

“ Fifty years after independence, Tanzania has yet to realize the rallying cries of its liberation movement *“Uhuru Na Kazi”* (freedom and jobs), or to defeat the three scourges of poverty, ignorance, and disease. Though well intentioned, the efforts of Tanzania’s first president **Julius Nyerere to reduce poverty** and enhance social welfare failed to sustain economic growth, plunging the country into prolonged crisis. In the 1980s, Tanzania started liberalizing its economy, and with the collapse of communism in the 1990s, the country instituted a multi-party system. Over the past two decades, Tanzania has seen increased economic growth and political openings, but high levels of poverty, corruption, and limited state capacity still pose critical challenges to inclusive development and democratic consolidation.



The writing of a new constitution now presents Tanzania with a fresh opportunity to build a foundation for achieving its independence goals of poverty eradication and political freedom. Tanzanians can make progress by: (1) forging alliances with domestic democratic forces; (2) exploiting the intense power struggle within the ruling party; and (3) taking advantage of the incumbent **president’s interest in a democratic legacy. Through political will and popular participation**, the country can effectively address its challenges and emerge as a true African success story. ”

—Ibrahim Lipumba, December 9, 2011

FROM *UJAMAA* TO *DEMOKRASIA*: REFLECTING on 50 YEARS of INDEPENDENCE in TANZANIA and the WAY FORWARD



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The views expressed in this presentation represent the opinions and analysis of the speaker and do not necessarily reflect those of the National Endowment for Democracy or its staff.

PRESENTATION OUTLINE

- I. Historical Background
- II. Towards *Ujamaa: Mwalimu* Julius Nyerere (1962–1985)
- III. Economic Crisis, Reform and Democratization
 - President Ali Hassan Mwinyi (1985–1995)
 - President Benjamin Mkapa (1995–2005)
 - President Jakaya Kikwete (2005–present)
- IV. Consolidating Democracy and Development in Tanzania

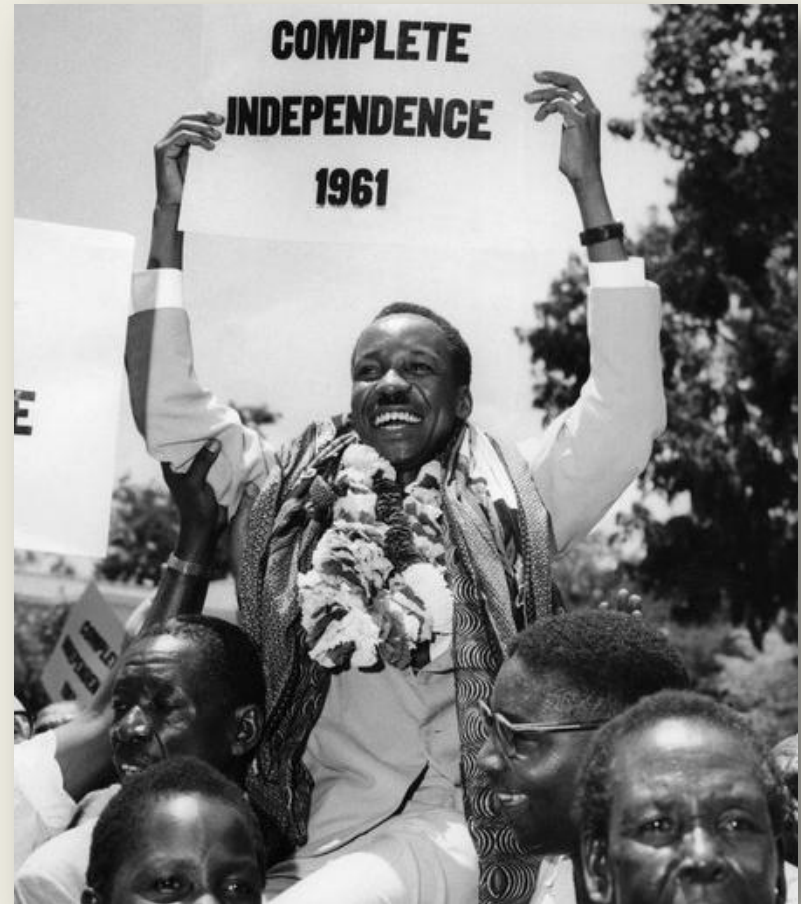
I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

- German colony (1885–1918)
- British Protectorate (1919–1961)
- Nationalist Movement for Independence (1954–1961)
 - Tanganyika African National Union (TANU)
 - Democracy and Self-determination
 - Fighting the three scourges of ignorance, ill health, and poverty
 - Nationalist Motto – UHURU NA KAZI (Freedom and Jobs)

I. RAPID MOVEMENT FROM SELF-RULE TO COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE



**Nyerere Sworn in as Tanganyika
Chief Minister, 1959**



**Nyerere on arrival from London
Independence Conference, 1960**

Multi-party
Westminster-style
democracy dominated
by TANU

126 ethnic groups with
Kiswahili as the lingua
franca

Two major religious
groups – Muslims and
Christians

Christian missionary
schools dominated
formal education

I. SOCIO-POLITICAL CONDITIONS AT INDEPENDENCE



**Nyerere on Independence Day
December 9, 1961**

I. ECONOMIC INHERITANCE AT INDEPENDENCE

- Dual economy
 - Small modern sector and large subsistence peasant agriculture
- Commerce dominated by Indian businesses
- Low levels of education and poor health services
- East African Common Service Organization (Kenya, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, and Uganda)
 - Managed railways, ports, aviation, post and telecommunication, and income and customs duty
- East African Common Currency Area
- East African Federation – political objective

I. UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT AT AN EAST AFRICAN FEDERATION



From left to right: President Kaunda of Zambia, President Nyerere of Tanzania, President Kenyatta of Kenya, and Premier of Uganda Obote, 1964 © Bettmann/CORBIS

1964–1977: TANU rules over Tanzania mainland and Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) rules in Zanzibar

1977: Union of TANU and ASP, leading to the formation of the current ruling party, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM)

I. UNION OF TANGANYIKA AND ZANZIBAR (1964)



Julius Nyerere and Vice President AA Karume on Union Day, April 26, 1964

Nyerere rules from
1961–85

Initially:

Moderate political
leader (compared to
Ghana's Nkrumah)

Promotes a market-
based economy

Seeks Foreign Direct
Investment

II. JULIUS NYERERE PRIOR TO *UJAMAA (socialism)*



From left to right: Sectary of State Dean Rusk, Julius Nyerere, and President J.F. Kennedy (1963)

© Getty Images

1962: *Ujamaa* as state of mind

1965: TANU one-party system

1967: Nationalization

1967–1973: *Ujamaa* villages established

1971: Buildings Acquisition Act

1973–1975: Forced Villagization

1975: Basic Industrialization strategy

II. ARUSHA DECLARATION— *UJAMAA* in PRACTICE



**Nyerere meets with Chairman Mao,
1965**

Poverty reduction and equity through collective work

Universal primary education

Increased access to basic health services and clean water

Self-reliance and less dependence on aid

“Leadership Code” for politicians and civil servants

II. POLICY OBJECTIVES UNDER *UJAMAA*



Nyerere at a March hailing the Arusha Declaration, 1967

II. SOCIO-ECONOMIC SETBACKS

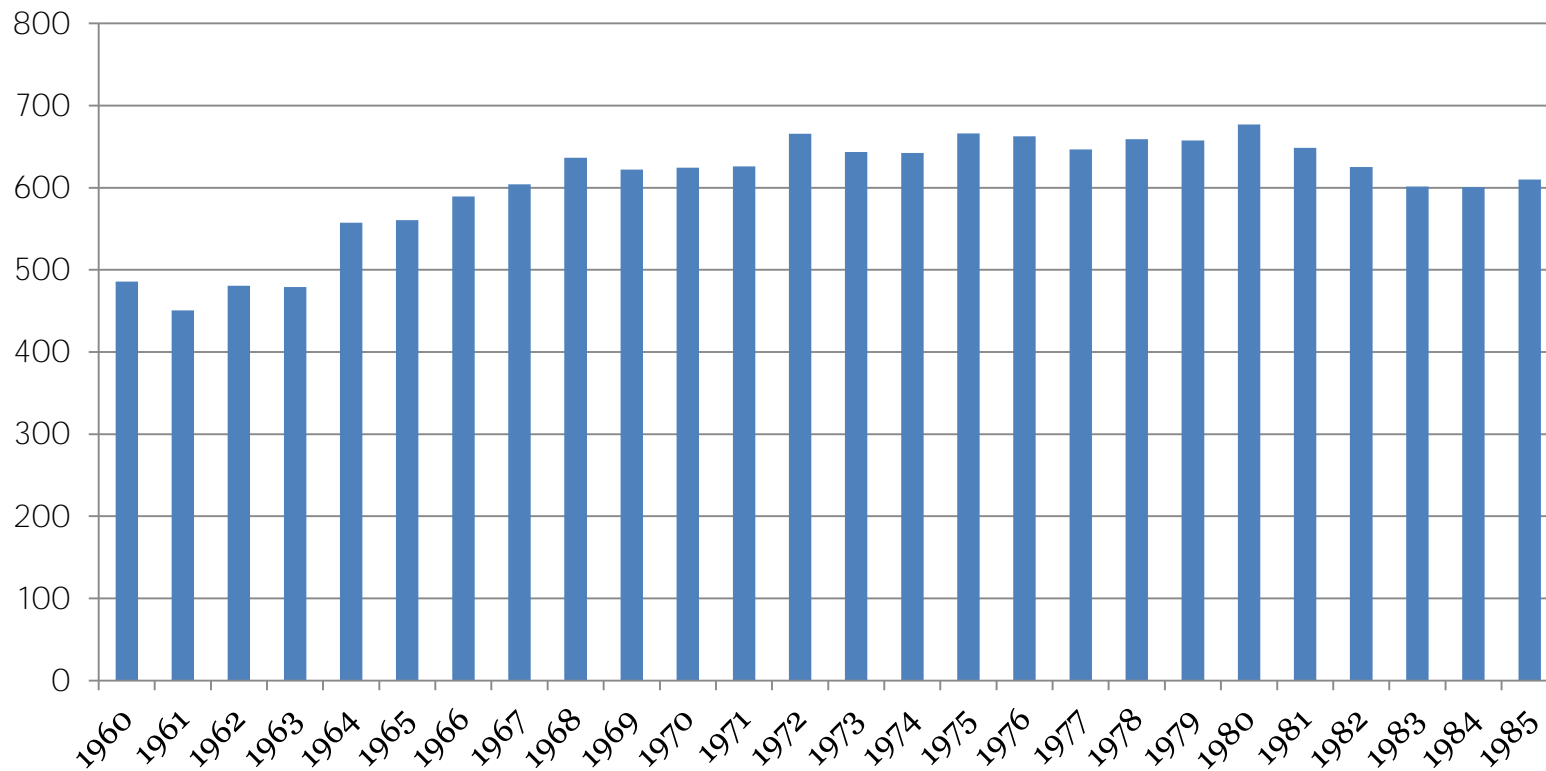
Overall poor economic performance

- Low GDP growth with decline in agricultural productivity
- Large budget deficit
- High inflation and overvalued exchange rate
- Emergence of parallel markets
- Unsustainable external debt
- Aid dependence

Lack of structural transformation

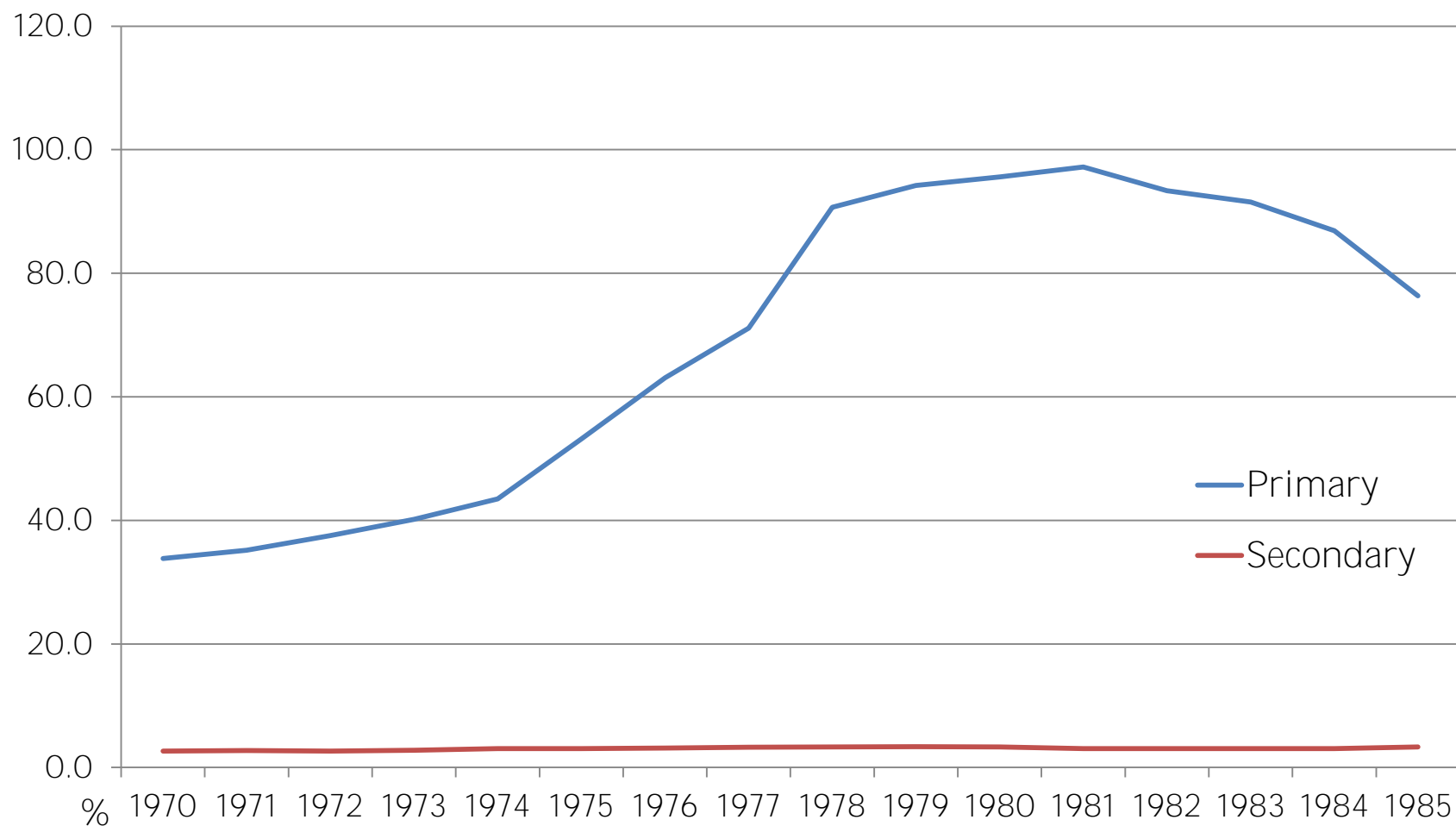
- Peasant agriculture main source of employment
- Low level of industrialization
- Private sector and entrepreneurship discouraged

II. REAL PER CAPITA INCOME (1960–1985)

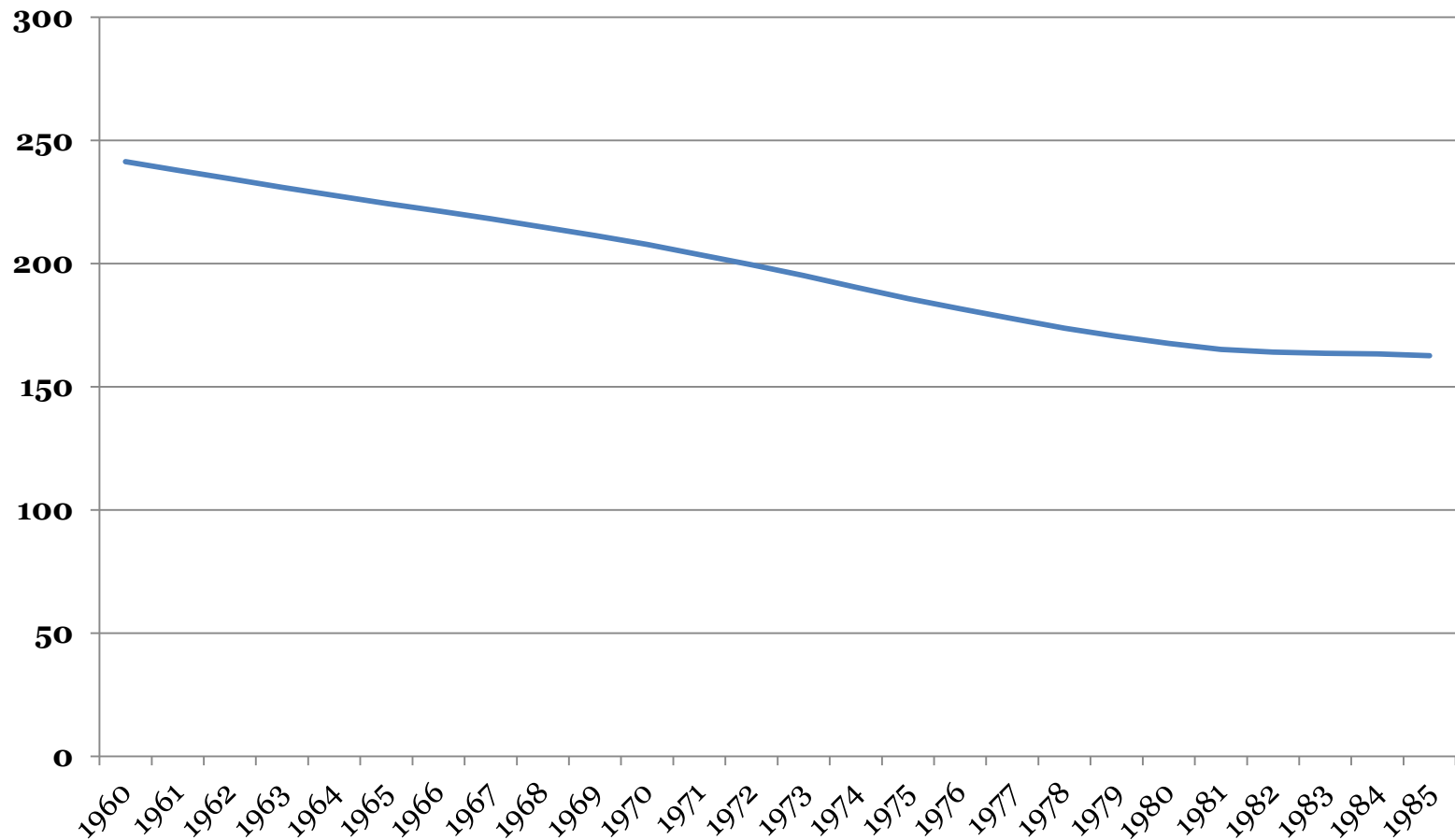


In 2005 PPP \$

II. GROSS SCHOOL ENROLLMENT RATE (1970–1985)



II. CHILD MORTALITY RATE (1960–1985)



Under 5 deaths per 1000

II. POLITICAL SETBACKS

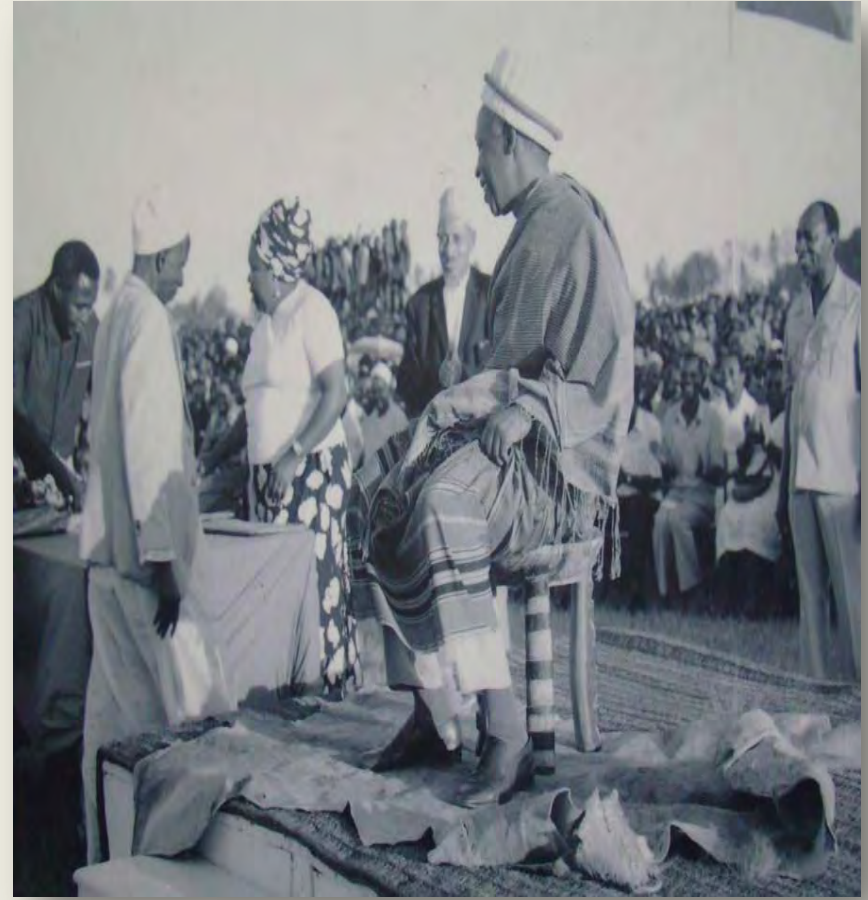
- One-party authoritarian state
- Freedom House Classification: Not Free (1972–1994)
- Human Rights abuses during forced villagization
- Lack of vibrant civil society
- Weak administrative capacity
 - Civil service, police and military linked to the ruling party (CCM)

II. POLITICAL ACHIEVEMENT

National Unity and Defeat of Idi Amin (Uganda)



**Julius Nyerere meets with Idi Amin,
1974**



**Julius Nyerere celebrates after Kagera
war victory, 1979**

II. POLITICAL ACHIEVEMENT

Support for Liberation Movements in Southern Africa



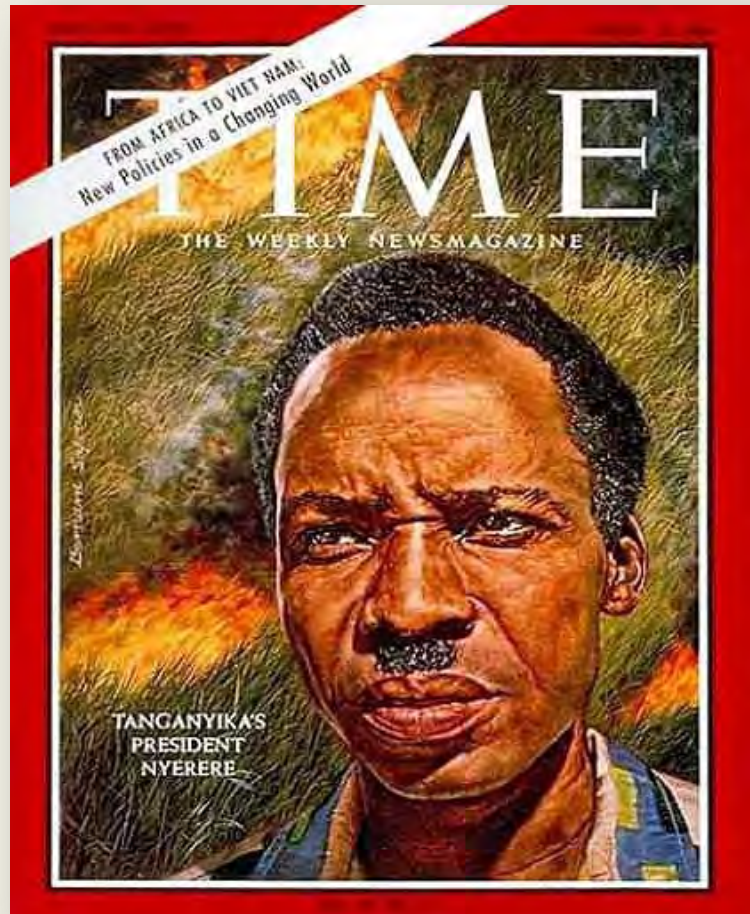
President of Mozambique Samora Machel and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, 1975



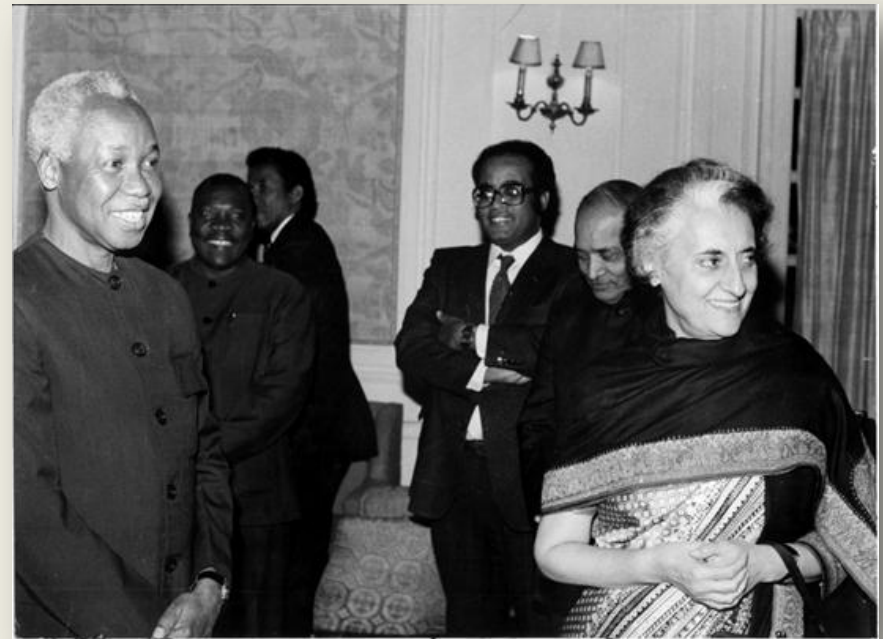
Nelson Mandela, Julius Nyerere, and Winnie Mandela in Tanzania, 1990

II. POLITICAL ACHIEVEMENT

Tanzania Punches Above its Weight in International Affairs



Nyerere on March 1964 Cover of *Time* magazine



Nyerere with Indian PM Indira Gandhi, 1982

1985:

Nyerere proposes two-term presidential limit

Nyerere steps down and is replaced by Mwinyi

1990:

Nyerere steps down from CCM leadership and calls for multi-party elections

1995:

Mwinyi steps down and is replaced by Mkapa

2005:

Mkapa steps down and is replaced by Kikwete

II. POLITICAL ACHIEVEMENT

Peaceful transfer of power within one-party dominant state



Nyerere bids farewell before flying to his village to retire, 1985

III. POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC LIBERALIZATION PRESIDENT ALI HASSAN MWINYI (1985–1995)

- Gradual implementation of Structural Adjustment Programs
- Liberalized trade and foreign exchange market
- Reintroduction of multi-party system

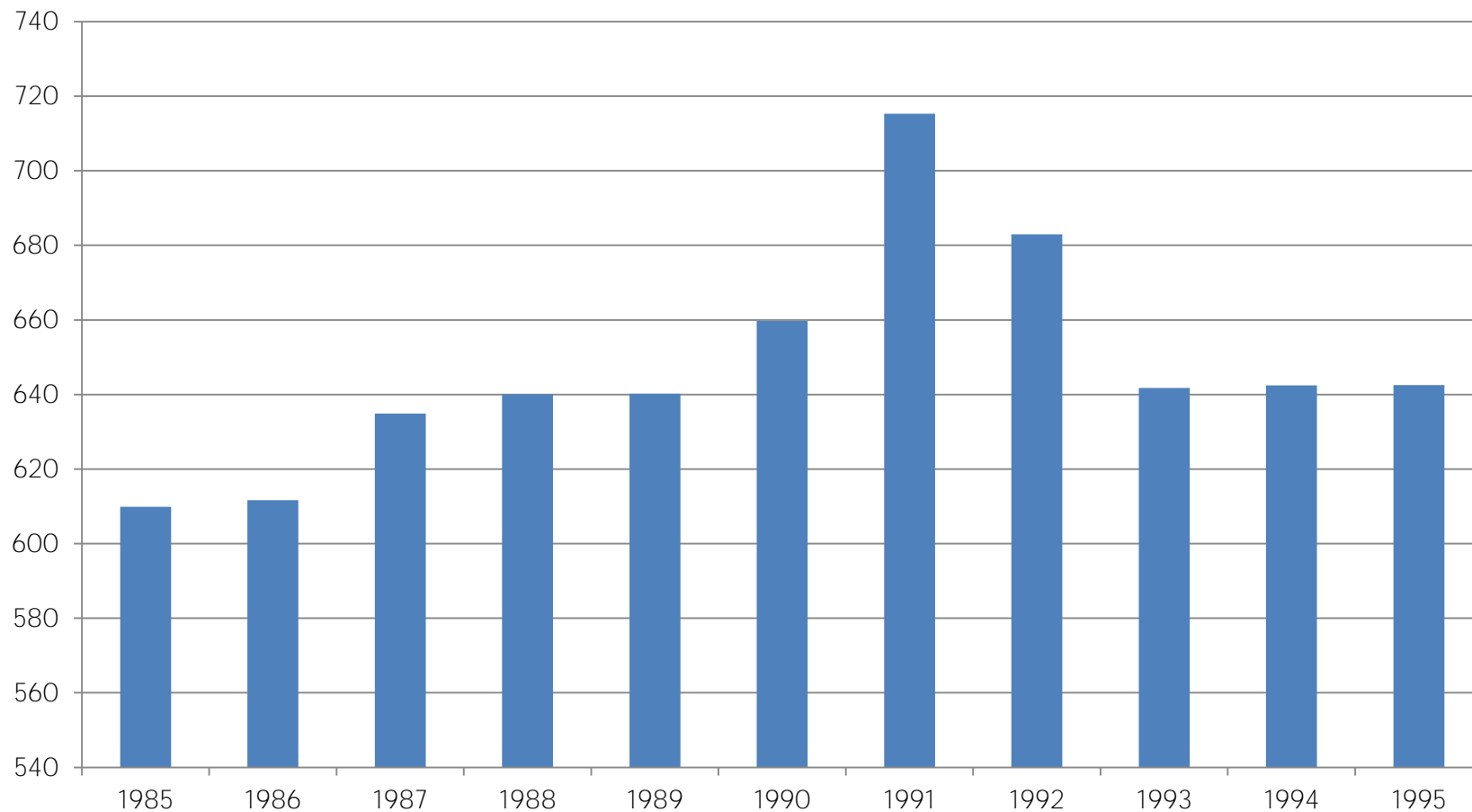
Yet:

- Lack of development vision
- High levels of corruption



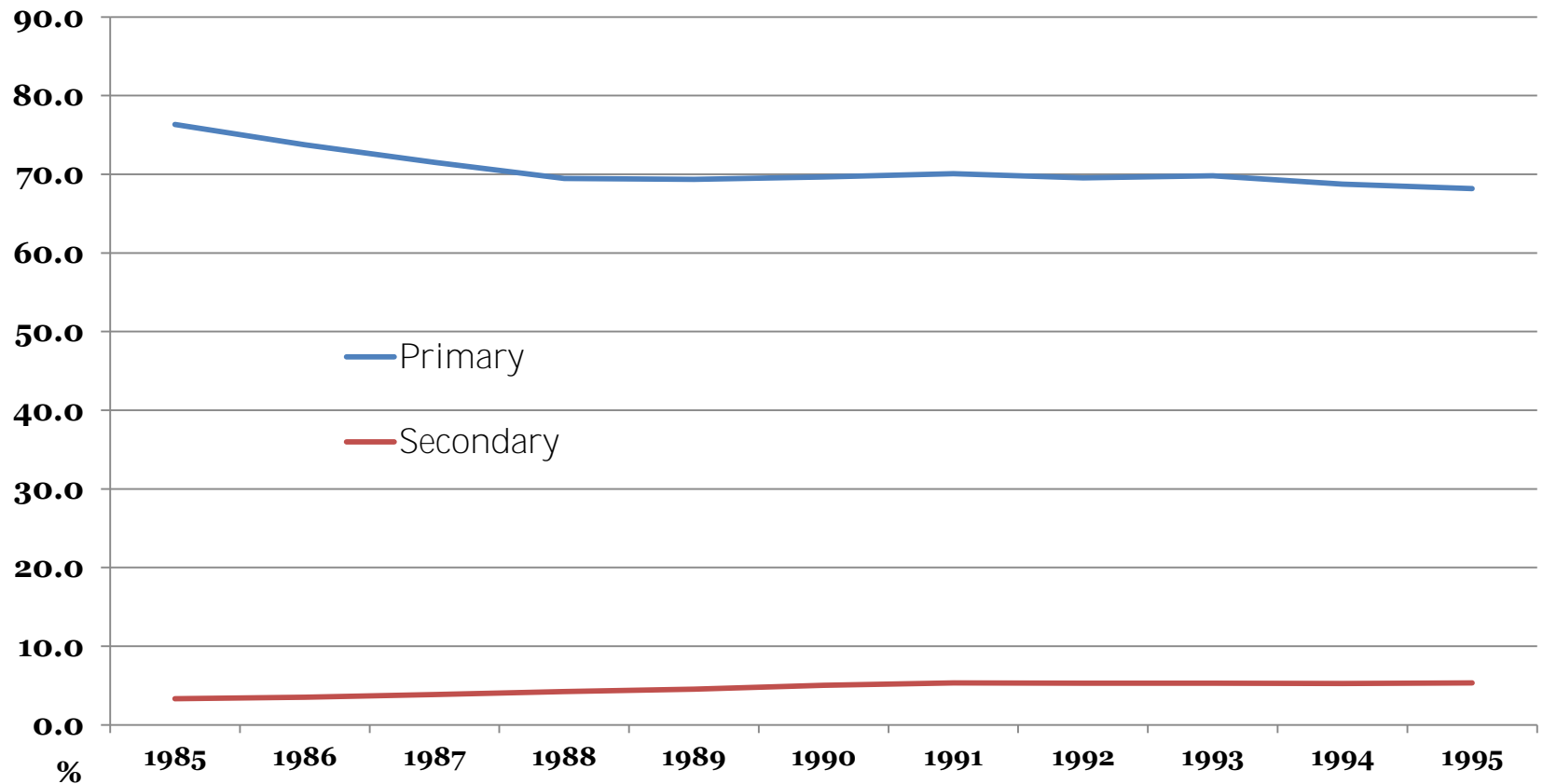
President Mwinyi with Michael Jackson in Tanzania, 1992

III. REAL PER CAPITA INCOME (1985–1995)

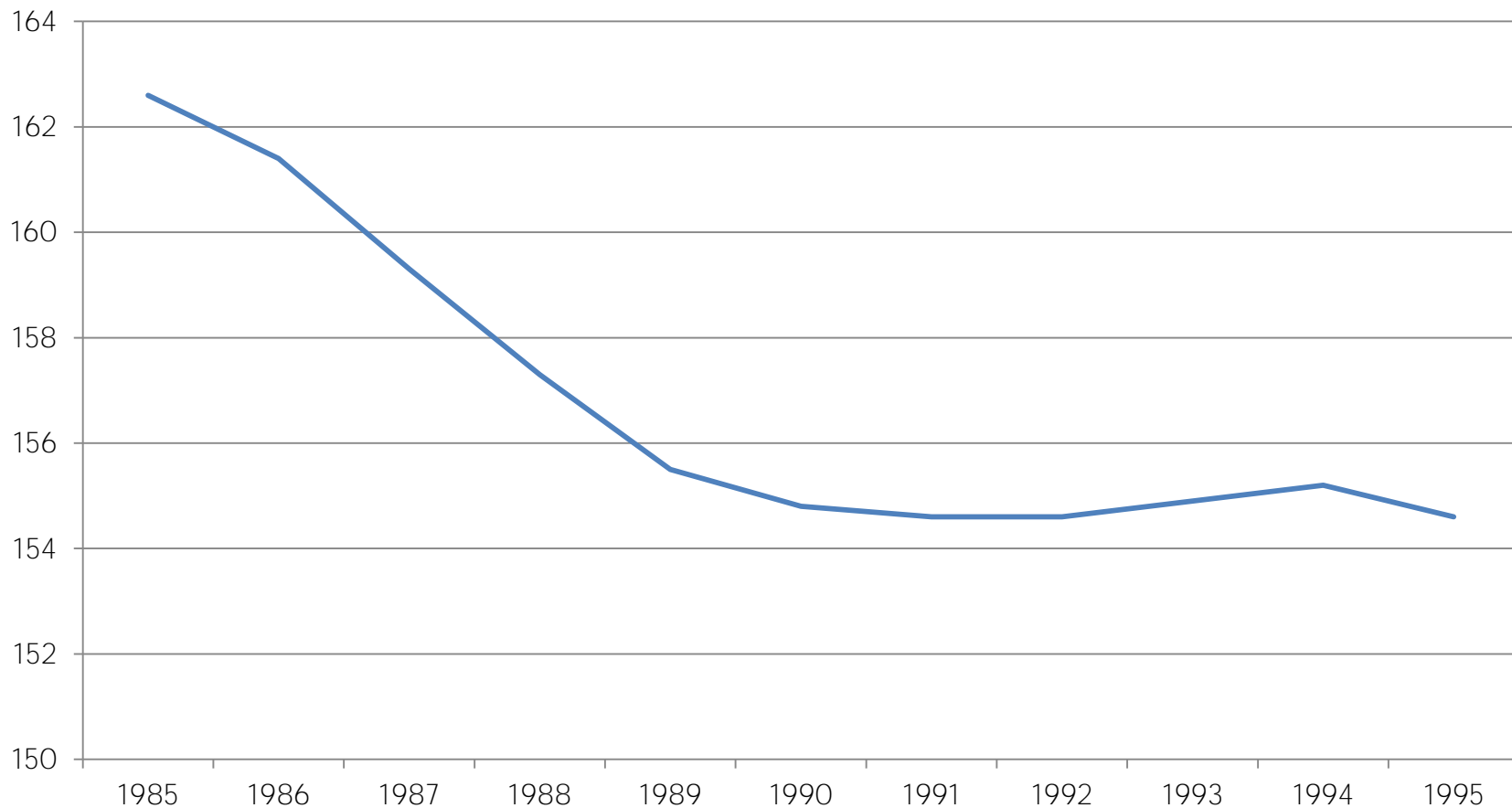


In 2005 PPP \$

III. GROSS SCHOOL ENROLLMENT RATE (1985–1995)



III. CHILD MORTALITY RATE (1985–1995)



Under-5 deaths per 1000

III. SHAKY TRANSITION TO MULTIPARTY SYSTEM (1992–1995)

Political Parties Act (1992)
legalizes opposition parties

Newly formed opposition
parties include:

- Civic United Front (CUF)
- United Democratic Party (UDP)
- Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA)
- National Convention for Construction and Reform-Mageuzi (NCCR-Mageuzi)

Mwinyi disregards Nyalali
Commission's recommendation
for a new constitution

No separation between the state
and the ruling party

Civil society constrained by state
institutions

National Election Commission—
neither independent nor
competent

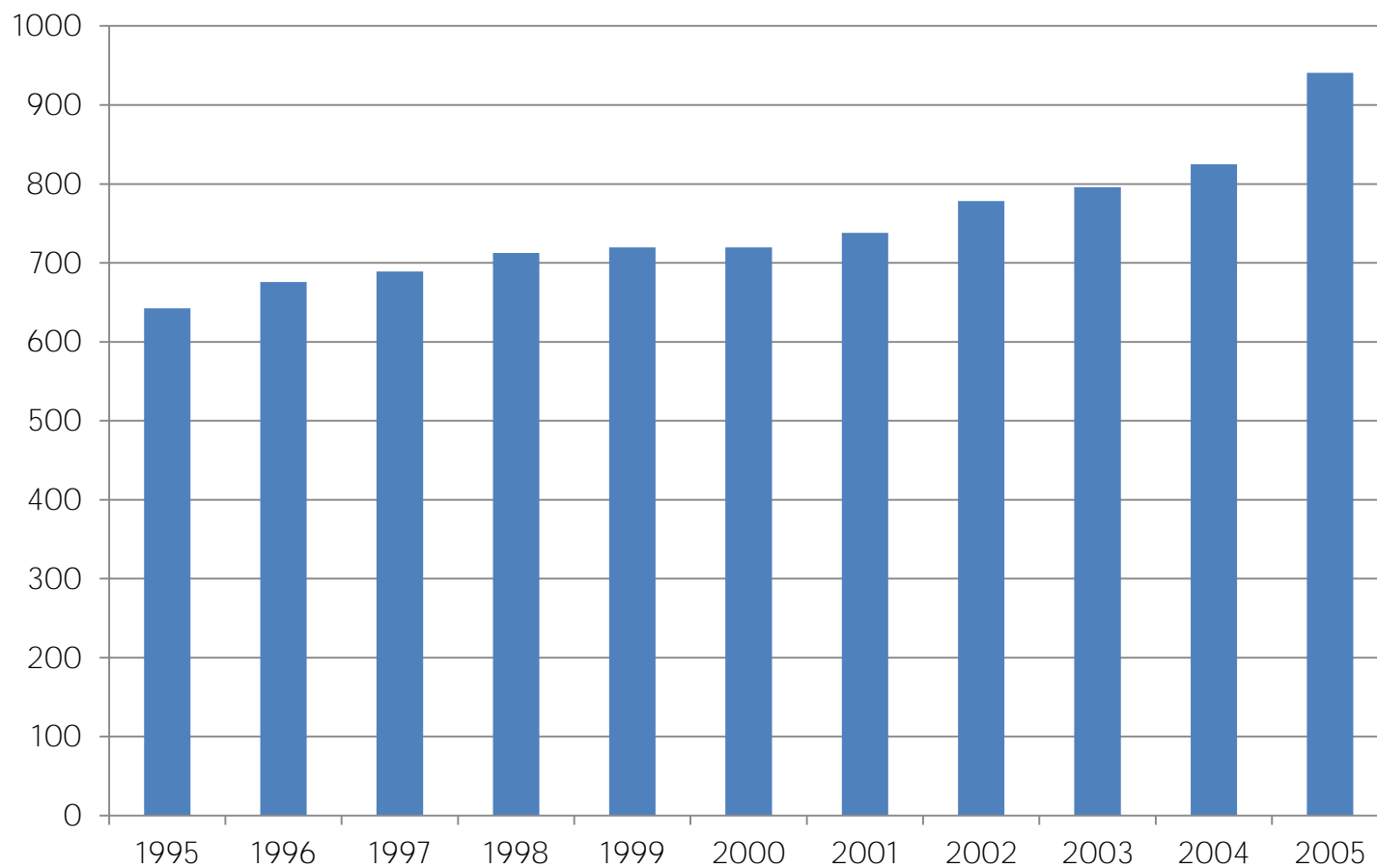
III. POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REFORMS

- Mkapa achieves macroeconomic stability through cash budget and increased aid
- Restores government credibility to donors—debt cancellation
- Privatizes state enterprises (except public utilities)
- Increases foreign direct investment in mineral sector (yet narrow tax revenue for the state)
- Increases primary school enrollment



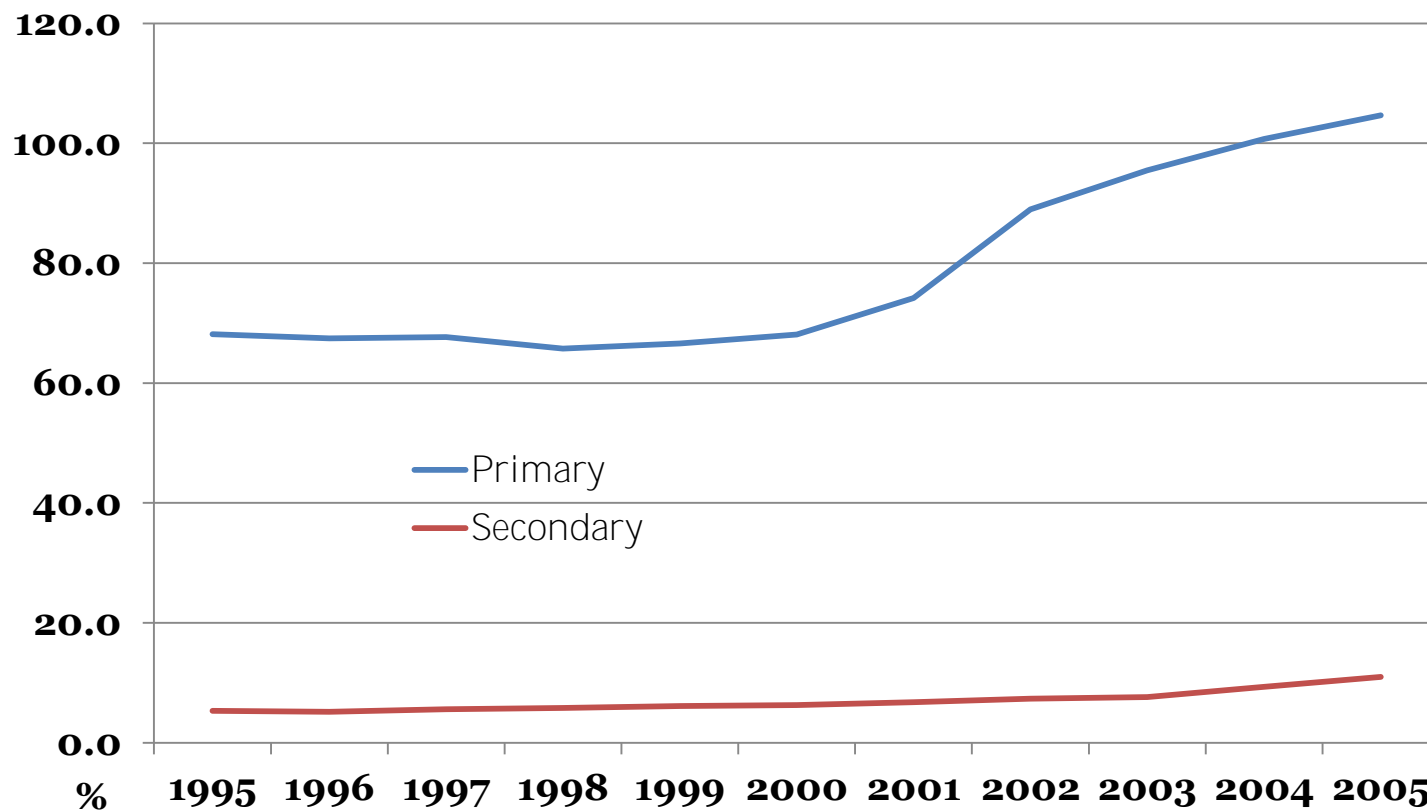
**PRESIDENT BENJAMIN MKAPA
(1995–2005)**

III. REAL PER CAPITA INCOME (1995–2005)

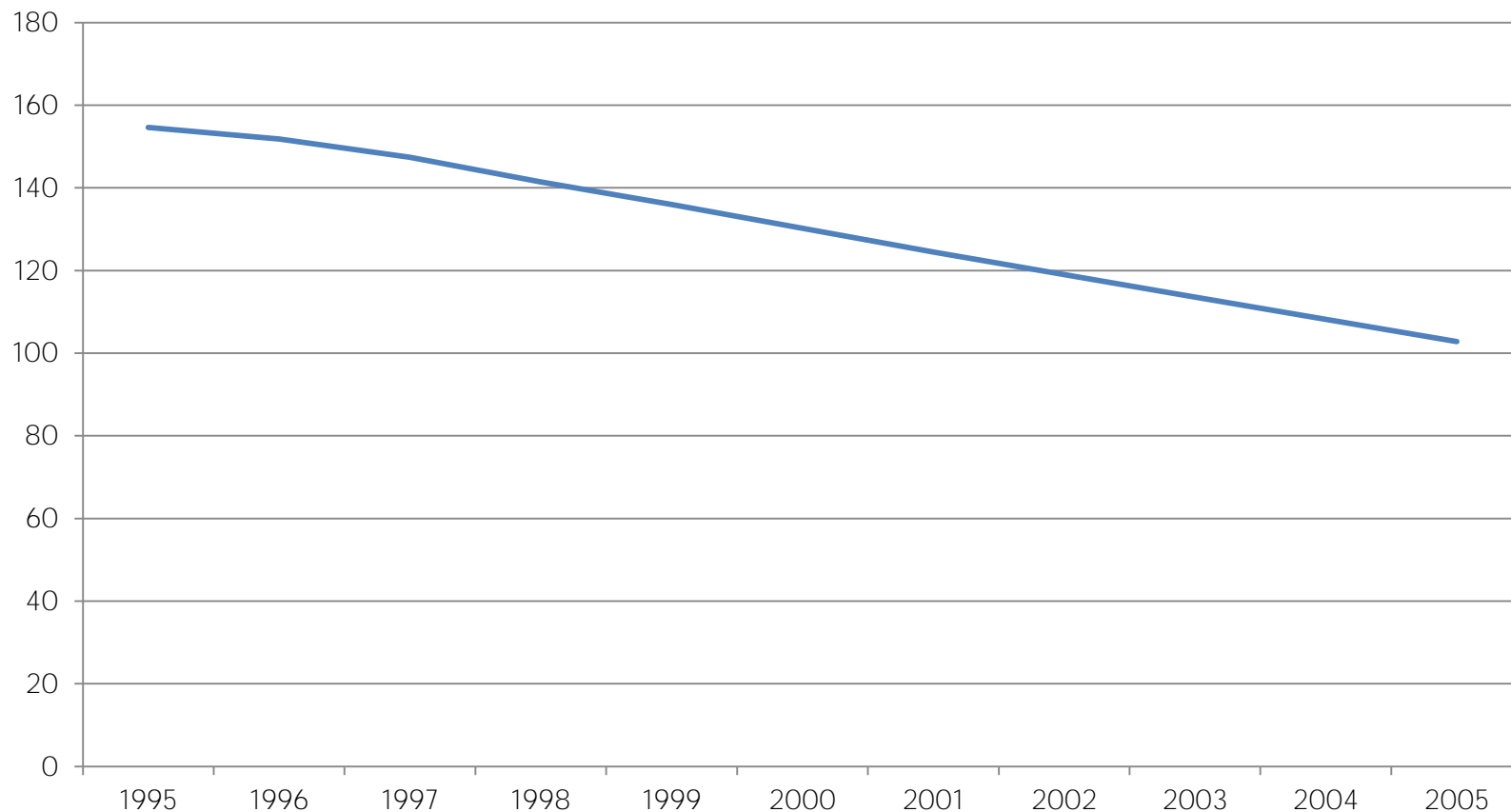


In 2005 PPP \$

III. GROSS SCHOOL ENROLLMENT RATE (1985–1995)



III. CHILD MORTALITY RATE (1995–2005)



Under 5 deaths per 1000

III. MKAPA'S "CLEAN" IMAGE TARNISHED

- Mkapa establishes a private business while president
- Government purchases expensive presidential jet
- Government purchases BAe Radar for \$40 million instead of actual price of \$5–8 million
- \$113 million stolen from the Central Bank in debt conversion scam
- Privatization of state property to public officials and CCM leaders below market price

III. SUPPRESSION OF OPPOSITION PARTIES AND VOCAL CRITICS

Revoking Citizenship Rights



Journalist and activist Generali Ulimwengu denied citizenship, 2001–2004

Violence against the Opposition



Opposition Party leaders attacked, 2001

III. POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC LIBERALIZATION

PRESIDENT JAKAYA KIKWETE (2005–present)

- Expensive election campaign financed by suspected corrupt sources
- Election pledge to “better life for every Tanzanian” yet to be met
- Weak and indecisive economic management
- International Development Association Country Performance declines from 4th (2005) to 22nd (2010)



III. PRESIDENT KIKWETE (2005–present)

Positive Gains

- Strengthens parliamentary power
- Accepts resignation of corrupt PM
- Increases freedom of the press
- Accepts demand for new constitution



Chinese leader Hu Jintao, President Kikwete, and Dr. Lipumba, 2008

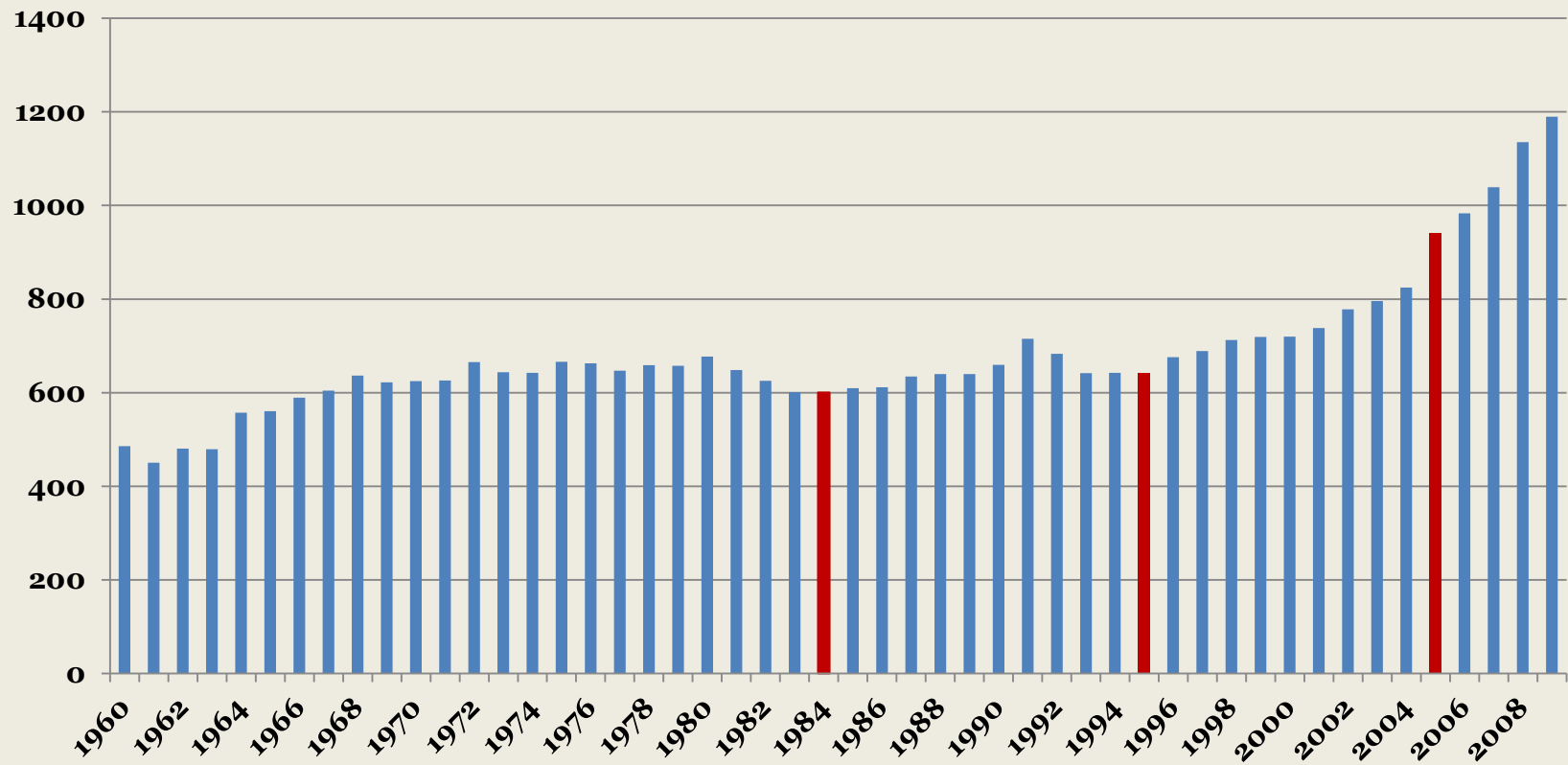
Cause for Concern

- Lack of development vision
- Leadership vacuum
- Excessive travel abroad
- Lip service to fighting corruption



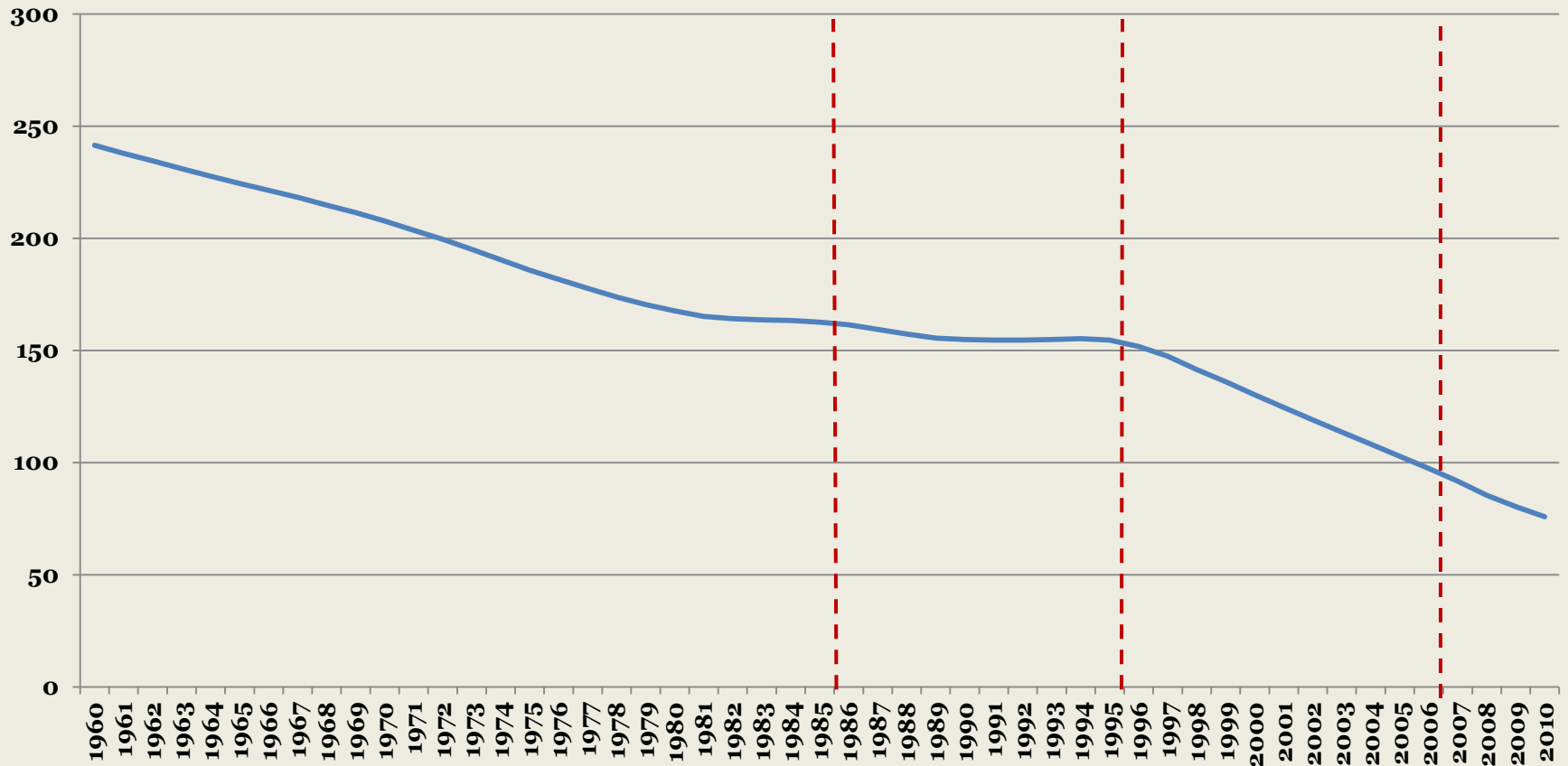
President Kikwete meets with British PM Gordon Brown, 2008

III. REAL PER CAPITA INCOME (1960–2009)



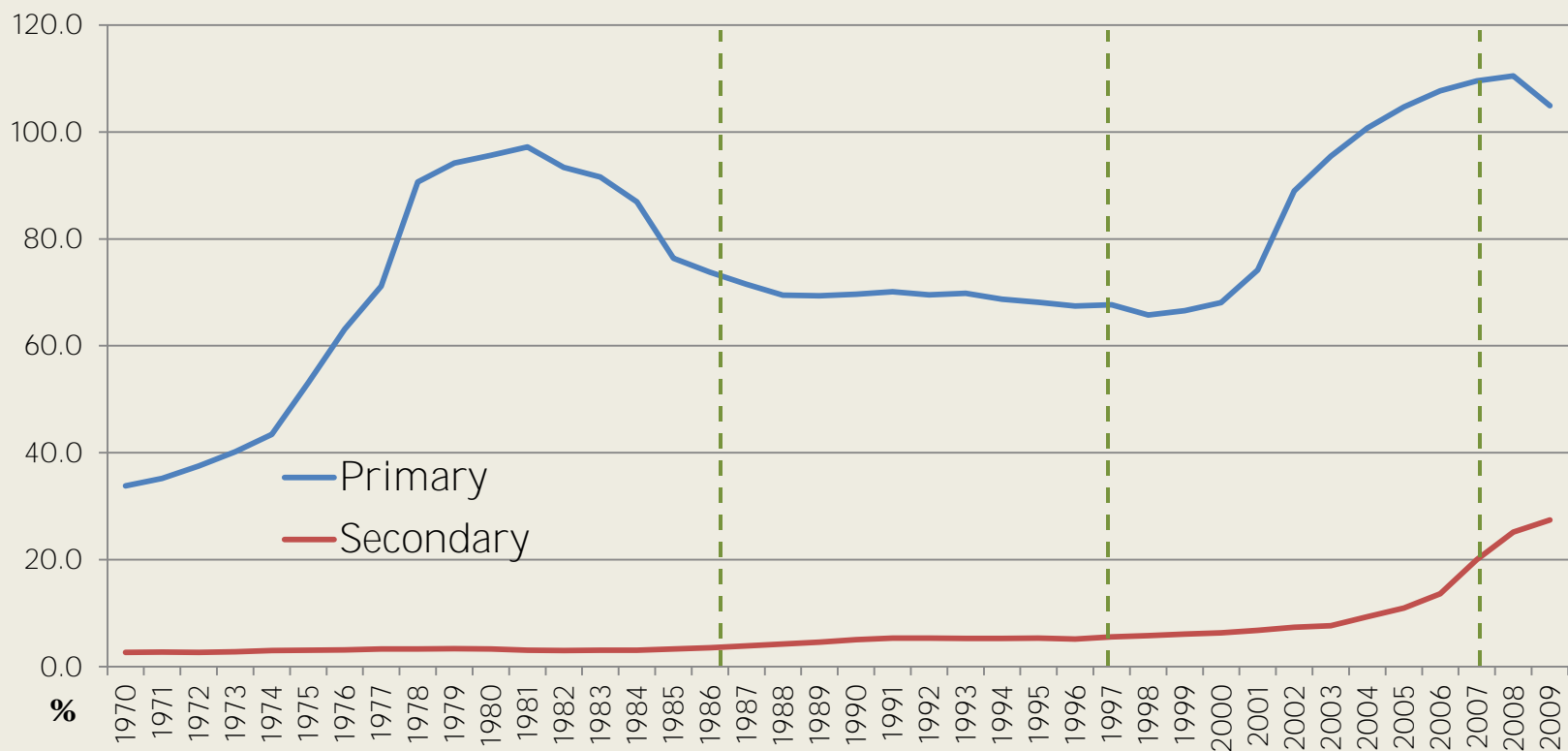
In 2005 PPP \$

III. CHILD MORTALITY RATE (1960–2010)



Under-5 deaths per 1,000

III. GROSS PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT RATE



IV. POVERTY: A SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENT CHALLENGE

Poverty Indices	1992	2000	2007
Poverty headcount ratio at \$1.25 a day (PPP) %	72.6	88.5	67.9
Poverty headcount ratio at national poverty line %	38.6	35.6	33.4
GINI index (Measure of Inequality)	33.8	34.6	37.6

IV. TANZANIA'S DEVELOPMENT POTENTIAL

- Coastal country surrounded by six land-locked countries
- Vast agricultural potential
 - Only 9.6 million hectares utilized out of 35 million hectares
- Tourist attractions
 - National parks, Mt. Kilimanjaro, beautiful beaches
- Mineral resources
 - Gold, diamonds, gemstone, nickel, natural gas, coal, iron-ore, and uranium
- Population dividend
- Convergence opportunities

- Poverty
- Corruption
- Limited state capacity
- Low levels of human capital
- High population growth
- Low agricultural production
- Poor infrastructure

IV. TANZANIA'S CURRENT DEVELOPMENT CHALLENGES



Debilitated Infrastructure

IV. STRATEGIES FOR INCLUSIVE EQUITABLE DEVELOPMENT

- Macroeconomic stability
- Conducive business environment
- Infrastructure development
- Structural transformation
 - Agriculture
 - Greenfield Special Economic Zones for manufacturing
 - Effectively exploiting natural resource wealth
- Investing in human resource development
 - Taking advantage of information communication technology in education, health services, etc.

IV. TANZANIA'S DEMOCRACY AT A CROSSROADS

- Democratic retrenchment can have dire consequences (e.g. Kenya and Ivory Coast)
- President Kikwete is completing his last term in office. What will **be the President's democratic legacy?**
- Intense power struggle within CCM may promote democratization if properly exploited
- President Kikwete has accepted the writing of a new constitution
- With political will, Tanzania can emerge as a democratic and development-oriented state in Africa

IV. INSTITUTIONS FOR DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

- Competent and Independent National Electoral Commission
- Competent and Independent Judiciary
- Vibrant Civil Society
- A Professional Civil Service
- Comptroller and Auditor General
- Anti-Corruption Bureau
- Revenue Authority
- Effective Public Expenditure system

IV. CONSOLIDATING DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT

- I. Establish strong governance institutions and open space for civil society through proposed constitutional review process
- II. **Take advantage of incumbent president's last term and his interest in international recognition as a democratic leader**
- III. Forge alliances with democratic forces, including all serious political parties and factions within the ruling party and demand an independent and competent electoral body
- IV. Propagate inclusive policies concerning poverty reduction and economic development
- V. Build a national constituency committed to the promotion of equitable growth

THANK YOU



Prof. Ibrahim Haruna Lipumba