprised at seeing us

criticize America for its part in the Vietnam War, and for the colour discrimination which exists within America itself. Nor are such people surprised when we oppose ... the massacres of the Ibo people of Biafra. They are not surprised because they know that we believe in the fundamental equality of man, and that our purpose is the human justice which is inextricably linked with human equality. (HL2, 74)

We have said that we want to create a socialist society which is based on three principles: equality and respect for human dignity; sharing of the resources which are produced by our efforts; work by everyone and exploitation by none ... We have also said on many occasions that our objective is greater African unity. (ESR, 271)

NKRUMAH: Africa needs a new type of man; a dedicated, modest, honest and devoted man. A man who submerges self in service to his nation and mankind. A man who abhors greed and detests vanity. A new type of man whose meekness is his strength and whose integrity is his greatness. Africa's new man must be a man indeed. (BSS, 82)

With our united resources, energies and talents we have the means, as soon as we show the will, to transform the economic structures of our individual states from poverty to that of wealth, from inequality to the satisfaction of popular needs. (OAU, 39)

Moderator: Osagyefo and Mwalimu, I thank you very much for the Conversation.

Researcher's reflection: Strategies for human development, work and education

In this section, Nkrumah and Nyerere agree that human development grows best on socialist ground (fertilised with human rights, adds Nyerere). In the coding results, *education* plays a stronger role for Nyerere (in 4th place, with 246 hits) than for Nkrumah (6th, 85)'. They place different emphases on *economy* (Nkrumah: 2nd, 270; Nyerere: 6th, 129) and *work/er* (Nyerere: 2nd, 309 hits;

Nkrumah: 4th, 101) (see Table 5.5). Nkrumah's approach, which became known as Nkrumaism, leads to industrialisation and modernisation. Nyerere's Ujamaa aims to reduce poverty through agricultural development and self-reliance. The two leaders partly differ in their objectives and the different socio-economic and cultural conditions in their countries (see 4.6).

Nkrumaism and Ujamaa

What Nkrumah and Nyerere say about their theoretical frameworks – Nkrumaism and Ujamaa – and their experiences in implementing the changes in their countries requires further consideration of their countries' achievements. Following Marx, Engels and Lenin, principles of socialism include equality, people's democracy and the nationalisation of resources, financial institutions and private industries. Both Nkrumah and Nyerere sought to transform the economy and establish "public ownership of the means of production – the land and its resources" (Nkrumah in Obeng 1997, 70).

Nkrumah's philosophical and ideological oeuvre provides striking evidence for his dedication to scientific socialism. Nkrumaism combined the socialist transformation set out in *Consciencism* (2009), Nkrumah's ideology of scientific socialism, and his leadership for African unity. Its strategy was to build a unity party with a mass base of peasants and workers and a well-informed and well-trained vanguard leadership (Nkrumah 1970a).

Nkrumah was aware that a new leadership, with a 'strong socialist personality' was needed. He calls for a "new type of man" – and maybe it is significant that he did not say "man and woman" since there were few women leaders. This leader is modest, honest, and serves with integrity. Nkrumah (1970a, 106) described his vision as connecting modern industrial socialism and the traditional, pre-colonial "egalitarian and humanist past of the people". Here he is close to Nyerere, whose socialism is grounded on African agrarian tradition. "Class struggle" separates their two views.

At the beginning of the 1960s, many social and economic projects in Ghana were well implemented and productive. The employment situation, a pillar in any

socialist society, was good compared to other countries. From 1948 to 1954, the number of people in remunerated employment increased by 87 percent, from 130 930 to 244 417. By 1969, that figure had risen to 402 600. Women's waged employment rose from about 5 percent to 10 percent between 1960 and 1970: a 100 percent increase, although coming off a low base (Sender and Shiela Smith 1986, 54).

Nkrumah started to restructure the economy in earnest with the "Work and Happiness" programme in 1962, when the reform of the market economy to a socialist economy "could no longer be avoided" (Hadjor 1988, 77). Nkrumah (WH, 3) called it "the greatest piece of testimony of our national confidence in the future". In 1963, he invited renowned international development experts for a critical discussion of Ghana's industrialisation. Interestingly, the experts criticised its details – that it was over-ambitious, lacked qualified personnel, and that implementation targets were unspecified – but not the strategy itself. According to Tony Killick, a participant and leading development economist, "constructive professional advice was offered but very little by way of fundamental criticism of the strategy ... This suggests ... that what Nkrumah was trying to do in the sixties was in consonance with the ideas of most development economists" (in Karger 1994, 284). According to the Seven-Year Development Plan of 1964, transformation would be effected within 20 years, from the base of a mixed economy towards state-owned industry, with private investment in infrastructure and industry. The Plan stressed that "the smooth running of a mixed economy ... should be scrupulously observed" (Karger 1994, 272–73).

In 1961, Nkrumah's government had already nationalised the cocoa sector and they were unprepared when the export price of this main commodity fell steeply. Ghana slowly suffered a social and economic crisis. Corruption and bad management worsened in the public service and state-run enterprises. Goods and services, medical supplies and even food became scarce for many (Erica Powell 1984). As trade declined, the market women, formerly strong supporters of Nkrumah, protested. Organised workers went on strike against the wage reductions that were part of Nkrumah's response to the crisis.

In 1964, in the face of increasing foreign debts and domestic austerity policies, Ghana was declared a one-party state and Nkrumah became president-for-life. The democratic opposition was eliminated and violence (both public and against Nkrumah) increased. At this point, the tide had already turned against Nkrumah (Dekutsey 2012; Asante 2011). In 1966, he launched his most prestigious project, the Volta River hydroelectric dam, which would provide energy for Ghana and beyond, but also required the displacement of 80 000 people. Shortly after this, Nkrumah left Ghana to visit China and Vietnam. He would never return.

In Tanzania, Nyerere drafted his Tanzanian socialism as Ujamaa, a national 'kinship' system to be advanced through rural development, education and equality. The 1967 Arusha Declaration is both its official statement of purpose and a guideline. Parallel to the Ujamaa village programmes, Nyerere nationalised industries, commercial enterprises and the banks. When the powerful banks immediately withdrew all their managers, capable and willing Tanzanian 'Asians' took their places and "work went ahead very well". Nyerere's anti-racism policy paid out.

Post-independence Tanzania also achieved significant growth in waged employment. From 154 539 in 1948, the number of workers had more than doubled by 1966, to 332 000. After 1967 and the introduction of Ujamaa, employment grew rapidly to 404 000 people in 1971 and 607 730 in 1980. As in Ghana, about 9 percent of women earned wages in Tanzania by 1971 (Sender and Shiela Smith 1986, 53).

Ujamaa was not solely a success story but its policies and programmes reduced poverty for millions and provided basic infrastructure, food, work and schooling. It encouraged people to practice equality and social justice by learning, working and living together.

Education for human development

The most important contribution made by both leaders to promote dignity, self-confidence and human equality was in education. Nkrumah saw education as not only "a means to personal economic security and social privilege" but as the

“gateway to the enchanted cities of the mind” (IAS) (in Obeng 1997, 131). He also promoted (higher) education as a necessary preparation for the challenges of modernisation and industrialisation.

Nyerere emphasised quality basic education for children and adults. He was concerned about the high costs per capita of higher education and the responsibility of those who benefited from it. In 1980, he questioned his audience at the University of Dar es Salaam, which had opened in 1970: “It costs as much to educate 3 400 students at the University as it does to give primary education to 640 000 pupils ... [I]s this a socialist allocation of resources? Is it by any criteria a just allocation of resources?” (Legum and Mmari 1999, 55).

Nkrumah and Nyerere both supported a socialist syllabus in their educational policies. They saw education as the cornerstone of the new societies, needed to change power structures and to enable all citizens to take part in the difficult work of political, social and economic change. They stressed that socialist education should teach people to support the community, to “seek the welfare of the people” (Nkrumah, IAS; in Obeng 1997, 131) and to live and work together “for the common good” (Nyerere, ESR; 1968, 272–73).

Both leaders supported equal participation for girls and women and their countries achieved good results, although neither could entirely overcome traditional and patriarchal attitudes and other social impediments. In Ghana, “by 1965/6, girls constituted nearly 44 percent of total primary school enrolments, 35 percent at middle school and 25 at secondary level” (June Milne 2006, 108). Several of these ‘girls’ are leading feminists and writers today.

At the time of independence, Ghana’s education system was more developed than Tanzania’s, as the more advanced colonial economy had required more skills from the local population. In 1952, as prime minister, Nkrumah accelerated primary and secondary education, doubling enrolment. High school enrolment in Ghana in 1960 was 22 times higher than in Tanganyika. From 1961, primary school was compulsory and both primary and secondary education was state-financed. Illiteracy was expected to be obliterated by 1967.

Education for Self-Reliance (ESR), a programme close to Nyerere's heart, promoted holistic learning for human equality and development and was praised across Africa and overseas, including in particular Paulo Freire, the Brazilian author of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. ESR succeeded because it was humanist and universal, did not cost much, contributed to the emancipation of women and men, and created a spirit of togetherness and human equality. Some in Tanzania remember when the University was a centre for critical discussions on almost everything, from politics to social and economic issues, including the role of the intellectuals in a socialist society. ESR was revolutionary for many teachers and students. Under its influence, feminism, gender awareness and women's leadership blossomed.

There were other teachers and administrators who were critical of the new approach and felt it was developed too quickly or was difficult to understand. But I think of Marjorie Mbilinyi euphorically saying, "Idealism? Of course. Without an idealistic vision of the future, and of the way things ought to be, things do not happen. And things did happen..." (in Othman 2000, 201–2).

Adult literacy and health education

Ghana achieved one of the highest literacy rates in Africa as well as good results in the humanities and sciences at the universities. In support of African unity, universities hosted Pan-Africanist conferences and conducted research on African history, languages and achievements. After the military coup against Nkrumah in 1966, literacy was no longer a priority. Between 1960 and 1970, adult education coverage grew only from 27 to 30.2 percent. The rural areas in particular retained a high rate of adult illiteracy. Yusuf Kassam (1989), a Tanzanian educator and development specialist, wonders about who benefits from this. His studies show that governments are often not interested that all citizens can read and write. Literacy empowers. In Tanzania, literacy grew significantly from 9.5% in 1962 to 79 percent in 1980, a top result in Africa (Sender and Smith 1986). With fewer resources to invest than Ghana, Nyerere chose primary education and adult education as priorities.

The correlation between education and health is often underrated as an indicator of social equality (Wilkinson and Pickett 2009; UNDP 2015). Those who read and write can better understand health issues, have more self-confidence, and therefore make better decisions. This is particularly true in the case of women, for their own lives and also for their children and families (Wilkinson 2005).

In Ghana and Tanzania, the extension of education and healthcare services was mutually complementary. Information for healthcare, nutrition, disease prevention and treatment, among others was disseminated through adult education classes and at community health centres. In Ghana, clinics could be found “in the remotest parts of the country” (Asante 2011, 5) and health centres provided “health education, treated minor ailments, and referred major conditions to the nearest district hospitals, while enjoying a weekly visit from a medical officer” (Sodzi-Tettey 2009). Nyerere was equally proud of the increase in health services in Tanzania, recalling that, when he “stepped down as President ... [t]he most basic health care had been brought within 10 kilometres of about 80% of people, between 70% and 80% of whom still lived in the rural areas ” (Nyerere 2000a, 27–28).

Chapter 7. Conclusion

This final chapter presents five significant aspects of my hermeneutic work, from the methodological question to core topics of the interpretive work and to the Conversation with Nkrumah and Nyerere. In each part, I reflect on what has been learned, my own 'better understanding', and encourage readers to do the same.

I begin with a critical reflection on the method. Given the task of making the two personalities and leaders understandable to researchers, readers and contemporary leaders, did the hermeneutic dialogue approach provide an adequate theoretical framework? Was the "triple-jump" a useful method for getting the most from their texts? Did it support better understanding?

In the second part, I recall the perspectives of equality and human development expressed by the leaders' conceptual priorities, as revealed by the five core keywords. Nkrumah focussed on decolonisation and African unity and economy; Nyerere accented human equality and work.

The third part considers the major consensus: both leaders promoted education as a critical element for equality and for human development. Education became the backbone of both societies, although with different approaches.

The fourth part shows the tension between their ideals of equality and freedom and their ability to deal with political power and opposition. How did they deal with the contradictions? How did they resolve the problem of violence?

Finally, I reflect briefly on ethical leadership and make some recommendations. Nkrumah and Nyerere were certainly good leaders who

worked for poverty reduction and more human equality in their times. But were they also ethical leaders? What does ethical leadership mean in present times? My study offers some lessons and ideas for leadership training and I close with a proposal for developing and supporting good leadership through professional consultancy in Conversation.

7.1. Towards better understanding

The overall objective of this study was to understand Kwame Nkrumah and Julius Nyerere as leaders in their times, and to portray their views on equality as a human right and on social and human development. Did the hermeneutic approach to a moderated Conversation, in combination with content analysis and coding exercises, contribute to a better understanding for researchers, young leaders and interested readers?

These two extraordinary leaders guided their countries to independence from colonial domination. Were their achievements adequately shown and discussed in their own historical context and also from a contemporary perspective? Are their opinions on human equality, expressed in numerous speeches and essays, fairly reproduced and embedded in appropriate contextual descriptions and explanations? Did the “thick description” provide new lenses to enlighten and inform all partners in this research journey? Does the researcher, reader or leader have a greater interest in better understanding?

I will answer with a clear “yes”. The hermeneutic triple-jump model helped me to better understand Nkrumah and Nyerere in their times and to gain an empathy for both leaders, despite the flaws and significant weaknesses which I respectfully critique. The first two steps of coding and interpreting their texts produced the five core keywords – Colonialism, Socialism, Equality, Freedom and Development – that guided the moderated Conversation on human equality. The moderator’s questions were answered from within the texts. This model of hermeneutic interpretation enabled me to analyse their texts, to

dialogue critically, and to lead the Conversation with a strong sense of authenticity.

The hermeneutic process involved multiple re-readings of the texts, in whole and in parts, in consultation with a multidimensional exploration of context, to gain a better and more holistic understanding of Nkrumah's and Nyerere's perceptions on human equality. In a hermeneutic reflection, such an understanding of the whole is a best guess, a step on the spiral towards a textual 'truth'. In some matters, the Conversation achieved consensus: a deep agreement between the two leaders (and the moderator as well). Decolonisation and the need for a strong united Africa were undisputed, as was the immense importance of education to achieve personal dignity and equality as well as for social and economic development.

In other areas, the Conversation was interrupted or marred by differing opinions and even disagreement, such as the 'correct' concept of socialism or crucial questions concerning the rule of law, opposition and violence. These were rare interruptions of understanding, and perhaps also misunderstandings – for me, the researcher. Misunderstandings can occur because of methodological limitations due to, for example, poor selection of primary texts or insufficient research into context. Despite its many possibilities, textual interpretation also has limits. It does not allow for purely objective analysis because the researcher's knowledge, interest, curiosity and capacity for reflection are all part of the practice. This acknowledgement, on the other hand, is the big advantage of hermeneutic interpretation.

7.2. Priorities: Colonialism, unity and economy vs equality and work

The two leaders framed their visions of a new socialist nation quite differently, which in turn influenced their priorities in office, as can be seen in their strategies for African unity and their economic policies.

Nkrumah returned from his studies in the United States with a commitment to a Marxist-Leninist 'scientific socialism', with a central authoritarian structure under the command of a political 'vanguard', to free workers and peasants from imperialist and capitalist oppression. This model would guide his struggle to build freedom and development in Ghana (Nkrumaism) and to decolonise and unite all of Africa (Consciencism).

Nyerere learned about socialism in Europe after World War II, a decade after Nkrumah. During his studies in Scotland, he was influenced by the democratic socialist Fabian Society, and by the writings of John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor Mill. This approach was based on democratic principles, rule of law and human rights. His vision of independence was for people to live and work together in a community as equal persons without racism or other forms of discrimination.

Nkrumah became the figure of the liberator and unifier of colonised Africa. In a difficult time and with little experience as a political leader, he spoke out and was imprisoned for his provocations against the colonial administration.²⁰ The fight for independence – “towards colonial freedom” – was the fight to become full human beings, to free the 'African personality' and overcome the indignities of slavery and oppression. From his earliest writings, Nkrumah analysed the colonial situation, and every text in this study consistently returns to colonialism, de-colonisation, neo-colonialism, as well as the unity needed to oppose it.²¹ An industrialised Ghana would become a showcase of Africa's strength and its potential as a global player as the “richest continent on Earth”. This was the vision of his speech to the OAU in 1963, a speech that also warned, “We must unite now or perish!”

²⁰ However, when the CPP achieved a clear win in the 1951 elections, the farsighted governor, Sir Arden Clarke, released Nkrumah from prison and asked him to form a government to avoid further turmoil and bloodshed (Hadjor 1988). In 1952, Clarke appointed Nkrumah as prime minister. In this, the governor showed ethical leadership (see 7.5.).

²¹ This was convincingly demonstrated by manifest coding, where the keyword “colonial/ism” appears 758 times in the Nkrumah texts, compared to Nyerere's 73. “Unity” came second with 220 hits; Nyerere used it 84 times.

Nyerere's pragmatic democratic socialism took the form of Ujamaa, of people organised to live and work together as equal persons for the good of the community. "Equality" was the central keyword in his writing and speeches. Although he also supported African unity, Nyerere pursued a gradualist approach – and he clashed with Nkrumah about this. Nyerere did not believe that a rapid unification with central institutions would be possible given the ideological divisions that separated African states during the cold war. For both Ghana and Tanzania, the principled support of African liberation movements came with a high cost, which could barely be borne by impoverished Tanzania.

Nkrumah's economic priority was to tackle inequality and exploitation by restructuring and industrialising the capitalist economy. The strategy of investing in major infrastructure development was successful until the financial crisis hit at the beginning of the 1960s, and a political crisis followed. In his one decade of influence, Nkrumah was not able to significantly change the system. Instead, capitalism was balanced in a mixed economy with state support for social development, including education and healthcare centres across the country. In the crisis, Nkrumah's aggressive 'anti-imperialist' propaganda, authoritarian one-party politics and ambitious Seven-Year Development Plan drove away Western investment and were also rejected by the Ghanaian people. His political leadership came to an end with the coup and exile.

Nyerere began a nationalisation strategy in the mid-1960s to redistribute the country's wealth to the people, for poverty reduction and human development. For some years, the Tanzanian economy ran quite well under Ujamaa policies, despite some counterproductive government interventions. But then a series of external shocks – drought, a fall in commodity prices, the oil crisis – coupled with internal mismanagement and corruption led to increasing poverty at the beginning of the 1980s.

Considering the priorities of the two leaders, one could say that Nkrumah was driven by a 'big picture' perspective, working to achieve human equality at a

national, continental and global scale. Nyerere was concerned with solidarity in Africa and 'micro-equality', with social justice and equal opportunities - for instance in education - for women and men in community.

7.3. Education: Key for human development

Nkrumah and Nyerere were both keen to learn and became teachers as young men. They had supportive teachers at school, even under colonial conditions, and worked hard to broaden their learning when they were overseas, studying history, politics, philosophy, economics and more. They both experienced the importance of education for their personal development, for understanding how society and the world functions, and for opposing oppression and creating new societies. As presidents of their new states, Nkrumah and Nyerere understood that education was needed to liberate the minds and 'free' the people. Education was also essential for the production of goods, for the provision of services for people, and for the best use of natural resources to reduce poverty.

As prime minister, from 1952, Nkrumah already supported primary and secondary schools, also for girls and women. After independence, Ghana invested particularly in secondary and the tertiary education and provided it free of charge. Nkrumah wanted a modern industrialised economy with first-class technology to set an example in Africa. He also knew that education was needed to decolonise people's minds and to support the CPP's vision for 'scientific socialism' and progressive development. In the 1960s, until he was deposed in 1966, Nkrumah achieved a high enrolment in primary and secondary schools.

Nyerere, as leader of the opposition in parliament in 1958, called for more investment in education. It was a difficult situation because the colonial administration was not interested in educating a population that would then turn against them, as was happening elsewhere in Africa. As president of Tanganyika, from 1962, Nyerere strongly promoted Education for Self-

Reliance, universal primary and adult education. By the 1970s, primary education was compulsory and free and adult education was highly promoted. He often said that Tanganyika/Tanzania was far too poor to invest heavily in higher education.

Why was the difference in adult literacy between Ghana and Tanzania so big? In the 1970s and '80s, Tanzania achieved a literacy rate of 85 percent. The adult literacy rate in Ghana stood at 27 percent in 1960 and grew to only 30 percent in the following two decades – under military and civil dictatorship. Nkrumah did not prioritise adult education as Nyerere did. We can also see that dictators are generally not interested in developing literate people who could become 'critical' of their rule. Nkrumah gave more support to higher education. Science and technology were taught in different universities and colleges, "to make even the Sahara bloom", as he said in the 1963 OAU speech, and to "lift our people from the dark recesses of illiteracy" (Nkrumah in Obeng 1997, 35).

Since the 1960s, Tanzania has had a high degree of equality in educational access and gender parity compared to other African countries. This is still significant today. However, the indicator does not say much about the quality of education. Ghana's inequality was rather high at the end of the twentieth century, but has improved in the last decade (UNDP 2014).

I accept that Nyerere's adult education programme and implementation contributed strongly to political stability in Tanzania. Education did 'liberate' the largely illiterate population, supporting a life of dignity and giving people a better perspective to manage their lives. This was a big achievement. There were at least two further important social impacts. First, people could better understand the new socialist policy of Ujamaa and TANU's ideas to develop the country. It also enabled dialectical thinking and critical debates – including oppositional ideas within TANU (Marjorie Mbilinyi 2004, 2010; Chiligati 2008). The second impact is very important for social coherence and the peaceful development of Tanzania: the trust in Nyerere and his democratic politics. Nyerere discussed matters with the people and he convinced them. He could

explain TANU's political programmes and policies and why they were necessary for a poor country. He also persuaded people with his humble lifestyle. Nyerere could also be intolerant: as chancellor of the university, he over-reacted with expulsions when students went on strike. He later regretted his harsh reaction, but he also believed that those who were privileged with education had a responsibility to society.

Despite Nkrumah's and Nyerere's prioritising education as a critical part of human development and achieving equality in society, different impacts can be noted. Nkrumah's policy to modernise and industrialise Ghana needed higher education and led to a group of scientifically well educated experts, indeed. However, being that a type of education geared towards a knowledgeable elite, it failed in creating the mass support that he, in the end, would have needed to remain in power and to counterbalance native elites that subsisted out of the colonial regime, having accumulated power and resources.

Nyerere's policy - 'education for self-reliance' -, on the other hand, created a sustained mass support to his Ujamaa and African socialism. Priority investment in literacy programmes provided the population with the means to understand the party's messages and Nyerere's arguments. Even the ones who did not share his vision could not oppose the democratisation of the power to read and write. This policy also led to a higher equality between men and women, ultimately giving the leadership more legitimacy and stability.

7.4. Power and opposition: The question of violence

Great leaders are not always the best protectors of human rights and personal liberty, particularly when they try to overcome a conservative or reactionary structure and build a new society that will contribute to human equality. Nkrumah, and later Nyerere, faced serious threats and responded with violence and coercion. In the struggle for independence, they both vowed to support freedom, equal rights and justice, but they could not know then what

threats the future would bring (see 6.3.4). In those times, they didn't have training in leadership skills such as conflict resolution or de-escalation techniques for negotiating with interest groups or opposition forces. They believed in the power of the idea – equality and freedom – to convince (almost) everybody. However, their socialist beliefs and the societies they founded differed significantly.

Scientific-socialist Nkrumaism versus African-socialist Ujamaa: the contrast is quite strong. On the one hand, there is industrial modernisation for development, 'Westernised' ambition, and some extravagant benefits for party activists. On the other, an egalitarian agrarian society where people would work and live together on an equal footing, but without luxury or affluence as long as poverty prevailed.

With a better understanding of Nkrumah's and Nyerere's differences, some lessons can be drawn about dealing with the conflict between social equality and personal liberty. Nkrumah's situation was particularly difficult. He was the pioneer, 'free' to shape the creation of a new society – but also with no role models to help him avoid flaws and mistakes. Nyerere, coming later to power, would have other examples to study, including Nkrumah. Nkrumah was also confronted – again unlike Nyerere – with an established, conservative opposition that wanted to maintain their power and privilege. The prison death of J.B. Danquah, probably Nkrumah's most significant opponent, "remains one of the darkest splotches on the otherwise impeccable and brilliant résumé of President Nkrumah" (Okoampa-Ahoofe 2005, 3).

Nkrumah developed his ideology in the United States and the UK, and returned with a clear vision of modern 'scientific socialism' and industrial advancement. His government organised adequate educational and technical training institutions, and built modern transport and energy infrastructure, including the planning of a huge dam to supply energy to the region. He supported human development for the poor majority, and employment and living standards rose until beginning of the 1960s. As a party, the CPP was very active and won wide support in the country. The masses were proud of

Osagyefo Nkrumah and adored him as undisputed leader, even as “Messiah”. Although he personally led a humble life, his ‘superhuman’ reputation allowed him to implement his demanding and sometimes controversial policies and programmes. Even primary school pupils needed to be taught Nkrumaism.

One lesson that can be learned is that, when attempting to lead great social and political changes, it is essential to avoid dogmatism and to be open to criticism and diverging opinions. Nkrumah and Nyerere each made use of a Preventive Detention Act, legislation that allowed for the imprisonment of suspects without trial, in order to stabilise socialist political and social systems that were not yet consolidated.

Soon after Nyerere announced the end of the Africanisation policy in the Tanzanian public service in 1964, he was confronted by “the most serious political crisis of his life” (Mamdani 2012, 109): an army mutiny that was supported by trade unions. Then in 1969, following the Arusha Declaration and its restrictive Leadership Code, he was betrayed by some very close friends and colleagues, including Oscar Kambona, his former number two, and Bibi Titi Mohamed (see 4.5.5). Those confidantes had apparently plotted against Nyerere to replace Ujamaa with a more capitalist programme. The plot was discovered early enough to avoid bloodshed and seven people were tried for treason in 1970. Nyerere was deeply disillusioned. Previously, he had said he was “one of the luckiest presidents in Africa. My colleagues are very loyal to me” (Annie Smyth and Seftel 1998, 188).

A much graver case was Nkrumah’s responsibility in the detention and death of his opponent J.B. Danquah. This example exposes the intensity of oppositional hostility (on both sides), Nkrumah’s desperate situation in a spiral of violence and hatred, and the catastrophic consequences for Nkrumah and the Ghanaian people. Since 1955, Nkrumah had experienced several physical attacks as well as death threats and campaigns to destabilise his government and his existence. Botwe-Asamoah (2005, 13) writes that “no ruler in Ghana, to date, has experienced terrorist attacks in terms of constant bomb throwing, a face-to-face gun shot and ambushes as Nkrumah did”.

This is just one example of an escalating spiral of violence, but the phenomenon can be seen in many other situations, then and now, in Ghana and Tanzania and elsewhere. For socially responsible ethical leadership, the question of violence is the crucial point. Political actors play with the idea of using force to achieve their (mostly economic) interests, even to the point of war or 'threatening' to wage a nuclear war. Ethical leadership, as I understand, must detest and refute such ways of 'problem solving'. Leaders who use armed force other than for self-defence can at best be considered 'efficient', if they achieve their aims, but they fail as ethical leaders.

Can political leaders contribute to the objectives of human equality and development through the use of coercion, violence, torture and military force? My conclusion is "no". Nkrumah and Nyerere would today probably agree, although they supported the liberation struggle against the colonial masters. That violence was defensive, I would say. Violence was probably 'needed' or justifiable to become free peoples and for Africans to regain the dignity and status of 'full' persons. But a different set of political ideas and actions should not be met with revenge and violence.

Nkrumah was in a difficult, frustrating situation in the 1960s, and the idea of an African revolution was understandable. Since the Pan-African Congress in 1945, he had seen resistance to colonial oppression gain ground across what was then called the third world. Maybe he would have revisited the use of violence as Mandela did, to avoid further bloodshed, further hatred and its consequences. The idea of human equality was destroyed for many people and for long time.

What can we learn from such disasters? In a critical situation, a good leader has to search for dialogue and diplomacy. As Habermas advises, the leader has to be ready for conversation with the adversary. Mediators and arbitrators who are acceptable to both sides have to be involved. Every chance for negotiations and for further cooperation has to be taken. Disagreement and conflicts of interest are normal parts of social and political life, but one

hesitates to call the opponent an ‘enemy’ when meeting face to face on an equal footing. Ultimately, it is the possibility of finding consensus that helps opponents to live together and respect each other as equal human beings. A leader who reaches out a hand for negotiations or give signs of forgiveness acts as a responsible and ethical leader. Such a leader shows the quality of a role model.

7.5. Ethical leadership today: Three suggestions

The picture of the two leadership personalities has become sharper after this long journey. Were Nkrumah and Nyerere good leaders in their time, and can they be role models for the 21st century? What can this study recommend to contemporary leadership in Africa and the world?

My research began with a working definition of “ethical leadership” as a means of “organising people to achieve common goals for the good of society” (Häussler 2013; Section 4.2), and of “good leader” as

a person of integrity and competence who strives for democratic socio-economic development while respecting the rule of law and the principle that “all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights”, in the words of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. (Section 1.1)

Chapter 4’s review of global contemporary leadership studies produced a guideline for “good leadership” with five dimensions: charisma, integrity, team- and group-building, positive thinking and humane acting, and supportive of gender equality (see 4.2.2).

Using this framework, Nkrumah was found to be a good leader until the end of the 1950s or the beginning of the 1960s. With his strong charisma, he was broadly engaged in all five dimensions. Then he turned dictator. From 1964, he was the president-for-life of a one-party state. He made decisions alone, sidelined parliament, and eliminated oppositional voices, even within the CPP. Nkrumah’s influence had already diminished radically by the end of the 1960s, before his death in 1972, while Ghana remained in political turmoil until 1992.

Nkrumah's reputation was revitalised in 1997 during Ghana's 40th Jubilee and again to mark his 90th birthday in 1999, when the BBC's Network Africa listeners voted him the "African of the Millennium" (BBC World Service 1999). This was a decade after the end of the Soviet Union and of the era of revolutionary "class struggle in Africa" - a major topic of Nkrumah's last writings.

Nyerere's leadership was just as famous for his charisma and meets the other four criteria fairly well. Tanzania was also a one-party state, but with a more democratic form as voters could choose between two or more CCM candidates in their constituencies. In his time, Nyerere was the champion of human equality and tried to apply its principles.

On reflection, the persuasiveness of ethical leadership can be grounded in the principles of human rights and does not need charisma to influence followers. And yet charisma is presented as a core feature in many prominent leadership studies. When we – researchers, leaders and people – focus on charisma as an essential dimension of good leadership, does this not neglect or obscure other important personal dimensions like gender egalitarianism, competence, trustworthiness, rapport and integrity? And, most importantly, but rarely discussed: the emphasis on charisma reinforces a patriarchal image of leadership. In the literature and in public perception, women are much less likely to appear as charismatic leaders. This seems to be true in Africa and elsewhere.

Ethical leadership seeks group consensus, at best, or at least a viable agreement between all parties avoiding violence. Proponents of non-violence such as Kwegyir Aggrey, Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr were early role models for Nkrumah and for Nyerere. Both men affirmed that the use of violence was only justifiable when used as defence, but both crossed that very line as political leaders.

This research therefore makes three suggestions for encouraging and sustaining ethical leadership for human equality and development. The first

concerns leadership training. Future leaders and young people should learn about gender equality and women's empowerment. They should also learn strategies and techniques for building agreements – and, better still, consensus – towards “achieving common goals for the good of society”, including skills for peaceful conflict resolution in the face of opposition. Non-violent and peaceful strategies must be taught, learned and used.

A second element that can help to create a politically stable environment would be to recognise and acknowledge the pressure that top political leaders experience. The hermeneutic process of understanding the leadership careers of Nyerere and Nkrumah reminds us that politicians and bureaucrats are not gods or saints. Under the burden of their responsibilities, and perhaps their own charismatic reputations, they make mistakes. Wrong decisions at high levels can lead to damage, crisis or disaster for the nation, for the leader and for others, including the natural environment.

In present times, political leaders are constantly scrutinised by traditional and social media, by their peers, their ‘friendly’ competitors, and their opposition and ‘enemies’. Such a constant limelight creates an extreme situation of stress, which is invisible to the general public and rarely discussed when debating the leader's decisions. What does come to light, however, are the mishaps of the president, the misogynist comments about the prime minister, or the love affairs of the commander-in-chief. We can all imagine how difficult it is to take the right decision in the face of negative public opinion, or to defend an idea that is important in the long run but whose short-term impacts give room to an aggressive and violent opposition. The leader who wants to be ethical needs help! Therefore, what follows from this research and refers to Nkrumah's and Nyerere's leadership failures is a proposed institutional model for the support of good leaders and ethical leadership and that can address challenges experienced by leaders in Africa.

I suggest an independent consultancy body for the top political leaders. This professional consultant or partner in conversation would be an advisory counsel to the President and other top leaders, to protect their psychological

and physical vitality, and to reduce stress. The purpose would be to support leadership for human equality and development and to encourage ethical decision-making, therefore avoiding the negative consequences of bad decisions made under duress. This would provide the leader with the possibility of a professional dialogue partner with no stake in the political machine but sufficient experience, expertise and wisdom to assist with significant leadership issues, whether these are political, personal, psychological, physiological or philosophical.

A man and a woman as conversational therapists could be the best choice, regardless of the gender of the leader. They should be, in my opinion, politically and religiously independent, but with a strong and proven commitment to human equality. Their philosophical and ethical framework could be guided by the four principles of good governance promoted by the Mo Ibrahim Foundation: safety and rule of law; participation and human rights; sustainable economic opportunity; and human development (Section 4.2.4.). The Mo Ibrahim Foundation (2016) honours the “achievement in African Leadership for former heads of state” with a very generous award for the ethical leader at the end of his/her term. This is a very attractive motivation.

The overall aim of such counsel would be to provide a reliable vent for the pressures of public office, to reduce stress and fear of losing power, and to avoid the uncontrolled escalation of bad decision-making that can lead to spiralling violence. That was the case in Nkrumah’s reaction to opposition attacks and, to a minor extent, Nyerere’s difficult emotional moments when he was betrayed by close friends. Leadership crises that escalate to bloodshed are quite common, and a permanent independent consultancy could de-escalate conflict at the level of top leadership.²²

²² Two current examples come to mind as I write this conclusion in April 2017. One is the Gambia in February 2017, when President Yahya Jammeh, after losing the December 2016 presidential election, refused to hand over power, threatened his opponents, and mobilised his troops and the police, thus bringing the country to the edge of a war. The other is South Africa now, as political pressure mounts against President Jacob Zuma, intensifying splits in the ruling African National Congress as well as deep frustration in other sectors of society. Zuma’s irrational actions and reactions, like Jammeh’s, indicate a leader striving to stay in power, whatever the cost.

I suggest that such a consultancy body or a similar institutional concept be included in the syllabus of political, professional and technical leadership training programmes. Its appropriateness could also be discussed from an interdisciplinary academic perspective, involving social development, psychology, sociology, political science and other areas specific to leadership education and training. The Faculty of Humanities at the University of Cape Town - as a leadership training institution - could be a starting point for critical discussion and for further dissemination of the concept.

7.6. Epilogue

The fictive Conversation as a hermeneutic exercise shows that, even if people are long gone, their voices can live on, even 'forever' in the case of some extraordinary political and religious leaders. However, one has to be judicious when taking leaders as role model, as history is also marked by leaders who deceived the people. There are infamous examples in Europe, in Africa and beyond. The last century was particularly rich in cruel political leaders, idols and icons that caused deep wounds to humankind. As we know, not only young and 'innocent' people follow dictators: very different sorts of people can find them attractive.

What can be done for human equality and to counter dictatorial regimes? I suggest supporting critical education for girls and boys, women and men, and giving teaching a leadership role, which would contribute to active participation in all fields of society. All leaders should be urged to reduce poverty, to provide goods and services and to inspire their people to live decent lives and work for a better society. Equal human rights must be experienced in daily life. Nkrumah and Nyerere would agree.

The only African woman president shall have the last word. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf of Liberia, who was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2011, published an autobiography called *This Child Will Be Great: Memoir of a Remarkable Life by Africa's First Woman President*. In it, she writes about Nyerere, whom

she knew from her time working for the United Nations in Kenya. Among all the political figures she encountered, Nyerere was the personality who impressed and influenced her most. Decades later, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf (2009, 197) writes, and I would agree:

“His dedication to his people and the country, Africa and Pan-Africanism, remains an example and a role-model to me”.

ANNEXES

Annex 5.1 Manifest coding tables

Table A5.1a Nkrumah: Occurrences of keywords in 11 texts (Equality)

Texts: Title, kind, date, pages (b=book, e=essay, s=speech) (Work: July 2015/July 2016/Sept 2016)	Equality										Reference	Antonym
	Equality	Egalitarianism	Personality	Dignity	Colonial	Justice/ Rights	Freedom	Race/ Racial	Religion/ Religious	Unity/ Union	Leadership	Inequality
1 Towards Colonial Freedom, b, 1945, 25p	3	0	2	0	388	23	25	2	0	17	4	0
2 The Motion of Destiny, s, 1953, 11p	1	0	2	0	15	15	16	1	0	4	2	0
3 The African Personality, e, 1961, 8p	1	0	5	0	13	5	18	17	1	4	5	0
4 Flower of Learning, s, 1961, 7p	0	0	1	0	7	0	5	1	0	2	0	0
5 Building a Socialist State, s, 1961, 10p	1	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	5	0
6 Work and Happiness Plan, s, 1962, 4p	0	0	0	0	4	3	0	0	0	1	0	0
7 Conference of African Heads of State, s, 1963, 12p	1	0	1	0	42	4	15	2	0	84	0	1
8 Opening of the Institute of African Studies, s, 1963, 10p	1	0	1	0	7	0	5	0	1	4	0	0
9 Consciencism Philosophy and Ideology, b, 1964, 49p	20	45	11	4	90	21	11	1	35	14	3	7
10 Class Struggle, Socialist Revolution, e, 1970, 7p	0	0	0	0	26	1	3	4	0	11	4	0
11 Axioms of Kwame Nkrumah, b, 1967, 62p	7	6	11	6	164	19	73	23	7	79	9	0
Totals across 11 texts: 203 pages, 85,729 words	35	51	36	10	758	91	171	51	44	220		
Ranking: 1st to 10th	9	5	8	10	1	4	3	6	7	2		

Table A5.1b Nkrumah: Occurrences of keywords in 11 texts (Human development)

Texts: Title, kind, date, pages (b=book, e=essay, s=speech) (Work: July 2015/July 2016/Sept 2016)	Human Development										Reference	Antonym
	Humanity	Development	Socialism	Life/ Lives	Health/ Hospital	Education	Food/ Water	Worker	Participation	Economy	People	Poverty
1 Towards Colonial Freedom, b, 1945, 25p	3	31	9	4	5	6	0	9	2	67	73	3
2 The Motion of Destiny, s, 1953, 11p	2	5	9	7	0	0	0	3	1	6	23	0
3 The African Personality, e, 1961, 8p	2	5	2	5	1	1	0	3	3	11	12	0
4 Flower of Learning, s, 1961, 7p	1	12	7	4	0	16	0	5	0	5	12	0
5 Building a Socialist State, s, 1961, 10p	1	27	31	6	1	14	5	16	1	30	28	0
6 Work and Happiness Plan, s, 1962, 4p	0	4	5	2	0	1	0	7	0	5	12	1
7 Conference of African Heads of State, s, 1963, 12p	3	20	11	1	0	2	2	7	0	26	26	2
8 Opening of the Institute of African Studies, s, 1963, 10p	1	16	10	2	1	15	0	15	0	7	17	0
9 Consciencism Philosophy and Ideology, b, 1964, 49p	61	42	193	30	0	17	0	9	1	32	17	1
10 Class Struggle, Socialist Revolution, e, 1970, 7p	0	11	52	3	0	0	0	7	1	8	9	0
11 Axioms of Kwame Nkrumah, b, 1967, 62p	24	52	88	19	4	13	3	20	1	73	136	6
Totals across 11 texts: 203 pages, 85,729 words	98	225	417	83	12	85	10	101	10	270		
Ranking: 1st to 10th	5	3	1	7	8	6	9	4	10	2		

Table A5.1c Nyerere: Occurrences of keywords in 12 texts (Equality)

Texts: Title, kind, date, pages (b=book, e=essay, s=speech) (Work: July 2015/July 2016/Sept 2016)	Equality									Reference	Antonym	
	Equality	Egalitarianism	Personality	Dignity	Colonial	Justice/ Rights	Freedom	Race/ Racial	Religion/ Religious	Unity/ Union	Leadership	Inequality
20 Women's Freedom, e, 1944, 12p	4	0	16	0	0	30	27	0	9	2	0	0
21 Race Problem in East Africa, e, 1949-1952, 5p	9	0	1	0	8	8	6	18	0	9	0	0
22 President's Inaugural Address, s, 1962, 8p	6	0	2	4	9	4	8	4	0	10	2	0
23 Introduction to F & U, e, 1966, 9p	35	0	11	7	2	15	20	2	2	9	0	8
24 The Arusha Declaration, e, 1967, 15p	3	0	3	2	0	11	4	1	2	1	30	0
25 Education for Self-Reliance, e, 1967, 16p	9	4	5	1	13	2	8	5	4	3	3	3
26 Socialism and Rural Development, e, 1967, 16p	25	0	9	2	2	8	3	0	0	3	5	4
27 Ujamaa is Tanzanian Socialism, e, 1968, 12p	24	0	6	7	11	6	17	9	10	4	32	4
28 The Church and Society, s, 1970, 10p	5	0	3	11	2	31	7	1	9	1	6	2
29 Self-Government is Self-Reliance, s, 1987, 15p	7	0	6	3	0	6	3	0	1	7	56	0
30 Collective Self Reliance, s, 1997, 9p	2	0	1	1	4	2	4	0	0	6	11	0
31 Highlights, 4 speeches, 1967 - 1997, 22p	18	0	11	3	22	7	13	18	3	29	7	124
Totals across 12 Texts: 155 pages, 84,813 words	147	4	72	41	73	130	120	58	40	84		769
Ranking: 1st to 10th	1	10	6	8	5	2	3	7	9	4		

Table A5.1d Nyerere: Occurrences of keywords in 12 texts (Human development)

Texts: Title, kind, date, pages (b=book, e=essay, s=speech) (Work: July 2015/July 2016/Sept 2016)	Human Development										Reference	Antonym
	Humanity	Development	Socialism	Life/ Lives	Health/ Hospital	Education	Food/ Water	Work	Participation	Economy	People	Poverty
20 Women's Freedom, e, 1944, 12p	18	5	1	13	3	45	5	3	2	1	39	0
21 Race Problem in East Africa, e, 1949-1952, 5p	0	0	5	0	0	1	1	0	0	3	21	0
22 President's Inaugural Address, s, 1962, 8p	5	9	2	8	3	26	1	16	0	1	29	1
23 Introduction to F & U, e, 1966, 9p	19	10	43	11	1	4	6	14	0	17	5	1
24 The Arusha Declaration, e, 1967, 15p	3	74	35	6	7	2	14	46	1	15	48	6
25 Education for Self-Reliance, e, 1967, 16p	4	18	25	30	0	125	7	60	9	15	54	4
26 Socialism and Rural Development, e, 1967, 16p	12	20	46	42	2	5	16	65	7	8	77	4
27 Ujamaa is Tanzanian Socialism, e, 1968, 12p	24	19	152	15	2	10	3	24	2	11	57	3
28 The Church and Society, s, 1970, 10p	12	29	25	9	5	2	3	20	4	20	29	18
29 Self-Government is Self-Reliance, s, 1987, 15p	2	31	56	5	4	3	4	28	0	14	44	4
30 Collective Self Reliance, s, 1997, 9p	4	10	0	2	1	3	0	7	0	8	21	1
31 Highlights, 4 speeches, 1967 - 1997, 22p	23	36	38	9	2	20	1	26	1	16	85	4
Totals across 12 Texts: 155 pages, 84,813 words	126	261	428	150	30	246	61	309	26	129		
Ranking: 1st to 10th	7	3	1	5	9	4	8	2	10	6		

Annex 5.2 Latent coding tally sheets – Nkrumah

Tally Sheet: *Nkrumah Nr.1 Towards Colonial Freedom, TCF, b, 1945/1962, 25p*

1. Basic Data:

Event/Reason: Threat of colonialism/neo-colonialism in Africa

Date and venue: 1944/1945 draft for 5th Pan-African Conference, 1945 in Manchester/UK.

Source: Nkrumah. 1962, *Towards Colonial Freedom*, Heinemann, London, UK.

Target group/audience: Participants of Pan-African Conference 1945; two decades later published as “a guide to students of the ‘Colonial Question’... “(Nkrumah 1962,xi)

Topic and objective: colonial oppression and exploitation; appeal for liberation struggle

Summary: Nkrumah wrote this draft during his studies in the United States (1935 to 1945) and presented it as a pamphlet at the 5th P-A-Conference in 1945. He discusses slavery and analyses the economic damage of colonial exploitation. He criticizes social and cultural inequality and calls for national liberation with the “organisation of labour and of youth ... to bring the final death of colonialism” (41).His “Declaration to the colonial peoples of the world” (Appendix, p 44) was approved by the Conference’s participants. It demands that “all colonies must be free from foreign imperialist’s control [...] and must have the right to elect their own government “ (ibid.).

2. Coding (manifest, Annex 3)

Equality		Human Development	
Equality/equal	3	Human/ity/ism	3
Egalitarian/ism	0	Develop-ment	31
Person-ality	2	Social/ism	9
Dignity	0	Life/Lives	4
Colonial/ism	38	Health/Hospital	5
Justice/Rights	23	Educat-ion	6
Freedom	25	Food/Water	0
Race/Racial	2	Work	9
Religion/Religious	0	Particip-ation	2
Unity/Union	17	Economy/ic	67
<i>Leader/ship</i>	4	<i>People</i>	73
Inequality	0	Poverty	3

3. Context: Throughout his schooling and under the influence of intellectuals such as the Nigerian journalist Azikiwe in Ghana (1936), Nkrumah learned about the British Empire and its socio-economic impacts in Africa. The draft of this book was written during his ten-year studies in the United States, among his Afro-American activities for equal rights and against discrimination of black people. Nkrumah was “a fervent advocate of Garvey’s Pan-Africanism” (Hadjor 2003, 36) and inspired by Marxist intellectuals (DuBois, Padmore, C.L.R. James). His studies opened his eyes about the extent of colonial oppression and exploitation and the danger of neo-colonialism.

4. Coding (latent): excerpts/quotes from the text Nr.1, TCF

“Beneath the ‘humanitarian’ and ‘appeasement’ shibboleths of colonial governments, a proper scrutiny leads one to discover nothing but deception, hypocrisy, oppression and exploitation. Such expressions as ‘colonial charter’, ‘trusteeship’, ‘partnership’, ‘guardianship’, ..., and other shabby sham gestures of setting up a fake machinery for ‘gradual evolution towards self-government’ are means to cover the eyes of colonial peoples with the veil of

imperialist chicanery. But the eyes of colonial peoples are beginning to see the light of day and are awakening to the true meaning of colonial policies. xvi [In South Africa:] nearly seven million Africans, almost three-fourths of the entire population of the Union of South Africa, possess less than twenty per cent of the total area of the Union. They are by law denied the right of acquiring more land either by purchase or by other means. ... Further, they are gravely limited in their right to organise, to form trade unions, in their right to strike, to move about freely, to buy land, to trade, to acquire education, and to aspire to full citizenship in their own country. 6

Take Britain, for instance, and see what she does in her African colonies. She controls exports of raw materials from the colonies by preventing direct shipment by her colonial 'subjects' to foreign markets, in order that, after satisfying the demands of her home industries, she can sell the surplus to other nations, netting huge super—profits for herself. The colonial farmer—producer has no share in these profits. The question may be raised to the effect that the colonial powers utilise part of these profits for public works, health projects and 'loans'. The fact generally forgotten is that such 'loans' come from taxing the colonial 'subjects'... 15

The colonial powers build hospitals because if the health of the colonial subjects is not taken care of it will not only jeopardize their own health but will diminish the productive power of the colonial labourer. They build schools in order to satisfy the demand for clerical activities and occupations for foreign commercial and mercantile concerns. The roads they build lead only to the mining and plantation centres. In short, any humanitarian act of any colonial power towards the 'ward' is merely to enhance its primary objective: economic exploitation. 27 It is the colonial peasants who suffer most considerably from this evil system. ...colonial subjects will not progress to any notable extent and will always remain poverty stricken with a sub-normal standard of living. That is one of the reasons why we maintain that the only solution to the colonial problem is the complete eradication of the entire economic system of colonialism, by colonial peoples, through their gaining political independence. Political freedom will open the way for the attainment of economic and social improvement and advancement. It must be otherwise under foreign rule.

20[We will reach development] by fighting for trade union rights, the right to form co-operatives, freedom of the press, assembly, demonstration and strike, freedom to print and read the literature which is necessary for the education of the masses ... There is only one road to effective action—the organisation of the masses.” TCF 45

5. Questions (eq, hd): How does colonial politics impact on the rights of the people/s? (eq) What has to be done to overcome rural poverty and achieve social development? (hd)

Tally Sheet: *Nkrumah Nr.2 The Motion of Destiny, MoD, s, 1953, 11 p*

1. Basic Data:

Event/Reason: Speech in the Ghanaian Parliament by Nkrumah as Prime Minister

Date and venue: 10 July 1953, Assembly, Accra/Ghana

Source: Nkrumah, 1957, *Autobiography*, Ghana, ed.1965a, p189-207, p 156-171

Target group/audience: Speaker, Members of Parliament, Media (e.g. *Accra Evening News*)

Topic and objective: Nkrumah’s motion on constitutional reform in Ghana for independence.

Summary: This speech is a key instrument used to try and convince Britain to act. Nkrumah puts pressure and proposes “throwing off the hampering shackles of colonialism, ... To-day we are here to claim this right to our independence.” (MoD, 190). Other relevant points are the proposals to direct election by secret ballot for all members of the Assembly and the Cabinet and the offer to be a partner within the Commonwealth. Nkrumah made it clear that self-government is a birth-right “which all the chiefs and people in Ghana claim”. June Milne finds that the “*Motion of Destiny* speech was one of his finest.” (2006, 65)

2. Coding (manifest, Annex 3)

Equality		Human Development	
Equality/equal	1	Human/ity/ism	2
Egalitarian/ism	0	Develop-ment	5
Person/ality	2	Social/ism	9
Dignity	0	Life/Lives	7
Colonial-ism	15	Health/Hospital	0
Justice/Rights	15	Educat-ion	0
Freedom	16	Food/Water	0
Race/Racial	1	Work	3
Religion/Religious	0	Particip-ation	1
Unity/Union	4	Economy/ic	6
<i>Leader/ship</i>	2	<i>People</i>	23
Inequality	0	Poverty	0

3. Context: Nkrumah founded the progressive Convention People’s Party, CPP, in 1949 (Motto: “Forward Ever, Backward Never”). Nkrumah and CPP defended a new Constitution for the Gold Coast to further independence. Responding to the unsatisfying *Report of the Coussey Commission*, Nkrumah organized, in the beginning of 1950, a “Positive Action” with a “general strike across the nation” (Hadjor 2003, 53). Nkrumah, in detention for one year, was a candidate in the General Elections in February 1951. He was elected for the Accra Centre constituency. The CPP won 34 out of 38 seats. The opposition UGCC “was humiliated with only 3 Assembly seats” (ibid. 55). Governor Sir Arden Clarke released Nkrumah from prison and requested him to form a Government, to avoid “disorders, violence and bloodshed” (ibid.56).

4. Coding (latent): excerpts/quotes from the text Nr.2, MoD

“I beg to move that this Assembly in adopting the Government’s White Paper on constitutional reform do authorise the Government to request that Her Majesty’s Government as soon as the necessary constitutional and

administrative arrangements for independence are made, should introduce an Act of Independence ..., that this Assembly do authorise the Government to ask Her Majesty's Government, without prejudice to the above request, to amend as a matter of urgency the Gold Coast (Constitution) Order in Council 1950, in such a way as to provide inter alia that the Legislative Assembly shall be composed of members directly elected by secret ballot, and that all Members of the Cabinet shall be Members of the Assembly and directly responsible to it. 189

The right of a people to decide their own destiny, to make their way in freedom, is not to be measured by the yardstick of colour or degree of social development. It is an inalienable right of peoples which they are powerless to exercise when forces, stronger than they themselves, by whatever means, for whatever reasons, take this right away from them. 191

Let there be no doubt that we are equally determined not to rest until we have gained them [their rights]. ... we are able to govern ourselves and thereby we are putting an end to the myth that Africans are unable to manage their own affairs, even when given the opportunity. 192

... the country has responded fully to my call. ... The talks which I had with the political parties and the Trades Union Congress, and the committees of the Asanteman and joint Provincial Councils, were frank and cordial. 193

Mr Speaker, knowing full well, therefore, the will of the chiefs and people whom we represent, I am confident that with the support of this House, Her Majesty's Government will freely accede to our legitimate and righteous demand to become a self-governing unit within the Commonwealth. ... Last, I give you the words of Mr Oliver Lyttelton, Colonial Secretary in Her Majesty's Conservative Government of to-day: "We all aim at helping the Colonial Territories to attain self-government within the Commonwealth. 194

As with our enslaved brothers dragged from these shores to the United States and to the West Indies, throughout our tortuous history, we have not been docile under the heel of the conqueror. 197

As I said earlier, what we ask is not for ourselves on this side of the House, but for all the chiefs and people of this country - the right to live as free men in

the comity of nations. Were not our ancestors ruling themselves before the white man came to these our shores? 200

The strands of history have brought our two countries together. We have provided much material benefit to the British people, and they in turn have taught us many good things. We want to continue to learn from them the best they can give us and we hope that they will find in us qualities worthy of emulation.” MoD 205

5. Questions (eq, hd): Which rights is Nkrumah claiming from the British Government and why?(eq) What kind of partnership was offered to Britain in exchange for independence?(hd)

Tally Sheet: *Nkrumah Nr.3 The African Personality, AP,s,1958/1961, 8p*

1. Basic Data:

Event/Reason: Speech in a collection of speeches and essays to ‘African ideology’

Date and venue: April 1958, Ghana

Source: Nkrumah 1961. *I speak of Freedom: a statement of African ideology.* Panaf, UK; Speech: 1958 , p125-134²³

Target group/audience: broadcast to the nation, Nkrumah’s party CPP and diplomats

Topic and objective: Report on a Pan-African trip in 1958; freedom for all African countries; creation of a new strong identity, fight against neo-colonialism, racism and for unity and equality

Summary: The message was the urgent demand for freedom for all African countries and an affirmation against racism. Nkrumah affirmed the need to end colonialism and domination by foreign powers and people. He highlighted

²³ Audio: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=joBjzivBKz4>; Text: <https://panafricanquotes.wordpress.com/speeches/independence-speech-kwame-nkrumah-march-6-1957-accra-ghana/>; 10.10.2016.

the African personality as a symbol for strength and dignity and promoted African unity.

2. Coding (manifest, Annex 3)

Equality		Human Development	
Equality/equal	1	Human/ity/ism	2
Egalitarian/ism	0	Develop-ment	5
Person/ality	5	Social/ism	2
Dignity	0	Life/Lives	5
Colonial/ism	13	Health/Hospital	1
Justice/Rights	5	Educat-ion	1
Freedom	18	Food/Water	0
Race/Racial	17	Work	3
Religion/Religious	1	Particip-ation	3
Unity/Union	4	Economy/ic	11
<i>Leader/ship</i>	5	<i>People</i>	12
Inequality	0	Poverty	0

3. Context: Already in the Independence-speech, on the 6th March, 1957, in Accra, Nkrumah had emphasized the need “to create our own African personality and identity” to be respected as equal partners. “We are going to demonstrate to the world, to the other nations, that we are prepared to lay our foundation – our own African personality.” This speech from 1958 was broadcast in preparation of the “All African People Conference” that took place in Accra, in December 1958, with the presence of about 300 delegates from other African countries. The main messages were the urgent demand for freedom for all African countries and Nkrumah’s plans for African unity (see Mazrui 1999).

4. Coding (latent): excerpts/quotes from the text Nr. 3, AP

“For too long in our history, Africa has spoken through the voices of others. Now, what I have called an African Personality in international affairs will have

a chance of making its proper impact and will let the world know it through the voices of Africa's own sons. 125

We shall not forget our brethren in many parts of Africa who unfortunately do not yet enjoy the freedom we have won. 125

For too long we have had no say in the management of our own affairs or in deciding our own destinies. Now times have changed, and today we are the masters of our own fate. This fact is evidenced in our meeting together here as independent sovereign states out of our own free will to speak our minds openly, to argue and discuss, to share our experiences, our aspirations, our dreams and our hopes in the interests of Mother Africa. 126

What is the purpose of this historic Conference? We are here to know ourselves and to exchange views on matters of common interest; to explore ways and means of consolidating and safe-guarding our hard—won independence; to strengthen the economic and cultural ties between our countries to find workable arrangements for helping our brothers still languishing under colonial rule ... And, finally, to send out an appeal to the great powers of the world to do whatever they can to save the world from destruction, and humanity from annihilation. 126-127

We, the independent states of Africa, seek to eliminate racialism by our own example of a tolerant, multi-racial community reflecting the freely expressed will of the people based upon universal adult suffrage. Within our own countries we must try to practise goodwill towards individuals and minorities, and we must also endeavour to demonstrate the same attitude in our relations with other nations. 127

If these great powers [USA, UdSSR] can be persuaded to divert a small fraction of this precious capital, which they are now using for destructive ends, to enhance the economic and social programmes of the under-developed countries of the world, it will not only raise the standard of living in these countries, but will also contribute greatly to the general cause of humanity and the attainment of world peace.” AP 130

5. Questions (eq, hd): What is the African personality? (eq) How can African countries end inequality and conflicts? (hd)

Tally Sheet: *Nkrumah Nr. 4 Flower of Learning, FL, s, 1961, 6p*

1. Basic Data:

Event/Reason: Speech at the 'Instalation as First Chancellor of The University of Ghana'

Date and venue: 25th November 1961, Ghana/Accra

Source: Obeng. 1997. *Selected speeches of Kwame Nkrumah - Volume 2*, Ghana, p 138-147

Target group/audience: Chairpersons of the University Council, teachers, media, diplomats, students

Topic and objective: A new anti-colonial university with African identity for the African personality to develop freely

Summary: This is an inaugural speech that makes reference to African history and culture. It cites: the University of Sankore (1591); the case of Anthony William Amo, who in the 18th century taught at the German University of Wittenberg and was counsellor at the Court of Berlin; and the famous educationalist, "our own Aggrey" (Nkrumah). (Higher) Education needs decolonisation; its freedom is a pre-condition for African development and fruitful unification! He announces that the tuition is free in the new university, and that it has many opportunities for students, promoting, on the other hand, students' responsibility to further Pan-Africanism and to contribute to a socialist society.

2. Coding (manifest, Annex 3)

Equality		Human Development	
Equality/equal	0	Human/ity/ism	1
Egalitarian/ism	0	Develop-ment	12
Person/ality	1	Social/ism	7
Dignity	0	Life/Lives	4
Colonia/ism	7	Health/Hospital	0
Justice/Rights	0	Educat-ion	16
Freedom	5	Food/Water	0
Race/Racial	1	Work	5
Religion/Religious	0	Particip-ation	0
Unity/Union	2	Economy/ic	5
<i>Leader/ship</i>	0	<i>People</i>	12
Inequality	0	Poverty	0

3. Context: In the 50s, higher education was influenced by colonial structures and ideology: (the curriculum, the teachers, the methods); women were rarely allowed in. Nkrumah, who studied 12 years abroad (USA, 2 years in UK), identified structural deficits in the post-colonial education, which he considered not to be properly 'Africanised'. In 1961, he announced the creation of the Institute of African Studies, with an African curriculum. Nkrumah searched the creation of critical and independent thought and a "modern socialist society". Several teachers were from foreign, often Western, countries.

4. Coding (latent): excerpts/quotes from the text Nr. 4, FL

"The desire of learning has always been a marked pleasure of our life; but it is in the spread of education after the abolition of slavery in the last century that this desire became most evident. 141

It is therefore worthy of note that our struggle for the possession of our own university institution which would be the cornerstone of our educational progress should have been such a happy prelude to the beginning of our final purposeful and most determined struggle for political freedom. 143

The ordinary people of the country provided the soil, the climate and the necessary nutrients which have facilitated the growth of a university. We are therefore witnessing today an event of the greatest moment of our times the flowering of a national ambition. 143

It is my fervent hope that the university will be able to maintain all that is good from its associations with other universities and improve upon them. May the University of Ghana develop and prosper in her own natural African environment. This, ladies and gentlemen, brings me to the place of African studies in this university. 143-144

Let me re-state the objective...: (1) To provide opportunities for education in all those branches of human knowledge which are of value in modern Ghana for the maximum number of Ghanaians who are capable of benefiting therefore. ... (4) To enable students to acquire methods of critical independent thought, while at the same time recognising their responsibility to use their education for the benefit of the peoples of Ghana, Africa and of the world. 144

There is a searching after Africa's regeneration - politically, socially and economically - within the milieu of a social system suited to the traditions, history, environment and communal pattern of African society.145

These are the main features still predominating in African society and we cannot do better than bend them to the requirements of a more modern socialistic pattern of society. This, ladies and gentlemen, is the foundation of pan-Africanism.145-146

But this achievement, however impressive, is only the first step towards the political, economic and cultural unity which must come if we are to survive balkanisation and neo-colonialism and eventual political enslavement. 146

This has been made possible because we are now free. The opportunities here are great. The buildings here are some of the best you can find

anywhere in the world. The laboratories are first class, the library is good and tuition is free. These are facilities which most of us here longed for in our time. May you all be worthy of this great heritage.” FL 147

5. Questions (eq, hd): What does the founding of a university mean for Ghana’s future?(eq) How does the university contribute to linking tradition and modernity (hd)

Tally Sheet: *Nkrumah Nr.5 Building a Socialist State, BSS, 1961, 11p*

1. Basic Data:

Event/Reason: Speech at Nkrumah’s party CPP, Study Group

Date and venue: 22th April 1961

Source: Obeng. 1997. *Selected Speeches of Kwame Nkrumah, Vol 2*, AFRAM Publ. Ghana

Target group/audience: CPP leaders and party functionaries

Topic and objective: Increase of socio- economic development within a socialist society/state

Summary: After 10 years in government and 4 years after independence, Nkrumah perceives that “Ghana is not a socialist state.” His major concerns are industrial development and a new leadership. He suggests full industrialisation and agricultural revolution, and exhorts the party leadership to live and work along socialist principles. Nkrumah focuses on electrification, to “lay the foundations of industrialisation”. He promises a socialist society with higher income for all, increased standard of living, free education and “cultural amenities”. Nkrumah demands hard work from Ghanaians and suggests a national plan for a socialist and economic revolution, which would include an educated and ethical leadership.

2. Coding (manifest, Annex 3)

Equality		Human Development	
Equality/equal	1	Human/ity/ism	1
Egalitarian/ism	0	Develop-ment	27
Person/ality	2	Social/ism	31
Dignity	0	Life/Lives	6
Colonial/ism	2	Health/Hospital	1
Justice/Rights	0	Educat-ion	14
Freedom	0	Food/Water	5
Race/Racial	0	Work	16
Religion/Religious	0	Particip-ation	1
Unity/Union	0	Economy/ic	30
<i>Leader/ship</i>	5	<i>People</i>	28
Inequality	0	Poverty	0

3. Context: After several reforms in Ghana (in education, health care, labour), social and economic development stagnated in 1960/1961. Support of the people for Nkrumah's policy and programmes reduced, and inequality increased, as well as corruption, within and outside the party, CCP (T.P. Omari 1970). In his *Dawn Broadcast*, in April 1961, Nkrumah declared war against corruption and promised people a real socialist society. However, he hardly acted against corrupt officials within CCP. "Party membership", writes Hadjor (2003, 86), his press aid, "had become a meal ticket".

4. Coding (latent): excerpts/quotes from the text Nr. 5, BSS

D: "The paramount task before us and the nation is the raising of an equitable and progressive social order ... that will reflect a higher standard of living in the happiness of our people. Economically, this means full employment, good housing and equal opportunity for educational and cultural advancement up to the highest level possible for all the people. 69

S, D : All talk of socialism, of economic and social reconstruction, are just empty words if we do not seriously address ourselves to the question of basic

industrialisation and agricultural revolution in our country, just as much as we must concentrate on socialist education. 70

S: If our new economic and industrial policy is to succeed, then there must be a change of outlook in those who are responsible for running our affairs. They must acquire a socialist perspective and a socialist drive keyed to the national needs and demands, and not remain the servants of a limping bureaucracy. 74-75

And just as political independence could not have been attained without the leadership of the Convention People's Party, so Ghana's economic independence and the objective of socialism will not be achieved without the unique leadership of our party, in the fullest and most active cooperation with the people. 75

81 The party cadres, who must be in the forefront of the educational drive, must reinforce their own understanding through party political education. Many of our ministers, party officials, ..., able men as they are and party members, are yet without a socialist understanding and orientation. Now that the party school at Winneba is ready, a start must be made to alter this position, and we should, without delay start from the top. 81

We cannot build socialism without socialists and we must take positive steps to ensure that the party and the country produce men and women who can handle a socialist programme. The analysis of our economic and industrial policy imposes upon all civil servants and public functionaries an urgent duty to put their work their very, very best. If there are some executives, whether they be expatriates or Ghanaians, who would obstruct and pull us back instead of pushing us forward, then they must be honest enough to quit their posts, bag and baggage. 82

Friends and Comrades, Africa needs a new type of man; a dedicated, modest, honest and devoted man. A man who submerges self in service to his nation and mankind. A man who abhors greed and detests vanity. A new type of man whose meekness is his strength and whose integrity is his greatness. Africa's new man must be a man indeed. 82

Our party, through all its members, must show its merits in this our greatest mission yet - the building of a socialist Ghana. This mission you must discharge [absolve] with responsibility and integrity." BSS 82

5. Questions (eq, hd): What are the leaders supposed to learn to implement the new social order?(eq) How is the new social order to be achieved described by Nkrumah? (hd)

Tally Sheet: *Nkrumah Nr.6 Work and Happiness, WH, s, 1962, 4p*

1. Basic Data:

Event/Reason: Broadcast talk by Osagyefo 'Ghana's Development

Date and venue: 5th May 1962

Source: Obeng. 1997. *Selected Speeches of Kwame Nkrumah*, Vol. 3, AFRAM Publ. Ghana

Target group/audience: Ghanaian people, party CPP

Topic and objective: Ghana's Seven-Year Development Plan, the Convention People's Party

Summary: Nkrumah, in a very difficult personal and political moment, addressed the people of Ghana in an evening broadcast. Two issues were considered: one, the new party programme "Work and Happiness" for socialist reconstruction, which included a 7-year development plan, to increase the living standard of all people. Two, the justification of the enforcement of the Preventive Detention Act, PDA (enacted in 1958), for "the maintenance of the Republic". Nkrumah closed with the appeal: "Countrymen, now is the time for reconstruction. We have a gigantic task before us."

2. Coding (manifest, Annex 3)

Equality		Human Development	
Equality/equal	0	Human/ity/ism	0
Egalitarian/ism	0	Develop-ment	4
Person/ality	0	Social/ism	5
Dignity	0	Life/Lives	2
Colonial-ism	4	Health/Hospital	0
Justice/Rights	3	Educat-ion	1
Freedom	0	Food/Water	0
Race/Racial	0	Work	7
Religion/Religious	0	Particip-ation	0
Unity/Union	1	Economy/ic	5
<i>Leader/ship</i>	0	<i>People</i>	12
Inequality	0	Poverty	1

3. Context: Nkrumah's reforms for a socialist society were mostly political and social changes, as the economy was only slightly changed. The promised socialist economic reforms - nationalisation of the banks, industries and socialisation of the productive means - were postponed until 1962/1963. Nkrumah favoured the consolidation of an anti-colonial policy first. The opposition created obstacles to the proposed reforms and established an aggressive and violent climate. Nkrumah imposed authoritarian measures and detained leading figures of the opposition, some of whom were former peers and friends. Gbedemah, former minister and close comrade, had to flee the country, because he opposed Nkrumah in an appeal: "It will not be work and happiness for all" (1962). These conflicts played publicly against Nkrumah.

4. Coding (latent): excerpts/quotes from the text Nr. 6, WH

"As you know, the Party has been in power since 1951. It has won many elections. All of you can bear testimony to the fact that the Party has not only kept its word and its faith with the people, but also has to its credit a brilliant record of fulfilment. 1

The success of our Party in political action has been outstanding. Its basic approach to national and international problems has the fullest support of our people and of all true African patriots. ... All this action calls for first-class

organisation; it can be truly and proudly said that our Party possesses one of the finest organisations of our time. 1

We have embarked upon an intensive socialist reconstruction of our country. Ghana inherited a colonial economy and similar disabilities in most other directions. We cannot rest content until we have demolished this miserable structure and raised in its place an edifice of economic stability. 2 For planned economic growth to supplant the poverty, ignorance, disease, illiteracy and degradation left in their wake by discredited colonialism and decaying imperialism. ... thus creating for ourselves a veritable paradise of abundance and satisfaction. 2

This programme for "Work and Happiness" is an expression of the evidence of the nation's creative ability, the certainty of the correctness of our Party Line and action and the greatest single piece of testimony of our national confidence in the future. ... We cannot afford to fail. We cannot afford even to think of failure. 3

So all of us must tighten our belts and plunge head first into the fight for the urgent socialist reconstruction about which we have talked so much. It is my sincere hope that each one of you will take an interest in this national exercise and make the Party programme for work and happiness a great success. 4

An emergent country which attempts to follow a policy of socialism at home and a policy abroad of positive non-alignment is challenging many vested interests.... When you chose me as your President, I took an oath in which I swore that I would preserve and defend the Constitution and that I would do right to all manner of people according to law, without fear or favour, affection or ill will. 4

I should have been false to my oath had I allowed the Constitution to be overthrown by force, but I consider that the obligations which the Constitution imposes upon me - not only call upon me - to do justice, but also, wherever possible to temper justice with mercy. We have by no means passed through all our difficulties. ... The maximum period of five years detention as provided in the existing law will be retained, but the Preventive Detention Act [PDA] will be so amended as to provide that anyone released from detention who again

indulges in subversion shall be detained again up to the present maximum of five years, and may, in addition, lose all rights as a citizen.” WH 4

5. Questions (eq, hd): How does the temperance of justice and mercy play in the Detention Act against dissidents? (eq) What does the plan for ‘Work and Happiness’ entail? (hd)

Tally Sheet: *Nkrumah Nr.7 Conference of African Heads of State, OAU, s, 1963, 10p*

1. Basic Data:

Event/Reason: Conference of African Heads of State, founding of the OAU

Date and venue: 24th May 1963, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Source: Obeng. 1997. *Selected Speeches of Kwame Nkrumah*. Vol.3, p 30-46

Target group/audience: 32 states with Heads of State, Leaders of Governments and Delegations from African liberation movements; the public in Africa, former colonial powers and the world

Topic and objective: Unification of African states against neo-colonialism and pro-development

Summary: Nkrumah, the driving power behind Africa’s unification, presented his concept for the future OAU: “We must unite or perish”. A fragmented Africa, divided along the colonial boundaries, would weaken every country and strengthen neo-colonial and imperialist powers. The core principles were linked to: a Union government, a Constitution, a Common Market, one Currency, common Foreign Policy, System of Defence and African Citizenship. The aim was to triumph towards the “kingdom of the African Personality”, prosperity and progress, equality and justice, work and happiness.

2. Coding (manifest, Annex 3)

Equality		Human Development	
Equality/equal	1	Human/ity/ism	3
Egalitarian/ism	0	Develop-ment	20
Person/ality	1	Social/ism	11
Dignity	0	Life/Lives	1
Colonial/ism	42	Health/Hospital	0
Justice/Rights	4	Educat-ion	2
Freedom	15	Food/Water	2
Race/Racial	2	Work	7
Religion/Religious	0	Particip-ation	0
Unity/Union	84	Economy/ic	26
<i>Leader/ship</i>	0	<i>People</i>	26
Inequality	1	Poverty	2

3. Context: Already in “Towards Colonial Freedom”(1944/1962, text Nr.1) Nkrumah advanced the unification of African countries/states to fight colonial dominance and imperialistic exploitation. He suggested an immediate unification with central government and institutions. Alternative concepts suggested to develop regional communities first (e.g. EAC) and then building a continental union (e.g. Nyerere).

4. Coding (latent): excerpts/quotes from the text Nr. 7, OAU

“A whole continent has imposed a mandate upon us to lay the foundation of our Union at this Conference. It is our responsibility to execute this mandate On this continent it has not taken us long to discover that the struggle against colonialism does not end with the attainment of national independence. 30-31

As a continent we have emerged into independence in a different age, with imperialism. Our economic advancements demand the end of colonialist and neo-colonialist domination in Africa. ... The social and economic development of Africa will come only within the political kingdom, not the other way round.

31

Unless we establish African Unity now, we who are sitting here today shall tomorrow be the victims and martyrs of neo-colonialism. 33

We cannot ignore the teachings of history. Our continent is probably the richest in the world for minerals and industrial and agricultural primary materials. From the Congo alone, Western firms exported copper, rubber, cotton, and other goods to the value of 2,773 million dollars in the ten years between 1945 and 1955, and from South Africa, Western gold mining companies have drawn a profit, in the six years between 1947 to 1951, of 814 million dollars. 33-34

Above all, we have merged at a time when a continental land mass like Africa with its population approaching three hundred million. 37

It is within the possibility of science and technology to make even the Salina bloom into a vast field with verdant vegetation for agricultural and industrial developments. We shall harness the radio, television, giant printing presses to lift our people from the dark recesses of illiteracy. ... We cannot afford to pace our needs, our development, our security, to the gait of camels and donkeys. 35-36

Only African Unity can heal this festering sore of boundary disputes between our various states. Your Excellences, the remedy for these ills is ready in our hand. 37 With our united resources, energies and talents we have the means, as soon as we show the will, to transform the economic structures of our individual states from poverty to that of wealth, from inequality to the satisfaction of popular needs. 39 We must therefore not leave this place until we have set up effective machinery for achieving African Unity. ... As a first step, Your Excellences, a declaration of principle uniting and binding us together ... and laying the foundations of unity should be set down. 44

Only a United Africa with central political direction can successfully give effective material and moral support to our freedom fighters, in Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, etc., and of course South Africa. All Africa must be liberated now. ... Your Excellencies, with these steps, I submit, we shall be irrevocably committed to the road which will bring us to a Union Government for Africa." OAU 45

5. Questions (eq, hd): How does African unity help overcome inequality?
(eq) What developmental challenges would the unification of Africa help to address? (hd)

Tally Sheets: *Nkrumah Nr.8 Opening of the Institute of African Studies, IAS, s, 1963, 10p*

1. Basic Data:

Event/Reason: Opening of the first IAS in Africa

Date and venue: 25th October 1963, University of Ghana, Legon

Source: Obeng. 1997. *Selected Speeches of Kwame Nkrumah* - Volume 3, Ghana, 1997, p 127 – 139

Target group/audience: **Leaders**, administration and teachers, politicians, diplomats, media, students

Topic and objective: History of African intellectuals and personalities, decolonisation, Pan-Africanism

Summary: The first African Institute in Ghana will help “the advancement of knowledge about the peoples and cultures of Africa”. The IAS will leave the “shadow of colonial ideologies and mentality” and will promote Africa’s glories and achievements to the whole world. Academic freedom has to be guaranteed, while African studies have to be coined by value-oriented teaching with a socialist perception. African staff has to train “future generations of Africanists”. Free education for all should be seen as the “gateway to the enchanted cities of the mind and not only as a means to personal economic security and social privilege.”

2. Coding (manifest, Annex 3)

Equality		Human Development	
Equality/equal	1	Human/ity/ism	1
Egalitarian/ism	0	Develop-ment	16
Person/ality	1	Social/ism	10
Dignity	0	Life/Lives	2
Colonial/ism	7	Health/Hospital	1
Justice/Rights	0	Educat-ion	15
Freedom	5	Food/Water	0
Race/Racial	0	Work	15

Religion/Religious	1	Particip-ation	0
Unity/Union	4	Economy/ic	7
<i>Leader/ship</i>	0	<i>People</i>	17
Inequality	0	Poverty	0

3. Context: Three points influenced Nkrumah’s strengthening Africanisation and African studies as strategies for development. Firstly, that was to further the ‘African personality’ (“African genius”) to create a socialist society, a stronghold against neo-colonialism and imperialism; secondly, that was to prepare expertise for African (economic) revolution against the capitalist exploitative ‘free-market’ economy. Thirdly, that was to speed up African unification (OAU, May 1963; see speech Nr.7), for African studies and “Africanists” could create more homogeneity.

4. Coding (latent): excerpts/quotes from the text Nr. 8, IAS

“What sort of Institute of African Studies does Ghana want and have need of? In what way can Ghana make its own specific contribution to the advancement of knowledge about the peoples and cultures of Africa through past history and through contemporary problems? 127-128

African music, dancing and sculpture were [by colonialists] labelled “primitive art.” They were studied in such a way as to reinforce the picture of African society as something grotesque, as a curious, mysterious human backwater, which helped to retard social progress in Africa and to prolong colonial domination over its peoples. 128-129

By the work of this Institute, we must re-assess and assert the glories and achievements of our African past and inspire our generation, and succeeding generations, with a vision of a better future.... Your work must also include a study of the origins and culture of peoples of African descent in the Americas and the Caribbean, and you should seek to maintain close relations with their scholars so that there may be cross fertilisation between Africa and those who have their roots in the African past. 129

I also regard as important the work which you are doing in the collection of stool histories and other forms of oral tradition—of poetry and African literature in all its forms. ... Ghanaians have done equally admirable work in this field. I may mention here Ephraim Amu whose work has created and established a Ghanaian style of music and revived an appreciation for it. Our old friend, J. B. Danquah, has also produced studies of Akan culture and institutions. 131

When I speak of the African genius, I mean something different from Negritude, something not apologetic, but dynamic. ... By the African genius I mean something positive or socialist conception of society, the efficiency and validity of our traditional statecraft, our highly developed code of morals, our hospitality and our purposeful energy. 131

As you know, we have been doing a great deal to make education available to all. It is equally important that education should seek the welfare of the people and recognise our attempts to solve our economic, cultural, technological and scientific problems. ... Our aim must be to create a society that is not static but dynamic, a society in which equal opportunities are assured for all.132

There may be some tension between the need to acquire new knowledge and the need to diffuse it - between the demands of research and the demands of teaching. But the two demands are essentially interdependent. And in Ghana the fact that we are committed to the construction of a socialist society makes it especially necessary that this Institute of African Studies should work closely with the people.” IAS 133-134

5. Questions (eq, hd): How did the colonial power and ideology strengthened inequality of Africans? (eq) ? How would the IAS contribute to social and cultural development of the people? (hd)

Tally Sheets: Nkrumah Nr.9 Consciencism Philosophy and Ideology for De-Colonization, Con, b, 1964, 44p, excerpt

1. Basic Data:

Event/Reason: Neo-colonialism, de-colonisation and African revolution

Date and venue: 1964 and 1969 (2nd ed.), Ghana and Guinea/Conakry

Source: Nkrumah. 1964/2009. *Consciencism . Philosophy and Ideology for De-Colonization and Development with particular reference to the African Revolution*. Excerpts from revised ed. 1970, Monthly Review Press, New York.

Target group/audience: African revolutionaries, academicians, diplomats, scholars, students, media

Topic and objective: history of philosophy, colonialism, society, ideology, egalitarianism

Summary: Nkrumah's book is based on his extensive studies in the United States (1935-1945) and an exciting journey through the history of philosophy (with a Western/Greek perspective). It assesses the social relevance of philosophers (e.g. Socrates, Plato, Aristotle) and searches ideas of egalitarian thinking (e.g. Marx/Engels) that could be applied to changing traditional societies in Africa. Philosophical Consciencism, claims Nkrumah, bears "a new emergent ideology" for Africa, which searches a harmony "that will allow the combined presence of traditional Africa, Islamic Africa and Euro-Christian Africa, so that this presence is in tune with the original humanist principles underlying African society"(70). The core of that ideology for Africa is egalitarianism and (scientific) socialism.

Coding (manifest, Annex 3)

Equality		Human Development	
Equality/equal	20	Human/ity/ism	61
Egalitarian/ism	45	Develop-ment	42
Person/ality	11	Social/ism	19
Dignity	4	Life/Lives	30
Colonial/ism	90	Health/Hospital	0
Justice/Rights	21	Educat-ion	17
Freedom	11	Food/Water	0
Race/Racial	1	Work	9
Religion/Religious	35	Particip-ation	1
Unity/Union	14	Economy/ic	32
Leader/ship	3	People	17
Inequality	7	Poverty	1

3. Context: Nkrumah was an experienced theoretical thinker and intellectual, inspired by socialists like W.E.B. DuBois and Padmore and their ideas and politics for African liberation. Nkrumah was co-founder of the OAU (1963) and the promoter of the “Marxist-Nkrumaist Revolutionary Pan-Africanism” (Nubour 2014). Kofi Baako, a CPP leader close to Nkrumah, defined in 1962 “Nkrumaism as a non-atheist socialist philosophy which seeks to apply the current social, economic and political ideas to the solution of our problems” (in T.P. Omari 1970, 191-210). In 1964 Nkrumah became ‘President for life’ of an increasingly authoritarian CPP-state (Davidson 1973, Mudimbe 1988).

4. Coding (latent): excerpts/quotes from the text Nr. 9, Con

“I was introduced [in the United States] to Plato, Aristotle, Descartes, Kant, Hegel, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, Marx and other immortals, to whom I should like to refer as the university philosophers. 2

During my stay in America the conviction was firmly created in me that a great deal in their thought [Marx&Engels] could assist us in the fight against colonialism. I learned to see philosophical systems in the context of the social milieu which produced them. I therefore learned to look for social contention in philosophical systems. 5

Egalitarianism desperately needed to be distinguished from anarchism, for anarchism is the political expression of subjective idealism. ... Socrates, ..., was a firm theoretical believer in egalitarianism. In selecting a slave boy for the purpose of his proof he showed that he held a belief in the common and equal nature of man. This belief activates Socrates’ whole philosophy. 39

He believed in the equal endowment of all with innate ideas, the equal ability of all to lead a good life. Knowledge, he said, was virtue. 40

One example of an early philosopher who became reactionary in respect of the egalitarian development was Plato. ... Whereas Socrates had affirmed the original equal endowment of men and explained differences between men in

terms of education, Plato was no believer in the fundamental equality of man.
40

So it is that Plato, in trying to avenge the defender of human equality, the man who always said that men did not differ as men, any more than bees differed as bees, helped ironically in instituting his more complete overthrow.⁴³

The cardinal ethical principle of philosophical consciencism is to treat each man as an end in himself and not merely as a means. This is fundamental to all socialist or humanist conceptions of man. It is true that Immanuel Kant also identified this as a cardinal principle of ethics, but whereas he regarded it as an immediate command of reason, we derive it from a materialist viewpoint.
95 In order that this ideology should be comprehensive, in order that it should light up every aspect of the life of our people, in order that it should affect the total interest of our society, establishing a continuity with our past, it must be socialist in form and in content and be embraced by a mass party.¹⁰⁵

And yet, socialism in Africa today tends to lose its objective content in favour of a distracting terminology and in favour of a general confusion. Discussion centres more on the various conceivable types of socialism than upon the need for socialist development.¹⁰⁵

When socialism is true to its purpose, it seeks a connection with the egalitarian and humanist past of the people before their social evolution was ravaged by colonialism ... In short, socialism recognizes dialectic, the possibility of creation from forces which are opposed to one another; it recognizes the creativity of struggle, and, indeed, the necessity of the operation of forces to any change. It also embraces materialism and translates this into social terms of equality." Con 106

5. Questions (eq, hd): What is the ethical principle of consciencism? (eq)
Why does Nkrumah criticise the discussion on different types of socialism for the development of people (hd)?

Tally Sheet: *Nkrumah Nr. 10 Class Struggle in Africa. CS, b, 1970, 7p, excerpt*

1. Basic Data:

Event/Reason: relation between imperialism, neo-colonialism and African bourgeoisie

Date and venue: 1970, Conacry/Guinea

Source: Nkrumah. 1970. *Class Struggle in Africa*, Panaf, London, UK, 1970/1973, p80-88

Target group/audience: African intellectuals and revolutionaries, Pan-Africanists, students

Summary: This book, written in exile, elaborates on two dimensions. Firstly, on the relation between colonialism/imperialism, neo-imperialism and the (reactionary) African bourgeoisie. Nkrumah includes in his analysis concepts like “Negritude” (Senghor) and “African Socialism” (hints on Nyerere’s Ujamaa, although not naming it). Secondly, Nkrumah analyses the class struggle and the possibilities and necessity to succeed. He develops in chapter 12, “Socialist Revolution”, a theoretical framework for the African revolution (linked to the socialist World Revolution) and he creates different scenarios for the process for industrialised and for agrarian societies. Nkrumah believes that “the choice has already been made by the workers and peasants of Africa. They have chosen liberation and unification; and this can only be achieved through armed struggle under socialist direction” (84).

2. Coding (manifest, Annex 3)

Equality		Human Development	
Equality/equal	0	Human/ity/ism	0
Egalitarian/ism	0	Develop-ment	11
Person/ality	0	Social/ism	52
Dignity	0	Life/Lives	3
Colonial/ism	26	Health/Hospital	0
Justice/Rights	1	Educat-ion	0
Freedom	3	Food/Water	0
Race/Racial	4	Work	7
Religion/Religious	0	Particip-ation	1
Unity/Union	11	Economy/ic	8
Leader/ship	4	People	9
Inequality	0	Poverty	0

3. Context: In exile after several attempts to promote a counter-coup in Ghana, Nkrumah doubted himself of a return to Ghana. His plans for an African unity (OAU) with a central government and institutions were abandoned around 1966. But 1968 was “the most eventful” (June Milne) and productive year for Nkrumah (he worked on *Class Struggle*). Martin Luther King and JF Kennedy were killed, Nkrumah mourned; the student protests in France and Germany made him “happy”. In 1968, Nyerere visited Nkrumah and offered him to come to Tanzania and work on the Pan-African unification and organize his revolutionary plans from there (June Milne 2006). Nkrumah was flattered but did not accept the offer.

4. Coding (latent): excerpts/quotes from the text Nr. 10, CS

“The highest point of political action, when a revolution attains its excellence, is when the proletariat - comprising workers and peasants - under the leadership of a vanguard party the principles and motivations of which are based on scientific socialism, succeeds in overthrowing all other classes. 80

History has shown how a relatively small proletariat, if it is well organised and led, can awaken the peasantry and trigger off socialist revolution. In a neo-colonialist situation, there is no half-way to socialism. Only policies of all-out socialism can end capitalist-imperialist exploitation. Socialism can only be achieved through class-struggle. In Africa, the internal enemy - the reactionary bourgeoisie - must be exposed as exploiters and parasites, and as collaborators with imperialists and neo-colonialists on whom they largely depend for the maintenance of their positions of power and privilege. 84-85

The African bourgeoisie provides a bridge for continued imperialist and neo-colonialist domination and exploitation. The bridge must be destroyed. This can be done by worker-peasant solidarity organised and directed by a vanguard socialist revolutionary Party. 85

But as long as violence continues to be used against the African peoples, the Party cannot achieve its objectives without the use of all forms of political struggle, including armed struggle. If armed struggle is to be waged effectively it, like the Party, must be centrally organised and directed. An All-African

Military High Command under the political direction of the All-African working class Party would then be able to plan unified strategy and tactics, and thus deliver the final blows at imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, and settler minority regimes. 85-86

But political independence did not bring to an end economic oppression and exploitation. Nor did it end foreign political interference. The neo-colonialist period begins when international monopoly finance capital, working through the indigenous bourgeoisie, attempts to secure an even tighter stranglehold over the economic life of the continent than was exercised during the colonial period. 87

Under neo-colonialism a new form of violence is being used against the peoples of Africa. It takes the form of indirect political domination through the indigenous bourgeoisie and puppet governments teleguided and marionetted by neo-colonialists; direct economic exploitation through an extension of the operations of giant interlocking corporations; and through all manner of other insidious ways such as the control of mass communications media, and ideological penetration. 87

The total liberation and the unification of Africa under an all-African socialist government must be the primary objective of all Black revolutionaries throughout the world. It is an objective which, when achieved, will bring about the fulfilment of the aspirations of Africans and people of African descent everywhere. " CS 88

5. Questions (eq, hd): How does Nkrumah plan to wipe out the neo-colonialist/imperialist dominance? (eq) What does obstruct human development of the African peoples?

Tally Sheet: *Nkrumah Nr.11 Axioms of Kwame Nkrumah, Axioms, b, 1967, 61p, excerpt*

1. Basic Data:

Event/Reason: A pocket-book on Nkrumah's major thoughts on African liberation and unity

Date and venue: 1967, Conakry/London (four reprints: 1969, 1972, 2002 and 2003)

Source: Nkrumah, 1967/2003, *Axioms of Kwame Nkrumah*, Panaf, London, UK; excerpts ed. 2003

Target group/audience: Revolutionaries in the armed struggle, Pan-Africanists, students, media

Topic and objective: Nkrumah selected quotes from his own texts (speeches!) after the coup of 1966 and organized them alphabetically under 47 keywords; assisted by his aid and editor June Milne (2009).

Summary: The book consists of quotes of Nkrumah's whole political life. The main focuses in "Axioms" are de-colonisation, African unity and the (armed) struggle against new imperialism.

Note: The excerpt of 61 pages (from 140) gives inspiration to keywords linked to my concepts: equality and human development. I used them in coding texts of Nkrumah's as, for example, African Personality, Colonialism, Development, Education, Freedom, Religion, Socialism, Unity and Women, although the entries to the latter are very few. Some of the quotes from 'Axioms', which are coded here, already appeared in earlier texts, in different contexts. These duplications are not identified in the text.

2. Coding (manifest, Annex 3)

Equality		Human Development	
Equality/equal	7	Human/ity/ism	24
Egalitarian/ism	6	Develop/ment	52
Person/ality	11	Social/ism	88
Dignity	6	Life/Lives	19
Colonial/ism	16	Health/Hospital	4
	4		
Justice/Rights	19	Educat-ion	13
Freedom	73	Food/Water	3
Race/Racial	23	Work	20
Religion/Religious	7	Particip-ation	1
Unity/Union	79	Economy/ic	73
<i>Leader/ship</i>	9	<i>People</i>	13
			6
Inequality	0	Poverty	6

3. Context: The focus of Nkrumah's political thoughts and plans, from the beginning of 1960, were African liberation, freedom, socialism and African unity, against neo-colonialism and capitalism. With time, socio-economic development of Ghana stagnated, and the socialist promises of economic reforms became hollow (see "Work and Happiness", 1962), despite (or because of) the country's close ties to the USSR. In 1964, Nkrumah, still formally Ghana's president for life, lost progressively social support. The conservative (in times violent) opposition gained more influence, with the support of former colonial powers and the United States, which were concerned about Nkrumah's leaning to the communist regimes. From 1963 on, Nkrumah became convinced that an armed struggle to liberate Africa and achieve a socialist revolution was needed, and more so after the coup that overthrew him in 1966 and the events of 1968 (see text Nr.10, Context).

4. Coding (latent): excerpts/quotes from the text Nr. 11, Axioms ²⁴

"To the men I say: assist the women to take an active part in the political life of the country, for remember no country can be truly democratic in which women do not have equality with men. 93; I Speak of Freedom, 1961, 7 (article appeared in *The Spectator Daily*, 23 February 1948)

We shall measure our progress by the improvement in the health of our people; by the number of children in school, and by the quality of their education; by the availability of water and electricity in our towns and villages, and by the happiness which our people take in being able to manage their own affairs. The welfare of our people is our chief pride, and it is by this that my Government will ask to be judged. 47; Broadcast to the Nation, 24 December 1957

²⁴ Quotes here are chronologically listed, see "Axioms"(1967/2003). The figure after the quote is the page number in „Axioms“, 1967/2003; then follows the original source with the year of appearance (first: 1948, latest: 1968).

So long as any group on this continent denies the principle of one man one vote, and uses its power to maintain its privilege, there will be insecurity for the oppressors and constant resentment and revolt on the part of the oppressed. ... There is no force, however impregnable, that a united and determined people cannot overcome. 94; Speech on Positive Action, Accra, 7 April 1960

We are developing a society free from racial discrimination, a society in which people of different continents and different religious sects and beliefs can work together without molestation, a society in which the relation between man and man is fundamentally based on the social process of production. If we continue to maintain this harmony and work together for the common good, the plans which the Government has already set in motion for our progress, happiness and development will bear rich fruit for us all. 47-48; Broadcast on the eve of Ghana's 6th Independence Anniversary, 6 March 1963

We are in the process of establishing a society in which men and women will have no anxiety about work, food and shelter; where poverty and illiteracy no longer exist and where disease is brought under control; where our educational facilities provide our children with the best possible opportunities for learning; where every person uses his talents to their fullest capacity and contributes to the general well-being of the nation. 49; Speech to businessmen in Ghana, 1963

The first step towards testing the right of rule in communities of mixed races and creeds is to give every adult, irrespective of race and creed the right to vote. When each citizen thereby enjoys equality of status with all others, barriers of race and colour will disappear and the people will mix freely together and will work for the common good. 95; Africa Must Unite, 1964, p.11

The social effects of colonialism are more insidious than the political and economic. This is because they go deep into the minds of the people and therefore take longer to eradicate. The Europeans relegated us to the position of inferiors in every aspect of our everyday life. Many of our people came to

accept the view that we were an inferior people. 33; Africa Must Unite, 1964, p. 32

Africa is a paradox which illustrates and highlights neo-colonialism. Her earth is rich, yet the products that come from above and below the soil continue to enrich, not Africans predominantly, but groups and individuals who operate to Africa's impoverishment. 2; Neo-colonialism, 1965b, p. 1

We live in a world in which one quarter of the people is becoming richer and richer, while the rest grow poorer and poorer. This situation can only be remedied by world socialism. For as long as capitalism and imperialism go unchecked, there will always be exploitation, an ever-widening gap between the haves and have-nots, and all the evils of imperialism and neo-colonialism which breed and sustain wars. 117; Challenge of the Congo, 1967, p. x

The women of Africa have already shown themselves to be of paramount importance in the revolutionary struggle. They gave active support to the independence movement in their various countries, and in some cases their courageous participation in demonstrations and other forms of political action had a decisive effect on the outcome. They have, therefore, a good revolutionary record, and are the source of power for our politico-military organisation. ... The degree of a country's revolutionary awareness may be measured by the political maturity of its women." Axioms 124; Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare, 1968.

5. Questions (eq, hd): How does Nkrumah elaborate on the need for equality between men and women? (eq) Which are the major indicators to measure the progress of Nkrumah's politics? (hd)

Annex 5.3 Latent coding tally sheets – Nyerere

Tally Sheet: Nyerere Nr.20 *Women's Freedom, WF, b, 1944, 14p excerpt*

1. Basic Data:

Event/Reason: The student Nyerere presents his concerns about gender inequality on his first book

Date and venue: 1944, Makerere University/Uganda (essay); published in 2009 in Kiswahili by the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation, MNF, Tanzania; published in 2011 in English (Makerere University)

Source: Nyerere. 2011. *Women's Freedom-Women are Eagles, Not Chickens*. Makerere University, Female Scholarship Foundation, Fountain Publishers Kampala, Uganda. pp14 – 17; 47 – 54; 66 – 75

Target group/audience: academics and students in Uganda and Tanzania (MNF)

Topic and objective: The lives of African women and a call for equal rights and justice

Summary: The text presents the (rural) inequalities between men and women and aims to convince men and women that equality and equal opportunities are mandatory. Nyerere does not attack paternalism, but puts forward the understanding that certain traditions and customary laws violate women's rights. The chapters include 'Women are Slaves', 'Polygamy', 'Women and Men', and 'Education for Women'. He proposes freedom and justice, and asks for fairness in the relation between men and women while defending education for girls/women. The extract ends with Nyerere's addressing the practice of women kneeling to men as an act of enforced submission and the significance of women's education as essential to dignity and equality.

2. Coding (manifest, Annex 3)

Equality		Human Development	
Equality/equal	4	Human/ity/ism	18
Egalitarian/ism	0	Develop-ment	5
Person/ality	16	Social/ism	1

Dignity	0	Life/Lives	13
Colonial-ism	0	Health/Hospital	3
Justice/Rights	30	Educ-at-ion	45
Freedom	27	Food/Water	5
Race/Racial	0	Work	3
Religion/Religious	9	Particip-ation	2
Unity/Union	2	Economy/ic	1
<i>Leader-ship</i>	0	<i>People</i>	39
Inequality	1	Poverty	0

3. Context: As a young man, Nyerere was already concerned with the inequality between men and women. He came from a polygamous family. His father, a minor chief, had 22 wives. He started school when he was 12 years old. His education strengthened his stand for equality (by the White Fathers missionaries). Nyerere was far ahead of his time in promoting women’s rights and education (Molony 2014), particularly in patriarchal Africa (A. Mazrui). In the West (at the end of WWII) women were still second class citizens, with limited rights and opportunities. Nyerere later indicated that he was much influenced by John Stuart Mill & Harriet Taylor (1869/1999) when he wrote this essay (Chachage and Annar Cassam 2010, 167), in 1944, when he was just 22 years old. The essay was first published as a book in 2009 (in Kiswahili by the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation, MNF)

4. Coding (latent): excerpts/quotes from the text Nr. 20, WF

“On one side, there are people who think and believe that the peace and tranquillity of all humankind depend on justice, freedom, mutual love and help for one another. On the other side are nations which profess that they are much better people than all other people, that they are the only ones who deserve to be free, and that all other nations – whether they like it or not – must be ruled by them. 14

Many of us feel happy that we are on the side of the nations which are fighting for freedom and justice, because we do not agree even one little bit that there are some people who were created to rule and others to be ruled always. Come on everybody; let us fight for freedom and justice! 15

Slavery has not yet gone away and my whole intention ... is to show how many women in many tribes in these countries are still in reality in a state of slavery. 17

Wo Men differ from women in this major respect (for people who are uncivilised), POWER. Men are very conceited because they are physically stronger than women. On that basis they have denied women freedom and barred them from participating in most spheres of human endeavour; and if you ask for a reason you will be answered that women have no intellectual capacity – women are like children – or some other response related to those. In all affairs that depend on the intellect there is no known difference between women and men. 48

We demand independence and rights. However, we Africans have to learn one major lesson which the world has now started realizing, and that is the fact that for independence and rights to have value, they must be given to everybody. If one nation gets independence and rights but denies other nations; or if people of one religion get freedom and justice but make people of another religion slaves; history has shown that in such circumstances that type of independence and rights will not last. 51

But many African women hate and are sorry for the fact that they were born women and this is because we deny them freedom and justice. Any African who loves his tribe must fight tirelessly until all women get freedom and justice and are given opportunities like men. 54

The best thing to do is to let men study together with women: if they will turn out to be equal to them or if they are surpassed by them in some courses of study in education, which are currently deemed to be the prerogative of men, only then will they believe that women are human beings. In educational matters, let there be no restrictions stopping any woman from pursuing or taking any course of study she chooses. 69

There is unlimited value in modern education value – which gives one fulfilment without being directly beneficial in their job. Education for women will be incomplete if it does not offer them anything more than merely preparing them to be used by their masters If men rule over women in

schools, I don't see why women who have the ability should not rule over men. ... Women are indeed human beings. " WF 71-73

5. Questions (eq, hd): Through which mechanism have women been historically subjugated? (eq) What are important policies/projects for the development of women? (hd)

Tally Sheet: *Nyerere Nr. 21 The Race Problem in East Africa, R, e, 1952, 5p*

1. Basic Data:

Event/Reason: Racist conflicts in Africa, e.g Kenya, where white settlers clashed with Africans **Date and venue:** Essay written between 1950 and 1952, at the Edinburgh University, Scotland **Source:** Nyerere. 1966/1970. *Freedom and Unity: Uhuru Na Umoja*, Oxford University Press, UK; pp 23-29

Target group/audience: Academics, students, politicians

Topic and objective: Analyses and questions how to deal with colonialism and racism in (East-) Africa

Summary: Racism and (colonial) arrogance are the major obstacles to equality in East Africa. The solution of the problem of racial conflicts depends on the acceptance by all parties "of the principle of social, economic and, above all, political equality" (25)

2. Coding (manifest, Annex 3)

Equality		Human Development	
Equality/equal	9	Human/ity/ism	0
Egalitarian/ism	0	Develop-ment	0
Person/ality	1	Social/ism	5
Dignity	0	Life/Lives	0
Colonial-ism	8	Health/Hospital	0
Justice/Rights	8	Educat-ion	1
Freedom	6	Food/Water	1
Race/Racial	18	Work	0
Religion/Religious	0	Particip-ation	0
Unity/Union	9	Economy/ic	3
<i>Leader-ship</i>	0	<i>People</i>	21
Inequality	0	Poverty	0

3. Context: During his studies to become a teacher ('Mwalimu'), at Makerere, in Uganda, Nyerere sharpened his view on injustice and inequality (see text Nr.20). This essay was influenced by racist developments in Kenya, where settlers/farmers discriminated the indigenous population and claimed a "Divine Right of Europeans". Brutal colonial rule in Kenya and propositions to unite East Africa with no truly equal racial representation - as per Colonial Papers 191 (with representation, published in 1945) and 210 (without representation, published in 1947) - informed the essay. The British government hardly intervened to protect human equality. Post WWII discussions about the State structure, equal rights and against further oppression gained strength with the foundation of the UN and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, UDHR (1948). Apartheid-South Africa and the colonial administration in Kenya and other parts of colonised Africa ignored these rights, which led to national movements for independence (e.g. in 1954 to TANU, founded by Nyerere).

4. Coding (latent): excerpts/quotes from the text Nr. 21, R

"Many schemes have been put forward for the solution of the racial problem in Africa.... But I must say...any scheme which leaves unimpaired the European's monopoly of political control will not solve the problem of racial strife. 25

As long as one community has a monopoly of political power and uses that power not only to prevent the other communities from having any share in political power, but also to keep those other communities in a state of social and economic inferiority, any talk of social and economic advancement of the other communities as a solution of racial conflict is hypocritical and stupid. 25

We reject the principle of equal racial representation on the same ground on which we condemned that of European domination. It is a principle which in spite of its deceptive name assumes the principle of racial superiority. It assumes that 50,000 Europeans, because they happen to be Europeans, are equal to the 17,000,000 Africans, and that their inferiority in numbers is made up for with their superiority in wealth, intelligence, moral virtue and colour. 27

So democracy does not mean the best Government, it only means the Government which the people of their own free will choose for themselves. Freedom to choose, then, must be the essence of democracy, and that includes freedom to choose wrongly!... For the wrong government is a government which is imposed upon them by an external force or by the will of the minority. 27-28

Our problem in East and South Africa is a problem of a White minority which sincerely believes that democracy's cardinal foundation is the will of the people, but which refuses to let the term 'the people' include non-Europeans. Our whole quarrel boils down to the simple question, 'Who are the people of East Africa?' 28

... I am not sure whether it is really in the interests of the children and grandchildren of our East African White neighbours that their fathers and grandfathers should insist on this new doctrine of the Divine Rights of the Europeans. Louis XIV of France used to say, 'The State, I am the State'. We shudder today when we read what happened to his descendants. Our East African White neighbours are saying today, 'The people, we are the People.' I shudder too, when I consider what such a doctrine may lead to. 29

We appeal to all thinking Europeans and Indians to regard themselves as ordinary citizens of Tanganyika; to preach no Divine Right of Europeans, no Divine Right of Indians and no Divine Right of Africans either. We are all Tanganyikans and we are all East Africans. The race quarrel is a stupid quarrel; it can be a very tragic quarrel." R 30

5. Questions (eq, hd): Why is race an obstacle to equality? (eq) What does the British take on the concept of 'equal racial representation' represent for the development of the people? (hd)

Tally Sheet: *Nyerere Nr.22 President's Inaugural Address, PIA, s, 1962, 8p*

1. Basic Data:

Event/Reason: Inaugural address to Parliament after his election as the first President of the Republic of Tanganyika (97% of votes)

Date and venue: 10 December 1962; Parliament, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

Source: Nyerere. 1966/1970. Freedom and Unity: Uhuru Na Umoja, Oxford University Press, UK, 1966 /1970, p176-187

Target group/audience: MPs, government, diplomats, guests from Africa and overseas

Topic and objective: Plans for Tanganyika; education, health, work, freedom and equality

Summary: Nyerere mentions the problems that Tanganyika faces due to the legacy of colonialism. The major hindrances to development are the lack of education, health and human rights and mass poverty. He declares war on poverty, ignorance and disease. Nyerere advises the people, who live scattered in rural areas, to build villages (Ujamaa) for better agrarian production and to facilitate the provision of State services and other goods (water, schools, hospitals). The party (TANU) has to be an agent for all people and nationalities/ethnicities of the country. The socialist party leadership should represent the whole country. He strongly encourages all citizens to work together for a people-centred development: “every single one of us has an equal duty to give his best”. Nyerere also stresses as essential values like unity and peace, in Tanganyika and in the region.

2. Coding (manifest, Annex 3)

Equality		Human Development	
Equality/equal	7	Human/ity/ism	5
Egalitarian/ism	0	Develop-ment	9
Person/ality	2	Social/ism	2
Dignity	4	Life/Lives	8
Colonial-ism	9	Health/Hospital	3
Justice/Rights	4	Educat-ion	26
Freedom	8	Food/Water	1
Race/Racial	4	Work	16
Religion/Religious	0	Particip-ation	0
Unity/Union	10	Economy/ic	1
Leader-ship	2	People	29
Inequality	0	Poverty	1

3. Context: After being elected Prime Minister in 1961, Nyerere stepped down in January, 1962 (R. Kawawa took over), in order to travel the country, speak with the people and reorganize the party (TANU), before that year's presidential election. Nyerere was then elected President with 97 % of the votes; Zuberi Mtemvu for the opposition (ANC) received 3%. The colonial administration had neglected education, which Nyerere viewed as a key for facilitating development and providing dignity, making them now a priority in his Government (with a focus on girls and women).

4. Coding (latent): excerpts/quotes from the text Nr. 22, PIA

"The principle on which we stood, and on which we stand today, is the principle of human rights. It is the dignity and well-being of all our people which is the beginning and the end of all our efforts. For the freedom we demanded was not mere independence from colonialism; what we sought was personal freedom for all the people of Tanganyika; freedom for every individual, and the chance to make use of that freedom, in co-operation with his fellows-to provide for his own needs and theirs and so to live a life of human dignity. 178

But to build a nation is not just a matter of producing tarmac roads, multi-storied buildings, luxury hotels and so on. ... To build a nation in the true sense, a task into which we must throw ourselves wholeheartedly, is to build the character of its people-of ourselves; to build an attitude of mind which will enable us to live together with our fellow citizens of Tanganyika, and of the whole world, in mutual friendliness and co-operation. 178

We determined to build a country in which all her citizens are equal; where there is no division into rulers and ruled, rich and poor, educated and illiterate, those in distress and those in idle comfort. We determined that in this country all would be equal in dignity; all would have an equal right to respect, to the opportunity of acquiring a good education and the necessities of life; and all her citizens should have an equal opportunity of serving their country to the limit of their ability. 178

It would be absurd to claim that TANU is a united national movement representing all the people of Tanganyika ... No, it was right that TANU itself should be like Tanganyika, and that its leadership should be representative of the country as a whole. 180

There is no quick way to cancel out the present difference between our African and our non-African citizens; there is no easy way to remove the existing disparity in education between Christians and Muslims, or between the educated few and the majority of our people;... 181

And if you ask me why the Government wants us to live in villages, the answer is just as simple: unless we do we shall not be able to provide ourselves with the things we need to develop our land and to raise our standard of living. We shall not be able to use tractors; we shall not be able to provide schools for our children; we shall not be able to build hospitals, or have clean drinking water. 184

We all hate the criminal who kills a fellow human being. We want the police to catch such a murderer so that he may be punished. Yet in actual fact those human murderers are nothing like so 'deadly a threat to the lives of our families and our friends as is the malaria mosquito. 177

Every citizen of Tanganyika, whether he be the President, a politician, a civil servant, a farmer, a teacher, or the lowest-paid worker in the land, every single one of us has an equal duty to give of his best. Every one of us has an equal duty to do the work entrusted to him- whatever that work may be- as if he too had taken a solemn oath to devote himself, without thought for his own advantage, to building our new Republic of Tanganyika." PIA 187

5. Questions (eq, hd): Why human rights are principles to address the major problems at the times of independence? (eq) How would Ujama tackle poverty in the rural areas of Tanganyika? (hd).

Tally Sheet: *Nyerere Nr.23 Introduction to Freedom & Unity, IFU, e, 1966, 9p*

1. Basic Data:

Event/Reason: Introduction to Nyerere’s book: *Freedom and Unity: Uhuru Na Umoja*

Date and venue: 1966, in Tanzania, introduction to Nyerere’s first collection of speeches and texts

Source: Nyerere. 1966/1970. *Freedom and Unity: Uhuru Na Umoja*, Oxford University Press, UK; excerpts: *A New Synthesis of Man and Society*, p7-18; *The Vital Nature of the Social Ethic*, p20-21

Target group/audience: TANU/CCM leadership, members, academics, diplomats, media, students

Topic and objective: Changes in society and a new socialist ethic based on freedom and equality

Summary: In the “New Synthesis” Nyerere elaborates on the compromises that must be made when overcoming the inherent dilemma between individual freedom and the good of the community. He reflects on the traditional African family as a microcosm of society and illustrates how the ideals of human equality, freedom and unity are paramount... He emphasises the need for educational, institutional and economic reforms towards a socialist state, which reduces the temptation of individual greed and applies the principle of human dignity as an end. Social ethic in Africa has to change “from one appropriate to a tribal society to one appropriate to a national society.” (20)

2. Coding (manifest, Annex 3)

Equality		Human Development	
Equality/equal	35	Human/ity/ism	19
Egalitarian/ism	0	Develop-ment	10
Person/ality	11	Social/ism	43
Dignity	7	Life/Lives	11
Colonial-ism	2	Health/Hospital	1
Justice/Rights	15	Educat-ion	4
Freedom	20	Food/Water	6
Race/Racial	2	Work	14
Religion/Religious	2	Particip-ation	0
Unity/Union	9	Economy/ic	17
Leader-ship	0	People	5
Inequality	8	Poverty	1

3. Context: This book can be seen as an attempt to “extend understanding of our basic purposes and of the problems which have to be overcome” (1966, 20). As I wrote elsewhere, “the year 1964 was a hard political test for Tanzania, TANU and Nyerere, and it led to far-reaching reforms and changes, most notably the bloody Zanzibar revolution, which resulted in the Tanzania Union ... [and] a military rebellion”. The local government reform that “created elected village committees ... led to more centralisation and confusion for the people”. (Hausler 2009, 81).

4. Coding (latent): excerpts/quotes from the text Nr. 23, IFU

“It is not any particular man who is the justification for society and all its problems. It is every man, equally with every other man. The equality of all members is fundamental to any social grouping to which an individual freely belongs. By joining a social group-by being a member of it-a man is surrendering certain freedoms. His gain is that others do likewise. 8

There must be equality, because only on that basis will men work co-operatively. There must be freedom, because the individual is not served by society unless it is his. And there must be unity, because only when the society is united can its members live and work in peace, security, and well-being. 8

The traditional African family was an almost self-contained economic and social unit. Most of the necessities of birth, life, and death could be supplied within the unit on a level which was certainly low, but equally low for all members, and still higher than sub-groups of that family could obtain by themselves. ...Despite all the variations, and some exceptions where the institution of domestic slavery existed, African family life was everywhere based on certain practices and attitudes which together meant basic equality, freedom and unity. 8

The "authority" is basically the "first among equals"; his position is based upon the foundation of mutual respect between all members and their common expectation that the compromises which are necessary in all group life will be made by all-including the "authority" himself. 9 There was an attitude of

mutual respect and obligation... which might be described as love... The property... is held in common. And every member of the family accepts the obligation to work. 9

Such experiences presuppose the economic as well as the social integration of the society, and rest squarely on the group's joint ownership of basic property. It is, and must be, "our" house, "our" food, "our" land, for only under these conditions can equality exist among the members." 9 ... The members may not all get an equal share in the food available - this will be determined by need. But they all have an equal right to their share. 10 ... There is, therefore, no absolute and simple rule which can be easily applied everywhere and to all aspects of life in relation to equality. Instead we are forced back to concepts of human dignity; every member of society must have. 15

[W]e have to organize our institutions and build attitudes which promote universal human dignity and social equality. In other words we have to promote the growth, and encourage the expression, of the attitude which asks a particular kind of question when considering decisions. The question "What profit would I myself get?" must be socially discouraged; it must be replaced by the question "What benefit, and what loss, will be obtained by the people who make up this society?" 16

But one thing is inescapable. Whatever the size of the society and whatever its institutions, the freedom and well-being of its members depends upon there being a generally accepted social ethic —a sense of what things are right, and what things are wrong, both for the institutions in relation to the members, and for the members in relation to each other." IFU 20

5. Questions (eq, hd): What is the reasoning for the affirmation that there must be equality? (eq) How can the economic and social integration of the people take place in Tanganyika/Tanzania? (hd)

Tally Sheet: *Nyerere Nr.24 Arusha Declaration, AD, e, 1967, 15p*

1. Basic Data:

Event/Reason: Presentation of the President's draft programme for a socialist party/society

Date and venue: 29.01.1967, Arusha/Tanzania

Source: Nyerere. 1968. *Freedom & Socialism*, Oxford University Press, London, UK, p231 -250

Target group/audience: TANU, National Executive Committee, NEC; later, the whole of Tanzania

Topic and objective: Socialism in Tanzania, AD with the Arusha Resolution and Leadership Code

Summary: The draft of the Arusha Declaration (AD) was mostly written by Nyerere, and then presented, discussed and approved by the party leadership (NEC). It presents a socialist ideology (e.g. no exploitation, human equality) and the strategy for socialist development of the country (Self-Reliance, poverty reduction, public education, public ownership, agrarian development). Central principles of "The TANU Creed" are: "(a) That all human beings are equal; (b) That every individual has a right to dignity and respect; ... (g) That all citizens together possess all the natural resources of the country ..." (231-232). Further principles are related to individual freedoms and rights ("equal opportunity to all men and women irrespective of race, religion or status"); and to collective obligations for the people e.g. that everybody has "to work to the maximum of his ability". The "Arusha Resolution" (248-250) highlights the importance of good leadership and establishes a code of ethics for all TANU leaders.

2. Coding (manifest, Annex 3)

Equality		Human Development	
Equality/equal	3	Human/ity/ism	3
Egalitarian/ism	0	Develop-ment	74
Person/ality	3	Social/ism	35
Dignity	2	Life/Lives	6
Colonial-ism	0	Health/Hospital	7
Justice/Rights	11	Educat-ion	2
Freedom	4	Food/Water	14
Race/Racial	1	Work	46
Religion/Religious	2	Particip-ation	1
Unity/Union	1	Economy/ic	15
<i>Leader-ship</i>	30	<i>People</i>	48
Inequality	0	Poverty	6

3. Context: In 1965, Tanzania changed the (interim) Constitution to become a one-party democracy (with the electoral choice between at least two candidates). The AD referred to the policy for agrarian development, particularly the model of Ujamaa. An economic growth between 1961 and 1966 of 2.3% and a “population growth rate of 2,7 % ... was not sufficient” (Kamuzora in Chachage 2010, 94) for poverty reduction and for more equality. Internationally, other key events took place: Nkrumah’s socialist government was overthrown (1966). The OAU activities slowed down; Nyerere initiated the regional association between Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. Tanzania supported Pan-Africanism and the liberation struggles in different parts of Africa (e.g. the Biafra war) that included ca 12% of Africa’s population. Tanzania hosted Che Guevara during his ‘Congo mission’; 1964 to 1966. Tanzania condemned as imperialist the war in Vietnam and the continuation of conflicts between Israel and Palestine.

4. Coding (latent): excerpts/quotes from the text Nr. 24, AD

“The policy of TANU is to build a socialist state. The principles of socialism are laid down in the TANU Constitution and they are as follows: ...(i) That it is the responsibility of the state to intervene actively in the economic life of the nation so as to ensure the well-being of all citizens, and so as to prevent the exploitation of one person by another or one group by another, and so as to

prevent the accumulation of wealth to an extent which is inconsistent with the existence of a classless society. 231-232;

(b) To safeguard the inherent dignity of the individual in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; (c) To ensure that this country shall be governed by a democratic socialist government of the people; 232 (h) To see that the Government gives equal opportunity to all men and women irrespective of race, religion or status; (i) To see that the Government eradicates all types of exploitation, intimidation, discrimination, bribery and corruption; 232-233

A truly socialist state is one in which all people are workers and in which neither capitalism nor feudalism exists. It does not have two classes of people, a lower class composed of people who work for their living, and an upper class of people who live on the work of others ... If a country to be socialist, it is essential that its government is chosen and led by the peasants and workers themselves. 233-234 The successful implementation of socialist objectives depends very much upon the leaders, because socialism is a belief in a particular system of living,...235

A Poor Man does not use Money as a Weapon. 235 ...

Our Government, and different groups of our leaders, never stop thinking about methods of getting finance from abroad. ...It is stupid to rely on money as the major instrument of development when we know only too well that our country is poor. It is equally stupid, indeed it is even more stupid, for us to imagine 239 that we shall rid ourselves of our poverty through foreign financial assistance rather than our own financial resources. ...Independence means self-reliance. Independence cannot be real if a nation depends upon gifts and loans from another for its development. 238-239

Yet the greater part of this money that we spend in the towns comes from loans. Whether it is use it to build schools, hospitals, houses or factories, etc., it still has to be repaid. ...

The main aim of our new industries is 'import substitution' – that is, to produce things which up to now we have had to import from foreign countries. 245

Furthermore the people, through their own hard **work** and with a little help and leadership, have finished many development projects in the villages. They have built schools, dispensaries, community centres, and roads; they have dug wells, water channels, animal dips, small dams, and completed various other development projects. Had they waited for money, they would not now have the use of these things. 245-246

TANU recognizes the urgency and importance of good leadership. But we have not yet produced systematic training for our leaders;....Leaders must set a good example to the rest of the people in their lives and in all their activities. 248

The Leadership. 1. Every TANU and Government leader must be either a peasant or a worker, and should in no way be associated with the practices of capitalism or feudalism. 2. No TANU or Government leader should hold shares in any company. ... 4. No TANU or Government leader should receive two or more salaries. (In this context 'leader' means a man, or a man and his wife; a woman, or a woman and her husband.). " AD 249

5. Questions (eq, hd): How does TANU/Nyerere expect the country's leadership to be? (eq) How does the socialist State help to achieve social, economic and human development? (hd)

Tally Sheet: *Nyerere Nr.25 Education for Self-Reliance, ESR, e, 1967, 16p*

1. Basic Data:

Event/Reason: Paper on Education as first post-Arusha Declaration policy directive

Date and venue: March 1967, Tanzania

Source: Nyerere.1968. *Freedom & Socialism*, Oxford University Press, London, UK, p267- 290

Target group/audience: teachers, students, TANU leaders, media, the public

Topic and objective: The type of education to meet Tanzanian's needs, revolution, nation-building

Summary: This is Nyerere’s first policy paper after the Arusha Declaration (1967, text Nr. 24), aiming at initiating an “educational revolution”. After the functional and restrictive education of the colonial regime, Nyerere elaborates on the need, purpose and possibilities of education in a poor country. He establishes the links between learning in the schools with the work of students in Ujamaa villages, and that with small farming (mashamba). He criticises the arrogant attitude of formally educated people. Nyerere proposes the combination of traditional life and modern development to increase productivity. “The introduction of an ox-plough instead of a hoe—and, even more, the introduction of a tractor—means more than just a different way of turning over the land” (278). Nyerere is proud of the achievements: in 1961 only 490,000 children attended primary school, the majority going to standard IV; in 1967, they were 825,000 pupils attending primary school. Only about 15% of the pupils achieved secondary school. Secondary school students were to work on school farms and in the public sectors, to make a contribution to the development of the communities.

2. Coding (manifest, Annex 3)

Equality		Human Development	
Equality/equal	9	Human/ity/ism	4
Egalitarian/ism	4	Develop-ment	18
Person/ality	5	Social/ism	25
Dignity	1	Life/Lives	30
Colonial-ism	13	Health/Hospital	0
Justice/Rights	2	Educat-ion	12
Freedom	8	Food/Water	5
Race/Racial	5	Work	7
Religion/Religious	4	Particip-ation	60
Unity/Union	3	Economy/ic	9
<i>Leader-ship</i>	3	<i>People</i>	15
Inequality	3	Poverty	54
			4

3. Context: Since the early years of the the struggle for independence, Nyerere had made clear that more education is needed to achieve human

equality. Liberation in education and agricultural activities became very popular in ESR-schools, says Marjorie Mbiliny (Chachage, 2010).

4. Coding (latent): excerpts/quotes from the text Nr. 25, ESR:

“That purpose [education] is to transmit from one generation to the next the accumulated wisdom and knowledge of the society, and to prepare the young people for their future membership of the society... 268

The education provided by the colonial government in the two countries which now form Tanzania had a different purpose. ... In these countries the state interest in education therefore stemmed from the need for local clerks and junior officials; on top of that, various religious groups were interested in spreading literacy and other education as part of their evangelical work. ... This meant that colonial education induced attitudes of human inequality, and in practice underpinned the domination of the weak by the strong, especially in the economic field. 269

We have said that we want to create a socialist society which is based on three principles: equality and respect for human dignity; sharing of the resources which are produced by our efforts; work by everyone and exploitation by none. ... We have also said on many occasions that our objective is greater African unity... 271

This means that the educational system of Tanzania must emphasize co-operative endeavour, not individual advancement; it must stress concepts of equality and the responsibility to give service which goes with any special ability, whether it be in carpentry, in animal husbandry, or in academic pursuits. And, in particular, our education must counteract the temptation to intellectual arrogance; 273

The education provided must therefore encourage the development in each citizen of three things: an enquiring mind; an ability to learn from what others do, and reject or adapt it to his own needs; and a basic confidence in his own position as a free and equal member of the society, who values others and is valued by them for what he does and not for what he obtains. 274

In recent years we have tried to relate these skills, at least in theory, to the life which the children see around them. But the school is always separate; it is not part of the society. It is a place children go to and which they and their parents hope will make it unnecessary for them to become farmers and continue living in the village. ...The new university graduate has spent the larger part of his life separated and apart from the masses of Tanzania; his parents may be poor, but he has never fully shared that poverty. He does not really know what it is like to live as a poor peasant. 276

It is as much a mistake to over-value book learning as it is to under-value it. The same thing applies in relation to agricultural- knowledge. ... Yet at present our pupils learn to despise even their own parents because they are old-fashioned and ignorant; there is nothing in our existing educational system which suggests to the pupil that he can learn important things about farming from his elders. 278

We cannot solve our present problems by any solution which costs more than is at present spent; in particular we cannot solve the 'problem of primary school leavers' by increasing the number of secondary school places. ... Our sights must be on the majority; it is they we must be aiming at in determining the curriculum and syllabus. 282 ... This is a break with our educational tradition, and unless its purpose and its possibilities are fully understood by teachers and parents, it may be resented at the beginning. 283

This is not only a matter of school organization and curriculum. Social values are formed by family, school, and society—by the total environment in which a child develops. But it is no use our educational system stressing values and knowledge appropriate to the past or to the citizens in other countries; it is wrong if it even contributes to the continuation of those inequalities and privileges which still exist in our society because of our inheritance." ESR 290

5. Questions (eq, hd): What are the goals of Education in the reducing inequality in Tanzania? (eq) How can Education contribute to building a developed society? (hd)

Tally Sheet: Nyerere Nr.26 *Socialism and Rural Development*, SRD, e, 1967, 16p, excerpt

1. Basic Data:

Event/Reason: Paper on rural development as second post-Arusha Declaration policy directive

Date and venue: September 1967, Tanzania

Source: Nyerere.1968. *Freedom & Socialism*, Oxford University Press, London, UK, p337-366

Target group/audience: farmers, peasants, TANU leaders, teachers, students, media, all people

Topic and objective: promoting rural socialism and preparation for the Ujamaa-villages

Summary: In this strategic paper on the need for rural development, Nyerere elaborated on the idea that socialism was better for the lives of the majority of the people. He talked about the “traditional ujamaa living”, “the inadequacies of the traditional system” and the need for “changes in the rural areas”. He analysed the consequences of a continuing capitalist relation between the few wealthy and the many Tanzanian poor. He concluded that a modern Ujamaa-life is mandatory: “our agricultural organization would be predominantly that of co-operative living and working for the good of all.” Nyerere further elaborated on the conditions for such a community, e.g. equality between women and men, work of and for all, sharing of the benefits, communal planning and caring of children, the elders and the sick people; participation and democracy should be basic principles of Ujamaa.

2. Coding (manifest, Annex 3)

Equality		Human Development	
Equality/equal	25	Human/ity/ism	12
Egalitarian/ism	0	Develop-ment	20
Person/ality	9	Social/ism	46
Dignity	2	Life/Lives	42
Colonial-ism	2	Health/Hospital	2

Justice/Rights	8	Educate-ion	5
Freedom	3	Food/Water	16
Race/Racial	0	Work	65
Religion/Religious	0	Particip-ation	7
Unity/Union	3	Economy/ic	8
<i>Leader-ship</i>	5	<i>People</i>	77
Inequality	4	Poverty	4

3. Context: Tanzania (Tanganyika/mainland and Zanzibar) has a rural structure. 80 to 85% of the 12 million people (1966) lived in rural areas and survived off small farming, mostly subsistence. Nyerere's first aim was to reduce rural poverty. Donatus Komba spells out a central question and main concern: "how to ensure that local initiative and active participation are sustained rather than killed, as modernising external assistance enters the situation. This is an issue of local capacity- building instead of local capacity-erosion, or the bypassing of local skills and knowledge" (in Legum and Mmari 1999, 34).

4. Coding (latent): excerpts/quotes from the text Nr. 26, SDR

The traditional African family lived according to the basic principles of ujamaa. Its members did this unconsciously, and without any conception of what they were doing in political terms. They lived together and worked together because that was how they understood life, and how they reinforced each other against the difficulties they had to contend with the uncertainties of weather and sickness, the depredations of wild animals (and sometimes human enemies), and the cycle of life and death. 337

While the first principle of the Ujamaa unit related to persons, the second related to property. It was that all the basic goods were held in common, and shared among all members of the unit. ... Inequalities existed, but they were tempered by comparable family or social responsibilities, and they could never become gross and offensive to the social equality which was at the basis of the communal life. ... Finally, and as a necessary third principle, was the fact that everyone had an obligation to work. The work done by different people was different, but no one was exempt. 338-339

It is true that the women in traditional society were regarded as having a place in the community which was not only different, but was also to some extent inferior. ... If we want our country to make full and quick progress now, it is essential that our women live on terms of full equality with their fellow citizens who are men. 339

The other aspect of traditional life which we have to break away from, is its poverty. Certainly there was an attractive degree of economic equality, but it was equality at a low level. ...There was nothing inherent in the traditional system which caused this poverty; it was the result of two things only. The first was ignorance, and the second was the scale of operations. 339-340

These principles were, and are, the foundation of human security, of real practical human equality, and of peace between members of a society. They can also be a basis of economic development if modern knowledge and modern techniques of production are used. 340

This is the objective of socialism in Tanzania. To build a society in which all members have equal rights and equal opportunities; in which all can live at peace with their neighbours without suffering or imposing injustice, being exploited, or exploiting; and in which all have a gradually increasing basic level of material welfare before any individual lives in luxury. 340

But although marketing co-operatives are socialist in the sense that they represent the joint activities of producers, they could be socialist institutions serving capitalism if the basic organization of agricultural production is capitalist. ...It is only if the agricultural production itself is organized on a socialist pattern that co-operative marketing societies are serving socialism. 345

For the foreseeable future the vast majority of our people will continue to spend their lives in the rural areas and continue to work on the land. The land is the only basis for Tanzania's development; we have no other. 346

Village democracy must operate from the beginning; there is no alternative if this system is to succeed. A leader will have an opportunity to explain his ideas and to try to persuade the people that they are good; but it must be for the people themselves to accept or reject his suggestions.... It does not

matter if the discussion takes a long time; we are building a nation, and this is not a short-term thing. “ SDR 359

5. Questions (eq, hd): Why is the traditional Tanzanian society not fully equal? (eq) How do the principles of Ujamaa lead to development? (hd)

Tally Sheet: *Nyerere Nr.27.Ujamaa is Tanzanian Socialism, UJAMAA, e, 1968,12p, introduction, excerpt*

1. Basic Data:

Event/Reason: Arusha Declaration (1967) and TANU's development programme

Date and venue: August 1968, Tanzania

Source: Nyerere. 1968. *Freedom & Socialism*. Oxford University Press, London, UK, p1 – 36

Target group/audience: TANU, leadership, teacher and students, the public, intern. Diplomats

Topic and objective: Tanzanian Socialism, equality; the socialist society and wealth, religion

Summary: Nyerere promoted Ujamaa “Africa’s own sons” as the living and working together in villages and practising human equality. He also warned of the difficulties ahead: “a country does not become socialist by nationalization or grand designs on paper ... it takes much longer.” (2). He highlighted the post-colonial impediments and challenges for a socialist society in Tanzania, from the danger of Africanization to be taken as racism, to the risk of the continuation of capitalism, which some leaders favoured: “they simply wanted its fruits” (27). Nyerere assured that personal rights and freedoms, like having a religion, do not conflict with Ujamaa. Education should be for all, and not only for the leaders; adult education is very important and is “directed at helping the people to understand the principles of socialism and their relevance...” (31). “The ultimate success ... depends upon the people...” (32).

2. Coding (manifest, Annex 3)

Equality		Human Development	
Equality/equal	24	Human/ity/ism	24
Egalitarian/ism	0	Develop-ment	19
Person/ality	6	Social/ism	15
Dignity	7	Life/Lives	2
Colonial-ism	11	Health/Hospital	15
Justice/Rights	6	Educat-ion	2
Freedom	17	Food/Water	10
Race/Racial	9	Work	3
Religion/Religious	10	Particip-ation	24
Unity/Union	4	Economy/ic	2
<i>Leader-ship</i>	32	<i>People</i>	11
Inequality	4	Poverty	57
			3

3. Context: For TANU and Nyerere, poverty reduction needed agrarian socialism and income inequality was high in 1963. Nyerere admitted: “We ... developed an income structure... inconsistent with our declared aim of social equality” (in Legum and Mmari 1999, 68). The Arusha Declaration (1967; see text Nr.24) spelt out the prerequisites for Ujamaa: “People, Land, Good Policies, Good Leadership” (1968, 243). Ujamaa was not only a success story. Irene & Roland Brown observed this: “The socialist villages, the *Ujamaa Vijijini*, were very much left to themselves by the educated elite.”(in Legum and Mmari 1999, 18). Issa Shivji criticised the government’s order “Operation Vijiji”, where “some nine million people... within a period of four to five years” were forced to move into “development villages”. On the other hand, Shivji praised Nyerere’s “sincerity and personal devotion to uplifting the life of village communities [which] accounts for the better standard of health, education, water etc” (in Chachage 2010, 122-123). For C.L.R. James, Ujamaa was “one of the true roads to freedom” (Campbell in Chachage 2010, 57).

4. Coding (latent): excerpts/quotes from the text Nr. 27, UJAMAA

“ By the use of the word ‘ujamaa’ therefore, we state that for us socialism involves building on the foundation of our past, and building also to our own

design. We are not importing a foreign ideology into Tanzania and trying to smother our distinct social patterns with it. 2

First, and most central of all, is that under socialism Man is the purpose of all social activity. ...The word 'man' to a socialist, means all men – all human beings. Male and female; black, white, brown, yellow; long-nosed and short-nosed; educated and uneducated; wise and stupid; strong and weak; all these, and all other distinctions between human beings, are irrelevant to the fact that all members of society – all human beings who are its purpose – are equal. Socialism, as a system, is in fact the organization of men's inequalities to serve their equality. Their equality is socialist belief. 4

Democracy is another essential characteristic of a socialist society. For the people's equality must be reflected in the political organization; everyone must be an equal participant in the government of his society. 5

The purpose of socialism is to enlarge the real freedom of man, to expand his opportunity of living in dignity and well-being. ... An obviously essential part of this is that the laws of the society shall be known, be applied equally, and that people shall not be subject to arbitrary arrest, or persecution by the servants of the society. ...The Rule of Law is a part of socialism; until it prevails, socialism does not prevail. 8

In a socialist society ... man as a consumer is not 'king'. Instead man is recognized as a human being who desires human dignity, who is a consumer both privately and socially, and who is also a producer. ... Socialism is concerned with man's life in this society. A man's relationship with his God is a personal matter for him and him alone ... Socialism's concern about the organization of life on earth ... 11- 12

Leadership can be given – and indeed must be given – in a socialist state. But it must be the people's leadership, which they accept because ultimately they control it. Socialist leadership is of the people; it cannot be imposed by force or tyranny ... 24

Racialism is absolutely and fundamentally contrary to the first principle of socialism - the equality of man. Second, the most active, and therefore the most popular, of the nationalist leaders may have been people without a

socialist conviction. ... Third, all the national Party organization and education were geared to defeating colonialism and to opposing people of another race who happened to be in positions of power. ... This means that once independence is achieved, and the key positions of power have been Africanized, there is a grave danger that the Party will lose support and will atrophy. 30

We have defined our policies in education, in rural development, and have listed our expectations of leadership. But we are NOT a socialist society. Our work has only just begun. Of particular priority are the outstanding tasks of socialist adult education, and of strengthening the people's self-confidence and pride." UJAMAA 32

5. Questions (eq, hd): What are the purposes of Ujamaa and what are its limits? (eq) Which role does education play in building Ujamaa? (hd)

Tally Sheet: *Nyerere Nr. 28 The Church and Society, Church, s, 1970, 10p*

1. Basic Data:

Event/Reason: Congress of Maryknoll Sisters, Nyerere's address

Date and venue: 6th October 1970, the Headquarters of the Maryknoll Mission New York City

Source: Nyerere.1973. *Freedom & Development*, Oxford University Press, London, UK, p 213 –228

Target group/audience: Christian Missionaries, sisters working in Tanzania; Churches and the Islam

Topic and objective: Social justice and dignity for poor people; obligation and work of the church

Summary: In this critical speech on the role of the Christian religion, Nyerere focus on poverty, inequality, injustice and on "God's legacy. The Church has to be critical: "development of peoples means rebellion" (215). Nyerere states that "the purpose of development is man" (215) and not the profit for a small group of people. That is true in socialism and in Christianity. Christians, therefore, have to fight for more social justice and against "present

oppressions and inequalities” (217). Nyerere claims that Maryknoll Sisters should work with the people and not for the people; they should support education, medical care, small business and trade union work, and cooperate with non-Christians for human development. In its final part, Nyerere mentions the need of a “fearless Christianity”. He says: “Ours is a Living Faith: if you like, a Revolutionary Faith, for faith without action is sterile, and action without faith is meaningless. (225). This speech was widely disseminated and translated into several languages.

2. Coding (manifest, Annex 3)

Equality		Human Development	
Equality/equal	5	Human/ity/ism	12
Egalitarian/ism	0	Develop-ment	29
Person/ality	3	Social/ism	25
Dignity	11	Life/Lives	9
Colonial-ism	2	Health/Hospital	5
Justice/Rights	31	Educat-ion	2
Freedom	7	Food/Water	3
Race/Racial	1	Work	20
Religion/Religious	9	Particip-ation	4
Unity/Union	1	Economy/ic	20
<i>Leader-ship</i>	6	<i>People</i>	29
Inequality	2	Poverty	18

3. Context: Nyerere used to describe himself as a “practising Catholic” (see preface to this speech Nr.28) and a socialist. For The Most Reverend T. Huddleston CR, Bishop of Masasi/Tanzania until 1968, Nyerere is “pre-eminently a Christian humanist” (in Legum and Mmari 1999, 6). Mwalimu was the leading voice for tolerance in racial and religious issues, which gave him authority to speak on the role of (Christian) religion in the social and economic development of Tanzania. President Kikwete, one of his successors, praised Nyerere’s “tolerance in matters of faith and in managing potential cracks in the Tanzanian nation“, writes Salma Maoulidi (in Chachage 2010, 134). Religious conflicts increased after the unification in 1964. Salma Maoulidi highlights this tension: “It is inescapable that race and religion are inextricably linked in the minds of Tanzanians, such as colonialism as being of Christian origin and

slavery of Islamic origin, or Tanganyika being a missionary bastion and Zanzibar a Muslim bastion.“ (ibid. 146).

4. Coding (latent): excerpts/quotes from the text Nr. 28, Church

“Poverty is not the real problem of the modern world. For we have the knowledge and resources which could enable us to overcome poverty. The real problem — the thing which creates misery, wars, and hatred among men — is the division of mankind into rich and poor. 213

This continues despite all the talk of human equality, the fight against poverty, and of development. Still the rich individuals within nations, and the rich nations within the world, go on getting richer very much faster than the poor overcome their poverty. 214

At a given and decisive point in history men decide to act against those conditions which restrict their freedom as men. ... I am suggesting that, unless we participate actively in the rebellion against those social structures and economic organizations which condemn men to poverty, humiliation and degradation, then the Church will become irrelevant to man and the Christian religion will degenerate into a set of superstitions accepted by the fearful. 215-216

Thus, the development of peoples involves economic development, social development, and political development. *And at this time in man's history, it must imply a divine discontent and a determination for change. For the present condition of men must be unacceptable to all who think of an individual person as a unique creation of a living God.* 216

If the Church is interested in man as an individual, it must express this by its interest in the society of which those individuals are members. For men are shaped by the circumstances in which they live. If they are treated like animals, they will act like animals. If they are denied dignity, they will act without dignity. ... The Church cannot uplift a man; it can only help to provide the conditions and the opportunity for him to co-operate with his fellows to uplift himself. 219

Only by doing these things can the Church hope to reduce hatred and promote its doctrine of love to all men. Its love must be expressed in action against evil, and for good. For if the Church acquiesces in established evils, it is identifying itself and the Christian religion with injustice by its continuing presence. ... The members of the Church must work with the people. ... For it is not the task of religious leaders to try to tell people what they should do. What is necessary is sharing on the basis of equality and common humanity. 220-221

Let us admit that, up to now, the record of the Church in these matters has not been a good one. The countries which we immediately think of as Catholic countries are not those in which the people enjoy human dignity, and in which social justice prevails. Nor are they countries in which there has been great economic progress. 222

In the Portuguese colonies in Africa we see the same thing. For centuries the Church has, without protest, accepted forced labour, torture, exploitation and alien domination. Even now the Church refuses to speak up against the colonialism and oppression in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau. ... Exploiting the poor does not become a right thing to do because communists call it a wrong thing; production for profit rather than meeting human needs does not become more just because communists say it leads to injustice. 223-224

If God were to ask the wretched of the earth who are their friends, are we so sure that we know their answer? And is that answer irrelevant to those who seek to serve God? ” Church 225

5. Questions (eq, hd): What is the role of the religion in Tanzanian society?
(eq) How can religious people contribute to the dignity and development of the people?(hd)

Tally Sheet: *Nyerere Nr.29. Self-Government is Self-Reliance,SGSR, s, 1987, p15*

1. Basic Data:

Event/Reason: 20th Anniversary of Arusha Declaration and 10 years of Chama Cha Mapinduzi, CCM,

Date and venue: 5th February 1987

Source: Nyerere. 1987. *Self-Government Is Self-Reliance*. Government Publication, Tanzania, p1 to 25.

Target group/audience: President Mwinyi, CCM NEC, party members, the public

Topic and objective: Jubilee and critical reflection on the 20 years of the Arusha Declaration (AD), and 10 years of CCM (unification of TANU and Afro Shirazi Party - Zanzibar)

Summary: Nyerere (Chairperson of CCM) used the opportunity of the double jubilee to assess his major political projects (unification to the CCM party) and the socialist development programme Arusha Declaration with the Leadership Code (ethical principles). The Code prohibited TANU/CCM leaders from accumulating wealth and obliged them to work for poverty reduction. “The Code stops our leaders living as capitalists on the basis of house rents” (19). Nyerere criticised a growing group of capitalist leaders, which should be brought in line with the party’s policies. On self-reliance, the importance of “concentrating on rural development” is highlighted (12). Agrarian production should aim at satisfying the needs of the people and the need for foreign exchange, to afford items such as medicine and “trains, wagons, lorries, and buses” (13)

2. Coding (manifest, Annex 3)

Equality		Human Development	
Equality/equal	7	Human/ity/ism	2
Egalitarian/ism	0	Develop-ment	31
Person/ality	6	Social/ism	56
Dignity	3	Life/Lives	5
Colonial-ism	0	Health/Hospital	4

Justice/Rights	6	Educ-at-ion	3
Freedom	3	Food/Water	4
Race/Racial	0	Work	28
Religion/Religious	1	Particip-ation	0
Unity/Union	7	Economy/ic	14
<i>Leader-ship</i>	56	<i>People</i>	44
Inequality	0	Poverty	4

3. Context: In 1985, Nyerere did not stand again as candidate for the presidential elections. His proposed candidate was not accepted by CCM (the young PM Salim Ahmed Salim). The one who was then nominated as a candidate was Ali Hassan Mwinyi, a liberal Zanzibari, who later “had to strike an agreement with the ...[IMF] that forced a radical shift to market economics” (Hyden and Mmuya 2008,33). Nyerere remained CCM Chairperson (until 1990) supporting the transition to multi-party politics in Tanzania, insisting on the continuation of the Ujamaa-based socialism, as he feared that the ‘Leadership Code’ would be undermined by liberal policies. Indeed, in 1991, Mwinyi and “his party colleagues adopted the Zanzibar Declaration, which allowed political leaders to accumulate personal wealth” (ibid.), making room for an increasing corruption.

4. Coding (latent): excerpts/quotes from the text Nr. 29, SGSR

“Despite all our problems, or perhaps because of our problems, we have a right to rejoice because we have reached this an anniversary in peace and tranquillity. 1

The Arusha Declaration defines the ideology of the Party. It is our basic Statement of purposes and Principles; it is the foundation for all Party and Government policy decisions. ... Part One sets out the Creed-the ideology of the Party: That all human beings are equal. That every individual has a right to dignity and respect. ...That every citizen has the right to freedom of expression, of movement, of religious belief and of association within the context of the law. 4

The Arusha Declaration says that to root out exploitation the major means of production and exchange must be "controlled and owned by the peasants

through the machinery of their Government and their cooperatives". ... But you certainly cannot build socialism, or maintain it, unless it is understood, and rests on the will of the people and the support of the people. You cannot force people to be free or to be socialists! ... Our socialist progress has been hindered by some dishonest, selfish Party Leaders and Members ... 6-7

We still talk as if without money there can be no development of any kind. And the shortage of money is now used as an excuse for every sin. Ask why the office is dirty-"no money". Why the streets are full of rubbish -"no money". America is a developed country; its national income is equivalent to 15,390 U.S. Dollars for every citizen. Tanzania is not developed. ... On this basis it would take a Tanzanian over 73 years to get the amount of money which an American gets in one year! The average expectation of life in Tanzania is 52 years! Tanzania is a poor country. But we could still develop ourselves on the basis of self-reliance. 8-9

The Arusha Declaration says we will advance to Self-Reliance by concentrating on rural development and paying heed to the peasant. And our strategy will depend on four things: The people with their hard and intelligent work; the proper use and conservation of land; good policies; and good leadership. 12

All our modern developments depend on our agriculture. To build industries and to run industries, we must have foreign exchange-earned from agricultural exports. To run our hospitals and dispensaries, we must have foreign exchange for medicine and equipment-earned from agricultural exports. To buy and run out trains, wagons, lorries, and buses, and the cars we use, we must have foreign exchange - earned from agricultural exports. 13

Because of our great advances in education and health, the population is increasing very fast every year. Our numbers increase by about 700,000 people each year. These extra people have to eat. To feed them we have to increase our food output on the basis of self-reliance.13

Local authorities should plan to give service on the basis of local resources-the land, the people, good policies and good leadership. Villages must

emphasize increased production to finance their own development. For to govern yourself is to be self-reliant. 22

We renew our commitment to upholding: The Unity of our nation under the leadership of President Mwinyi. Our democracy under the leadership of Chama Cha Mapinduzi. We renew our promise: to build a nation which respects the equality of all men, and the dignity of all men.” SGSR 24

5. Questions (eq, hd): What is the core of the Leadership Code in the Arusha Declaration? (eq) How does rural development lead to overall development of the people of the country? (hd)

Tally Sheet: *Nyerere Nr.30 Collective Self Reliance - Africa's Only Future Hope, CSR, s, 1997, 9p*

1. Basic Data:

Event/Reason: Invitation to South Africa's first democratically elected Parliament; Nyerere was honoured for his “support for our liberation struggle” (MP Blande Nzimande)

Date and venue: 16th of October 1997, Cape Town

Source: Nyerere.2000. *Africa Today and Tomorrow*. Dar es Salaam: Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation. P 53-63

Target group/audience: President Mandela, Vice-President Mbeki, MPs, diplomats, media, guests

Topic and objective: 1. Honouring Nyerere as ‘liberator’ and ‘great statesmen’; 2. Nyerere’s speech

Summary: South-African politicians honour Nyerere as the *Conscience of Africa* and as an extraordinary leader in the liberation struggle for freedom and equality in (South-) Africa (The Speaker, MPs Nzimande and Gertrude Shope). Nyerere analysis the political and economic situation of Sub-Saharan Africa and reflects on the role of the new political leadership. He elaborates on the duty of South Africa to work with other states to achieve unity and fight Neo-colonialism. He criticizes Western politicians’ arrogant perception, and

ignorance, when treating Africa as a “country”. Europe is “frightened of a flood of unemployed” [people] entering from North Africa (56-57). Nyerere exhorts the new leaders to promote self-reliance in African development, unity and “collectivity” in using the rich “human resources and natural material resources” in Africa (62).

2. Coding (manifest, Annex 3):

Equality		Human Development	
Equality/equal	2	Human/ity/ism	4
Egalitarian/ism	0	Develop-ment	10
Person/ality	1	Social/ism	0
Dignity	1	Life/Lives	2
Colonial-ism	4	Health/Hospital	1
Justice/Rights	2	Educat-ion	3
Freedom	4	Food/Water	0
Race/Racial	0	Work	7
Religion/Religious	0	Partici-patation	0
Unity/Union	6	Economy/ic	8
<i>Leader-ship</i>	11	<i>People</i>	21
Inequality	0	Poverty	1

3. Context: Invited to address the Parliament in South Africa; Nyerere spoke about Africa’s Future and used the opportunity to launch his foundation, the MNF, which the Parliament promised to support. Different speakers honoured Nyerere, CCM and Tanzania for their strong contribution to the liberation struggle and to African unity. Tanzania had hosted several members of the ANC leadership, and other freedom fighters from all over Africa. The country was also a centre for education during the liberation struggle. Since 1963 Tanzania had been the headquarters of the OAU Liberation Committee (until 1994) and - with Nyerere - a key player of the Frontline States.

4. Coding (latent): excerpts/quotes from the text Nr. 30, CSR

[Quotes by Gertrude Shope, p3] For me to come here to this Chamber and address you is a dream which you have helped to make true. ... So, Mr. President, and all your colleagues, I say thank you very much for making this possible. ... Africa South of the Sahara is an isolated region of the world.

During the last ten years, since my retirement as head of state of my country, I was asked, and I agreed, to establish something called the South Commission. 54-55

Africa South of the Sahara is different - completely different. It's not in the orbit of any of those big areas [Europe, USA, Asia]. If you people here are unemployed, very few of you will want to go to the US. The unemployed here will stay here. But so will the unemployed in Tanzania. 57

You are isolated from the centres of power. There is no internal urge in the US, in Europe or in Japan to help Africa. None. And, I think, to some extent the urge of imperialism has gone. So you could easily be forgotten, Africa is of interest when we are killing one another. Then we arouse a lot of interest. ...The Africa which now arouses some interest is that Brazzaville Africa, that Rwanda Africa, that Somalia Africa, that Liberia Africa. That is the Africa which arouses interest, and I don't blame these people. That's the Africa that they know. 58

Here I am, a former president of my country. There are no problems in Tanzania - we have never had these problems that they have - but I' m an African. So when they see me they ask about the problems of Rwanda. I say, "I don't come from Rwanda". And they answer, "But you come from Africa". But if Blair were to come to Dar es Salaam, I wouldn't ask him what is happening in Bosnia. 58

My friend who was introducing me [MP Nzimande] mentioned neocolonialism. I'm glad you still use the word "neocolonialism" because, you know. We went through a period when some of our people thought we were so advanced now to talk about neocolonialism. Un-uh, no, no. It is almost communist to talk about neocolonialism. He is a communist? Well, I am not a communist, but I agree with you! 59

We went through a neo-colonial period in Africa. It nearly destroyed all the hopes of the struggle for the liberation of the continent, with a bunch of soldiers taking over power all over the continent pushed, instigated and assisted by the people who now talk about this stereotype of Africa. 59

We have just got rid of Mobutu, who put him there? I don't know what Lumumba would have been if he had been allowed to live. I don't know. He was an elected leader, but angered the powerful, and they removed him within weeks. That Mobutu came on the scene within weeks and he's been there since. He was the worst of the lot. He loots the country, he goes out, and he leaves that country with a debt of US\$ 14 billion. ... And that was the type of leadership we had over a large part of Africa not the whole of Africa, but over a large part of Africa. They were leaders put there either by the French or by the Americans. When we had the Cold War, boy, I tell you, we couldn't breathe. 60

So this is a different Africa, I am saying that this Africa now is changing. Neo-colonialism is being fought more effectively, I think, with a new leadership in Africa. And I believe the one region which can lead this fight is our region. With the end of apartheid and South Africa having joined SADC, this area of Africa is a very solid area. It is an extremely solid area. It is strong, it has serious leaders and these leaders know one another. ... Africa is beginning to realize and we should all encourage Africa to get that realization more and more that we have to depend upon ourselves, both at the national level and at the collective level." CSR 61-62.

5. Questions (eq, hd): How does neo-colonialism influence African unity?
(eq) Why does the new leadership in South Africa have a key role to play?
(hd)

Annex 5.4 Questions from Tally Sheets

Each text has two short questions to equality (eq) and to human development (hd) at the end of the Tally Sheets (see “5. Questions”)

Nkrumah 11 texts Nr. 1 to 11

Nr. 1: (eq, hd): How does colonial politics impact on the rights of the people/s? (eq) What has to be done to overcome rural poverty and achieve social development? (hd)

Nr. 2: Which rights is Nkrumah claiming from the British Government and why?(eq) What kind of partnership was offered to Britain in exchange for independence?(hd)

Nr. 3: What is the African personality? (eq) How can African countries end inequality and conflicts? (hd)

Nr. 4: What does the founding of a university mean for Ghana’s future?(eq) How does the university contribute to linking tradition and modernity (hd)

Nr. 5: What are the leaders supposed to learn to implement the new social order?(eq) How is the new social order to be achieved described by Nkrumah? (hd)

Nr. 6: What does the plan for ‘Work and Happiness’ entail? (hd) How does the temperance of justice and mercy play in the Detention Act against dissidents? (eq)

Nr. 7: How does African unity help overcome inequality? (eq) What developmental challenges would the unification of Africa help to address? (hd)

Nr. 8: How did the colonial power and ideology strengthened inequality of Africans? (eq) ? How would the IAS contribute to social and cultural development of the people? (hd)

Nr. 9: What is the ethical principle of consciencism? (eq) Why does Nkrumah criticise the discussion on different types of socialism for the development of people (hd)?

Nr. 10: How does Nkrumah plan to wipe out the neo-colonialist/imperialist dominance? (eq) What does obstruct human development of the African peoples? (hd)

Nr. 11: How does Nkrumah elaborate on the need for equality between men and women? (eq) How does Nkrumah envision social and human development? (hd)

Nyerere Nr. 20 to 31

Nr. 20: (eq, hd): Through which mechanism have women been historically subjugated? (eq) What are important policies/projects for the development of women? (hd)

Nr. 21: Why is race an obstacle to equality? (eq) What does the British take on the concept of 'equal racial representation' represent for the development of the people? (hd)

Nr. 22: Why human rights are principles to address the major problems at the times of independence? (eq) How would Ujama tackle poverty in the rural areas of Tanganyika? (hd).

Nr. 23: What is the reasoning for the affirmation that there must be equality? (eq) How can the economic and social integration of the people take place in Tanganyika/Tanzania? (hd)

Nr. 24: How does TANU/Nyerere expect the country's leadership to be? (eq) How does the socialist State help to achieve social, economic and human development? (hd)

Nr. 25: What are the goals of Education in the reducing inequality in Tanzania? (eq) How can Education contribute to building a developed society? (hd)

Nr. 26: Why is the traditional Tanzanian society not fully equal? (eq) How do the principles of Ujamaa lead to development? (hd)

Nr. 27: What are the purposes of Ujamaa and what are its limits? (eq) Which role does education play in building Ujamaa? (hd)

Nr. 28: What is the role of the religion in Tanzanian society? (eq) How can religious people contribute to the dignity and development of the people?(hd)

Nr. 29: What is the core of the Leadership Code in the Arusha Declaration? (eq)
How does rural development lead to overall development of the people of the country? (hd)

Nr. 30: How does neo-colonialism influence African unity? (eq) Why does the new leadership in South Africa have a key role to play? (hd)

Nr. 31: Are there groups in society that must be particularly promoted to compensate previous inequalities? (eq) How does African Unity help human development in the African continent? (hd)

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