

Recycling Ujamaa Philosophy in Tanzania

A Critical Discourse Analysis of John Pombe Magufuli's Speeches

THOMAS NDALUKA, UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM

Abstract

This chapter examines the trends and applicability of Ujamaa philosophy that were regarded as secular after the late Mwalimu Julius Nyerere's leadership regime (1961-1985). The chapter tries to answer the following questions: is Ujamaa still alive and used to unite the Tanzanians? And Ujamaa philosophy is a lesson that will never be erased in Tanzanians? Using critical discourse analysis, this paper examines speeches and remarks by the late Magufuli at different locations, and consequently compared with practices conducted from 2015-2020, when Magufuli was in office as the 5th President of the United Republic of Tanzania. These speeches were collected from government records available at the Parliament and President's offices. The chapter suggests that there were similarities between the late Magufuli's speeches and remarks and the Ujamaa philosophy/ideology/policy, as reflected in both the adoption and adaption of the Ujamaa principles and unification of citizens as a nation. Such principles were evident in the context of the government emphasis on the control over major means of production versus the private sector, control of the media, stress on public servants' professionalism and ethical conducts, integrity regarding the use of public funds and properties, development through cooperative societies and emphasis on self-reliance and national unity. It can be argued that the return of socialist principles was observed through changes in macro-economic policies in Tanzania. However, contrary to

Nyerere's Ujamaa philosophy, which emphasized the separation of religion and state, Magufuli's government embraced the mix of the state and religion. This time the country was united to fight against the COVID-19 pandemic.

Keywords: Ujamaa; Socialism; Magufuli; Nyerere; Critical Discourse Analysis

1. Introduction

“Ujamaa is a belief; an attitude of mind” (Nyerere 1968, p. 1)

Elaborating on the meaning of Ujamaa in the book entitled “Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism”, Nyerere (1968, p. 1) asserted that “Ujamaa is an attitude of mind”; an individual initiative to care for “other’s welfare”; and “a belief” – attributing it to a state religion and the relationship between religion and secularity. To Nyerere, a socialist individual is one who uses his/her ability, wealth and position in the “service of his fellow men” (Nyerere, 1968, pp. 1-12). According to Nyerere, the ingredients of socialism were justice and fairness, hard work and service to the people, as opposed to the accumulation of wealth through exploitative means, unfair competition and misuse of others. These were principles that informed the actions and policy of the government from 1961 through the Arusha Declaration on 5th February 1967 to mid-1980s.

On the 9th of December, 2021, Mainland Tanzania celebrated 60 years of independence, and 50 years of the Arusha Declaration was celebrated in 2017. The Arusha Declaration was the blueprint that provided a unique strategy for implementing Ujamaa philosophy in Tanzania (Nyerere, 1968; Blommaert, 1997). The Arusha Declaration was guided by seven Tanganyika National Union (TANU) beliefs that hinged on the equity of all humankind, dignity, respect, freedom, social protection, ownership of means of production and the general wellbeing of citizens (Chama cha Mapinduzi, 1967). The Declaration was also informed by twelve TANU aims and objectives that were centered on independence and freedom of people, dignity, democracy, regional co-operation, and mobilization of resources in order to eliminate poverty, ignorance and disease. It also emphasized the formation of cooperative organizations, direct government participation in the development of the country, equity, eradication of all types of exploitation, government direct control over principal means of production and collective ownership. TANU was a pan-Africanist political party with a focus on African unity, ensuring world

peace and security through the United Nations Organisation (Chama cha Mapinduzi, 1967).

Moreover, the Arusha Declaration instituted strict and restrictive leadership codes for public leaders (Chama cha Mapinduzi, 1967, p. 33; Nyerere, 1968, p.36). The codes required public leaders to adhere to ethics of leadership, including refraining from abusing their positions, accumulation of property, privileges and wealth (Nyerere, 1967). The resolution also emphasized self-reliance and economic independence, including refraining from overdependence on foreign loans, reducing income gap among informal, private and public sectors, and raising the standard of living of the poor citizens, especially in the rural areas (Chama cha Mapinduzi, 1967, pp. 34-35).

2. Socialism and Self-Reliance in mid-1980s: A Change of the Wind

The late Mwalimu Nyerere stepped down as a President of the United Republic of Tanzania in 1985. He was succeeded by Ali Hassan Mwinyi. Immediately, Socialism and Self-Reliance policies fell out of favor and became a peripheral ideology (Wijsen & Mfumbusa, 2007; Ndaluka, 2012; Zanzibar Resolution, 1991). From the mid-1970s, Tanzania faced an economic crisis that influenced the succeeding leadership to adopt IMF and World Bank's conditions; hence the state had to implement liberalist policies (Ndaluka, 2012). Liberalism gradually started gaining position in government policies, plans and actions with the help and advice from the World Bank and IMF (Nyquist, 2012). These two international organisations provided the structural guidance for the reforms in Tanzania under the buzz phrase "Structural Adjustment Programs" (SAPs) (Nyquist, 2012).

IMF directed the government of Tanzania to implement seven conditions in order to repair her dilapidated economy. These conditions were (UKEssays, 2018 p. 1):

- i. Currency devaluation (in which the Tanzania Shilling was to be devaluated by more than 80%).
- ii. Postponement of funding staple food.
- iii. The suspension of the government price control system.
- iv. Setting government salaries.
- v. Decrease of the shortfall in the national budget.
- vi. The reduction of state borrowing from the National Bank of Commerce.
- vii. Decrease of central government involvement in the economy and reassurance of private enterprise.

Responding to the above IMF conditions, the government of Tanzania prepared the first SAP (1982/1984-1984/1985) which encompassed the following measures (United Republic of Tanzania (1982, pp. 5-6):

- i. Improved incentives and support for exports.
- ii. Cutback of Government expenditures.
- iii. Control over parastatal finances.
- iv. Improve decision making in allocation of foreign exchange.
- v. Measures to improve parastatal efficiency.
- vi. Liberalization of interregional trade in agriculture and consumer goods and rationalization of pricing.
- vii. Measures to rationalize and increase the efficiency of the industrial sector and to promote industrial exports.
- viii. Measures to increase the capacity and efficiency of the transport system.
- ix. Measures to economise on energy and to expand alternative domestic supply.

Although there were many external forces behind this ideological shift, some quarters attributed the adoption of liberalization policies and SAPs to the attitude of the leaders that succeeded Nyerere as the founder and the first believer in socialism and self-reliance (Maghimbi, 2012). For instance, the second regime under Ali Hassan Mwinyi (1985-1995) favored the market economy – an attitude that nicknamed him *Mzee Rukhsa* (lit: permitted/allowed). Moreover, the late Benjamin Mkapa who was the third president of the Republic of Tanzania between 1995 and 2005 initiated privatization of government and national resources. It was during this time when government-owned industries and properties were sold to business men and women. The underlying idea was that the government has failed to manage them.

Furthermore, during Jakaya Kikwete's leadership (2005-2015), the government emphasized local and foreign investment. It was during this time that many private companies were invited to open operations in the country; in the areas of mining, agriculture, energy, gas and real estate. All these developments, from 1985 when Mwalimu Nyerere stepped down to 2015 when Magufuli assumed office, were advancing toward building a capitalist society, which was against the objectives of Ujamaa and the vision of Mwalimu Nyerere.

This also showed that socialism, as a belief (Nyerere, 1968, p. 1), had converted fewer believers. Individuals, who were ready to preach, protect and stand for Ujamaa's objectives, after the founder stepped down, were either lacking or silenced. As Nyerere was frustrated and critical with the change of ideology, he said:

The Change meant, for example, an end to the prohibition on leaders' participation in the ownership and running of private businesses, exempted spouses from any rules at all, relaxed the rules against landlordism and those, which originally restricted the employment of other human beings for private profit. In practice virtually, all other rules regulating the conduct of leaders have since then fallen into disuse – including the requirement that Ministers report regularly to the President on their assets, wealth, and non-salary income (Nyerere, 1995, p. 15).

Mwalimu Nyerere reacted bitterly to the amendment of the Arusha Declaration code of ethics for public leaders. The amendment was dubbed the Zanzibar Resolution of 1991, as it was made in Zanzibar.

Nevertheless, a shift toward socialist ideology was evident after the 2015 general election, in which the late John Pombe Magufuli was elected the 5th President of the United Republic of Tanzania. Government policies and activities emphasized the implementation of socialist tenets similar to those highlighted by Nyerere (1968, p. vii) in his book entitled “Ujamaa: *Essays on Socialism*”. The tenets included the conversion of freehold land into leasehold ownership, public purchase of the private electricity service company, the emphasis on public ownership of means of economic development, encouragement of marketing cooperatives, the introduction of protective labour registration and minimum wages increases, changes to the system of taxation and formation of appropriate form of democracy (Nyerere, 1968). Additive to the above tenets was work; every individual was expected to work and contribute adequately and meaningfully in society's development.

After assuming power, Magufuli encouraged all people to work hard through his slogan of Hapa Kazi Tu (Lit: ‘here is just work’, or ‘just work’, or ‘strictly business’). He revived peasants’ cooperatives, emphasized government control over natural resources and other means of economic development. He also reviewed tax policies and removed tax and levy on agriculture products at a grassroots level. He also criticized acts of corruption and mismanagement of public funds and properties. He encouraged religious leaders to play their part, but not to interfere with the secular government's business.

3. Theoretical inclination of Ujamaa Philosophy

There have been many debates and arguments regarding the theoretical basis of Ujamaa philosophy. Some quarters have associated Ujamaa with Marxism, espe-

cially the writings of Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels on socialism (Blommaert, 1997) and in practice with Marxist Leninism (Maghimbi, 2012, Blommaert, *ibid.*). Marxists believe that socialism emanates from a proletarian revolution, which is envisaged to be inevitable as the capitalist system reaches the apex stage (Rodney, 1974). Nyerere on the other hand disqualified the arguments that associated Ujamaa with any form of Western socialism (Nyerere, 1968; Rodney, 1974). In his book *Freedom and Socialism*, Nyerere described the choice of the word Ujamaa as follows:

For there was nothing accidental in our selection of the word Ujamaa to define our socialist policies; nor did this word result solely from the desire to find a Swahili equivalent for the word socialism.... The word Ujamaa was chosen for special reasons. First, it is an African word and thus emphasizes the African-ness of the policies we intend to follow. Second, its literal meaning is family-hood, so that it brings to the mind of our people the idea of mutual involvement in the family, as we know it (Nyerere, 1968, p. 2).

Therefore, the choice of the word Ujamaa was attributed to the past way of life and also to create a sense of ownership, that is, Ujamaa was designed based on the African way of life using African language (Kiswahili). This is sanctioned in a statement like “we have deliberately decided to grow, as a society, out of our own roots, but in a particular direction and toward a particular kind of objective” (Nyerere, 1968, p. 2).

Whereas Marxism emphasized the transition from capitalism through a revolution by the proletariat or working class (Rodney, 1974; Blommaert, 1997), Nyerere, on the other hand, did not see the need for either building a working class (Nyerere, 1968, p. 3; Rodney, 1974) or passing through specified stages of social development as a pre-condition for socialism (Rodney, 1974). To Nyerere, Ujamaa was built up on African family life which reproduced a unique socialism which related to Tanzania history and tradition (Shirima, 1999; Blommaert, 1997; Nyerere, 1968, p. 3).

To Nyerere, Western socialism as advocated by Marx and Engels (1975) was not applicable in an African setting because it presented an incomplete depiction of human reality that passes on prescribed stages and consequently misrepresented the African experience as based on the day to day experience of life (Shirima, 1999; Nyerere, 1967, 1968). This is properly put by Blommaert (1997, p.139) as: “Ujamaa contained a vision of African culture and of African Man, which deeply

penetrated the structure of the particular version of socialism it propagated” (see also Makulilo, 2012).

With Ujamaa, Nyerere sought to create a critique of not only Marxist theory, but also the capitalist system as a whole (Shirima, 1999). Nyerere spent a great deal of time challenging capitalism (*ubeberu*) and capitalists (*mabeberu*) because he believed that the system encourages exploitation (*unyonyaji*) of humans by fellow humans. According to him, this condition hindered social development of Tanzanians, and Africans in general (Nyerere, 1967; Maghimbi, 2012; Makulilo, 2012).

Moreover, through critical analysis of Nyerere’s works, one could argue that his Ujamaa philosophy was a synthesis of his experience of the African tradition, values and principles especially the life of rural Africans (Maghimbi, 2012; Blommaert, 1997, Rodney, 1974). His upbringing within the Zanaki tribe, in the rural setting of Tanzania where his father was a chief, may had an immense influence on his political view of societal arrangement and disposition (Wijsen, 2022; Blommaert, 1997).

This exposure to communal and egalitarian life might have socialized him to believe that in a communal society everyone works for the interest of the whole community (Maghimbi, 2012) and that the individual has no expectation of gaining individual benefits (Nyerere, 1966). In turn, “the society also worked for the individual” (Nyerere, 1968, p. 4). As Maghimbi (2012, p. 65) asserted, “there were no classes in tribal society”. This inculcated and elevated his views about egalitarianism where the community is above an individual’s interest, hence the view that people were only individuals within a community (Rodney, 1974; Shirima, 1999; Mutungi, 2021). The individuals survive as long as they belong in the community (Shirima, *ibid.*). In the same vein, it was believed that individual prosperity was based on the advancement of the community because “every member will contribute, by his work, to the total of wealth and welfare produced by the society” (Nyerere 1968, p. 5). Hence, the individual was expected to work to the level of their ability for the benefit of all (Nyerere, 1968, p. 5; Maghimbi, 2012).

In fact, in defense of Ujamaa, Nyerere (1968, pp. 2-7) noted that he had created a distinct form of social development, which is based on African traditional values such as respect, upholding human dignity, the equality of man, the freedom of man and the absence of exploitation. Thus, Ujamaa was an architectural drawing engraved from the actual African socio-political belief and a way of life based on pre-colonial, rural African reality (Maghimbi, 2012; Blommaert, 1999; Shirima, 1999). Blommaert explained this by stating that:

The important element in this particular anthropological motivation for African socialism is the self-evident nature of culture. African traditional culture is socialist in itself adapted to and embedded in the African realities.... Culture is the main instrument of social transformation the awareness of traditional values and revival of values will brings about the communalism and solidarity required in the construction of Ujamaa society (Blommaert, 1997, p. 140).

This claim resonates with Kwame Nkrumah's narrative on his Consciencism philosophy, which he claimed to be valid to guide the African revolution (Ajei & Kwesi, 2018). This is also similar to Ubuntu thinking that roots African emancipation and thought on the principles of humanism and egalitarianism (Dokman & Cornelli, 2022). Nyerere was aware of these views, from Nkrumah and other philosophers such as Placide Tempels, and would have affected his thinking about Ujamaa.

Moreover, Western social democracy tradition (related to Fabianism and Swedish social democracy traditions) had much influence on Nyerere's conception of socialism. It is believed that Nyerere's education journey, at the University of Edinburgh, exposed him to Fabian thinking, a socialist think tank that advocated for non-violent political change (Blommaert, 1997).

Although it is not the purpose of this chapter to explain in detail, in the 1880s Fabianism was the socialist movement and theory that rejected "the revolutionary doctrines of Marxism" in Britain (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2016). Instead, the Fabians proposed a gradual transition from capitalism to socialism. This kind of thinking dominated British socialism from the 1880s to the 21st century.

The Swedish Social Democratic Party, on the other hand, was established in 1889 as a response to the extension of suffrage to the working class, trade union members and civic organizations. The party focussed on "establishing an egalitarian society" and a universal welfare system (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2020). Tage Fritiof Erlander or, in short, Tage Erlander (1901-1985) was a successful Prime Minister during whose tenure the Swedish Welfare State gained immense international recognition. Sven Olof Joachim Palme or Olof Palme (1927-1986) was a former assistant of Erlander and later on a member of the Social Democratic Party. He became one of the prominent leaders of the Social Democratic Party. He succeeded Erlander as Party Secretary and as the Prime Minister in 1969 (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2020). Erlander and Palme were friends with Nyerere and shared a great deal of thinking on socialism; all emphasized an egalitarian society.

In many respects, therefore, Fabian's thinking was much alive in Nyerere's thinking on Ujamaa philosophy and, thus, persuasion rather than the use of force was adapted in the Ujamaa policies and practice. Nyerere emphasized the use of democratic means and rational argument to gain independence from the British Administration and thus, Fabian's influence underlies Nyerere's non-violent approach that he used to claim and achieve Tanganyika's independence in 1961. Tanganyika, unlike many other African countries, received its independence without war (Maghimbi, 2012).

Furthermore, Nyerere's relationship with some members of the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Sweden, such as Tage Erlander and Olof Palme, shaped his understanding of socialism, especially the focus on social interventions. To him, the individual was a target and beneficiary of any social intervention (Blommaert, 1997).

3.1 Ujamaa and social Catholicism

Additionally, Nyerere's conceptualization of Ujamaa was influenced by social Catholicism to which he was exposed through the teachings and life of Catholic missions in Tanganyika. In his work, "Nyerere's Secrets: Catholic Missionaries and the Making of Tanzania", Wijzen (2022, pp. 135-153) attests that Nyerere was influenced by the gospel values that underlie Catholic Social Teaching. While at Makerere College, Nyerere was one of the founders of a Catholic Action group – a Catholic Action movement which preached a pro-solidarity and subsidiarity and anti-Marxist message. This kind of inspiration is reflected in the Arusha Declaration and in other writings of CCM and the government. For instance, although the constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania states categorically the separation of the state and religion, the National Anthem is basically a prayer to God to bless Africa, Tanzania, leaders and citizens.

Article 3(1) states that the United Republic is a democratic, secular and socialist state, which adheres to multi-party democracy (URT, 1977, p. 11). In general, Ujamaa is built on the principles of equality, human dignity, freedom and democracy (Mutungi, 2021; Blommaert, 1997; Rodney, 1974; TANU, 1967). These principles are universal and inalienable (TANU 1967). Nyerere summarized the objective of Ujamaa to be:

The objective of socialism in the United Republic of Tanzania is to build a society in which all members have equal rights and equal opportunities; in which all can live in peace with their neighbors 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 (Nyerere, 1968, p. 340).

Ujamaa envisaged a use of the mind and system that unites the community as one so that individuals in that community can share one purpose, namely building a socialist community where the welfare of all is a priority of each and every member of the community (Mutungi, 2021). It was an attitude of mind where believers in the socialist ethos could practice socialism in their lives (TANU, 1967; Maghimbi, 2012). The question is, do we have anyone to endeavor to pursue Nyerere's Ujamaa philosophy since his death in 1999? Is Mutungi (2021) right that "*Falsafa ya Ujamaa ni somo lisilofutika kwa Watanzania*", which translates as: "Ujamaa philosophy is a lesson that will never be erased in Tanzanians"? Is Ujamaa still alive and used to unite the Tanzanians? To answer these questions, we use Magufuli's ideas, as one a former President of the United Republic of Tanzania, to trace elements of Ujamaa in his speeches. We use critical discourse analysis to investigate the way in which Nyerere's Ujamaa thinking and practice is constituted in our contemporary society.

4. About the Late John Pombe Joseph Magufuli

The late John Pombe Joseph Magufuli's political career started in 1990, when, for the first time, he contested unsuccessfully for the parliamentary seat of the Biharamulo constituency. In 1995 he again contested for a parliamentary seat, this time for the Biharamulo West constituency, won the majority vote and was declared the winner. He was appointed the Deputy Minister of Works in 1995 and, in 2000, was appointed the Minister for Works. In January 2006 he was appointed Minister for Land and Human Settlement and from 2008-2010 he was the Minister of Livestock and Fisheries. From 2010 to 2015 he was appointed again to be the Minister of Works.

In 2015, Magufuli ran for the presidency for Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), against political giants such as Edward Lowasa, who was running for Chama Cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA). Magufuli was declared winner. In 2020, Magufuli defended his position, defeating Tundu Lissu, who was contesting through CHADEMA.

Magufuli was notable for his style of leadership, which was translated into actions and measures such as curtailing unnecessary government expenses, inhibiting extravagant foreign trips by government officials, and restricting further government spending (Anudo et al., 2021). In this area, he went further, cutting

down his own salary from \$15,000.00 to \$4000.00, and cancelling state celebrations such as Independence Day (Anudo et al., 2021). Magufuli was tough in the fight against graft – even high profile officials and business people who engaged in grand corruption were not spared (Shivji, 2021, Anudo et al., 2021).

Magufuli was considered to be the advocate of home-grown solutions in the fight against diseases and pandemics such as COVID-19, and for eradication of poverty (Ndaluka et al., 2021; Anudo et al., 2021) basing his views on the tenets of Ujamaa. These called for an end to Western/North dependency and encouraged and/or promoted local solutions to the problems facing the country (Anudo et al., 2021). He discouraged import of second-hand or used products and, instead, encouraged locally produced goods and services (Anudo et al., 2021).

In some quarters, especially his opponents were not short of criticisms. They saw him as anti-westerner, anti-modern and anti-science because of his critical approach toward imported vaccines, COVID-19 testing reagents and face masks. In his writing “the Dialectics of Maguphilia and Maguphobia”, Shivji (2021, p. 4) declares Magufuli as a populist political leader, a demagogic politician and a messianic Bonaparte.

Nevertheless, Shivji acknowledged the fact that Magufuli was the first president who accomplished major development projects, a feat his predecessors failed to achieve (Shivji, 2021, Anudo et al., 2021). Examples of the major developmental projects under the late Magufuli are the renovation of ATCL and shift of the governmental offices from Dar es Salaam to Dodoma. Magufuli also made several meaningful decisions that had far reaching benefits such as the provision of universal primary and secondary school education, the expansion of health insurance, the building of school infrastructure and facilities and provision of identity cards for hawkers, to promote equity and a conducive environment for the success of small scale traders (Anudo et al., 2021, Shivji 2021).

These actions and decisions portrayed Magufuli as a leader determined to address the country’s problems, especially problems that affected the people at the grassroots. His policies earned him the title “*Rais wa Wanyonge*”, i.e, ‘the President of the down trodden’, “*Mtu wa watu*, ‘a man of the people’, and “*Rais wa watu*”, ‘people’s president’ (Anudo et al., 2021, Shivji, 2021:5). This was evident on 17th March, 2021 when the masses were informed of his demise, where they lined along the roads to give farewell to their departed president (Shivji, 2021; Anudo et al., 2021). Magufuli was a person who was concerned about uniting his people as one nation and in doing that he used Ujamaa rhetoric and religion to win the masses, especially the common citizens. During his time, it was difficult to see the demarcation between religion and secular statement. During the COVID-19

pandemic, for example, he urged citizens to participate in nation-wide prayer against the pandemic.

5. Critical Discourse Analysis

This chapter employed Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as advanced by Fairclough (1992) to analyze the information from four speeches delivered by the late John Pombe Magufuli between 2015 and 2020. The four speeches are the following: Magufuli (2015, November 20) when inaugurating the 11th Parliamentary Session; Magufuli (2017, September 7) a speech delivered after receiving the parliamentary inquiry report on diamond and Tanzanite minerals; Magufuli (2018, October 28) a speech addressing the nation to end the debate on cashew nut prices in Tanzania; and finally, Magufuli (2020, June 16) a speech at the closure of the 11th Parliamentary Session. These four speeches will be used to trace president Magufuli's discourse direction in relation to the Ujamaa philosophy which was emphasized during the Nyerere's era.

Fairclough (1992, pp. 73-78) proposes three levels of analysis: the analysis of linguistic practice, the analysis of discursive practice and the analysis of social practice. In the analysis of linguistic practice, the focus concerns the use of words and vocabulary. In relation to the Arusha Declaration codes of conduct, it would be assumed that Ujamaa philosophy and its proponents used specific wording and vocabulary, such as *ndugu*, *comrade*, *beberu* and *nyonyaji* just to mention a few, to specify the direction and intention of government policies.

As for the analysis of discursive practice, it refers to the process of text production, consumption and distribution: how the text was produced, its distribution channel and how the consumer received the text. This type of analysis also deals with matters of intertextuality; for instance, how the text producer drew on texts that described Ujamaa philosophy, such as the Arusha Declaration document, CCM constitution and the writing works of Mwalimu Nyerere, to make and unmake groups (i.e. to (dis)unite the people through national collective efforts).

In addition to intertextuality, discursive analysis will also examine the interdiscursivity of the discourse (Fairclough, 1992, p. 85). With interdiscursivity, the relationship that a discourse has with other discourses (implicitly or explicit) will be analyzed to make a link between linguistic practice and social practice. This is due to the fact that in speaking, the speaker makes reference to other discourses or, to use Norman Fairclough's words, the "orders of discourse". In other words,

interdiscursivity has much affinity with recontextualization because the former often implies importing elements from another discourse.

The analysis of social practice covers the socio-cognitive effect of the text. It consists in the exploration of the anticipated reproduction of the social order, the status quo, as well as tracing the hidden transformation effect of the text. It assumes that the text, explicitly and implicitly, relates to ideology and power relations (Fairclough, 1992, p. 86). Applied to Ujamaa, it seeks to establish whether rhetoric is a ‘member resource’, which people use to maintain social reality or social order.

6. Findings and Discussion

This section presents and discusses the findings from the four selected speeches and remarks by the late John Pombe Magufuli during his leadership as the 5th President of the Republic of Tanzania (2015-2020).

6.1 Analysis of the Discourse as a Linguistic Practice

Fairclough’s (1992: pp. 73-78) first stage of critical discourse analysis is the analysis of discourse or text as linguistic practice. In this stage, the focus is on vocabulary and the discourse style that Magufuli used in his speeches.

6.1.1 Vocabulary

This section describes words concentrating on their meaning and semantics from the four selected speeches of Magufuli (Locke, 2004, pp. 42-53).

The keywords in his discourse were “economic liberation”, including the control of major means of economy, “self-reliance”, “patriotism”, “anti-capitalism”, “common citizens” and “anti-exploitation”. His actions, derived from these concepts, appeared to be anti-capitalist. The government control over major means of production was strengthened, as evidenced by government intervention in the mining, industry and agriculture sectors. For instance, in his speech on 20th November, 2015 in Dodoma (Magufuli, 2015), he emphasized the management of public properties and national resources for the benefit of all Tanzanians, and that common citizens (*watu wa chini*) should reap the fruits of their country. In the meeting with cashew nut business people (Magufuli, 2018), Magufuli accused them of being unpatriotic, selfish, exploiters and plunderers (people who want to profit from others). He also issued a warning of government intervention on the nuts price. He said the government was capable of buying all cashew nuts if the

business people would not change what he called the “exploitative price”. “*Hatutaki wakulima wapunjwe*” (Lit: “we do not want farmers to be profitless”) he remarked (Magufuli, 2018).

Magufuli’s statements were anti-neo-colonialism and anti-capitalism (Magufuli, 2017). According to him, Tanzania has been exploited enough (“*tume- onewa mno*”); “*Taifa letu limekuwa likichezewa*” (Lit: “our nation has been played”) (Magufuli, 2018) and “those who are exploiting the country do not consider us as human beings”, he added (Magufuli, 2018). He said what was happening in the country indicated that Tanzania has not attained independence: “We have a flag... and national anthem but our wealth is taken” (Magufuli, 2018) by foreign investors with the assistance of unpatriotic nationals. And he warned that, “if we continue in this trajectory we will be “slaved” in this country” (Magufuli, 2018). To him, economic liberation is what entails “complete independence”, and economic liberation can make you “feed your children”, “send them to school” and “to hospital”, and you can construct roads for the benefit of all” (Magufuli, 2018).

The choice of words demonstrates a specific choice for uplifting the down-trodden, who constitute about 70% of the Tanzanian population. At the same time, the wording reinstates the return to public ownership of the major means of production, which was similar to what was practiced during Nyerere’s period. Indeed, from 1967 until the mid-1980’s the government and not the private sector was responsible for people’s welfare and economic protection.

6.1.2 Discourse Style

Magufuli used ‘political incorrectness’ as his style. Most of the utterances were considered controversial and unambiguous. He could be equated to people like Trump, who dared to speak their mind. His speeches were critical of the capitalists and corrupt individuals. The language used in his speeches was both plural and personalized. The use of the Swahili phrase “*tuta*” (we will) as indicated in phrases like “*tutashughulikia*”, “*tuzishughulikie*”, “*tutahakikisha*”, “*tutafanya*”, (Lit: ‘we will work on that’, ‘we will make sure’, ‘we will do’) symbolized an inclusive government that engaged different people in dealing with citizens’ issues (Magufuli, 2015, 2017, 2018, 2020).

Moreover, in his speeches, Magufuli opted to use the word “*ndugu*” (Lit: ‘comrade’), “*ndugu zangu*” (‘my fellow comrade’) instead of the favored word “*mheshimiwa*” (Lit: ‘honorable’) or “*waheshimiwa*” in plural (Magufuli, 2015, 2017, 2018, 2020). The word *ndugu* was very common during the Ujamaa period and symbolized family-hood, which sanctified the genesis of the term *jamaa*, which literally means “relatives” and thus unifies the citizens as one family.

Nevertheless, Magufuli, on many occasions, personalized his utterances to indicate that the actions of the government were under his command. This style can be identified in statements such as: “*ndio kauli mbiu yangu*” and “*serikali yangu*”; that is, ‘my motto’ or ‘my government’, ‘the government that I am heading’, ‘I want everyone to work’, and ‘I will make a government that works for the ordinary citizens’ (Magufuli, 2015). This type of utterance reproduced a context of individualized government where one person makes decisions, which is common to all responsible leaders’ government. During Nyerere’s era the phrase “*zidumu fikra za mwenyekiti wa Chama*”, ‘long live the thoughts of the Chairman’, was dominant and was recited in every CCM greetings.

Moreover, the chosen words of Magufuli were considered impolite, undemocratic and undiplomatic. Population-wise, these comprised peripheral voices from individuals whom he labelled unpatriotic, selfish and money mongers, thus, justifying the marginalization of their voices.

6.2 The Discursive Practice

After the analysis of discourse as a linguistic practice, next is the analysis of discursive practice to identify and interpret the production, distribution and consumption of the discourse (Fairclough, 1992, pp. 78-86).

6.2.1 Production of the Discourse

In this section, production of the discourse is used to refer to the process by which the discourse came into existence (Gulich & Kotschi, 2011, p. 30). It is the process in which the producer of the text can hold himself or herself responsible and can be held accountable by an interlocutor (ibid., p. 30). Fairclough (1992, p. 78) attests that “texts are produced in specific ways in specific social context”. In this chapter the producers (animators) of the texts are Magufuli and Mwalimu Nyerere. These two were responsible for the texts used in this chapter because they spoke words that constructed a discourse of [dis]unity among citizens and combined a mixture of the secular and religious. The CCM constitution and manifesto (2015-2020) still carry the Ujamaa sentiments and Magufuli used them as reference in many utterances. Nevertheless, Nyerere’s utterances were sources of reference to Magufuli and were reflected in decisions and actions such as the shift of the capital from Dar es Salaam to Dodoma, and the construction of the Mwalimu Nyerere Hydropower project and reintroduction of processing industries.

For instance, Magufuli’s speeches draw from his concern for the citizens’ problems, their aspirations, expectations and support for the government. Speaking about corruption and the fight against it, he emphasized that “citizens are fed up

with bribe and embezzlement”, “they are tired”, and “they are not ready to tolerate a government that is embracing corruption and embezzlement” (Magufuli, 2015, 2018). He reiterated that “we will win this war if the citizens are supportive” (Magufuli, 2018). His assumption was guided by the fact that a “patriotic nation will not hesitate to fight against corruption” (Magufuli, 2015). In this, he recalled Mwalimu Nyerere’s speech delivered in the Parliament on May 1960, where he said: “*Rushwa na uufisadi havina budi kushughulikiwa bila huruma kwa sababu naamini wakati wa Amani rushwa na uufisadi ni adui mkubwa kwa ustawi wa watu kuliko vita*” (Magufuli, 2015, 2018). In English, he meant that “Corruption and bribery must be dealt with firmly because bribery and corruption are the major enemies of human’s welfare than war”.

This type of intertextuality hedged Magufuli’s speech with Mwalimu Nyerere’s, making the interlocutor contextualize the speech in relation to the previous era where corruption was dealt with firmly. Moreover, corruption is a sign of class division and inequality. A leader who is against corruption is translated as an advocate of an equal society, where everyone is treated the same and, thus, citizens’ welfare is the priority of the government. His choice of the text from Mwalimu Nyerere is also not accidental. He understood that the majority of Tanzanians respect Mwalimu Nyerere and had memories of the discursive activities against corruption during Mwalimu Nyerere’s leadership.

Moreover, in his speech Magufuli also used interdiscursivity to deliver his message. For instance, referring to the mining industry and mining community (Magufuli, 2017), Magufuli stated that mining companies were not doing enough to uplift people’s welfare and, instead, were contributing to the impoverishment of the mining communities and the nation. Singling out one of the large-scale mining companies that retrenched workers, he said: “I heard others are threatening to retrench workers, but I expected they would say they are closing business, because if they close, we citizens will take over” (Magufuli, 2017). This statement indicated the government’s intention to take control of the mining sector. By the use of the pronoun “we” he was stressing his being part of the common citizenry, who are dissatisfied with the meagre social corporate responsibility of the privately-owned companies. Moreover, the word “I heard others” is a form of discourse representation that borrows from other discourses happening in another context, and used here to affirm the government intention of controlling large-scale mining operations.

In his speech in the Parliament on 16th June (Magufuli, 2020), he applauded members of parliament for passing strict laws that protected national natural resources. His understanding was that some people, especially foreign inves-

tors, were plundering and looting the national natural resources. This however, is constituted on the shift in articulation in the text whereby foreign investment and investors who were regarded as development partners (“*wawekezaji*”) by previous regimes turned out to be plunders and looters (“*mabeberu*”, “*wanyonyaji*” and “*wezi*”) during Magufuli’s era (Magufuli, 2015, 2017, 2018, 2020). This was not accidental as Fairclough (1992, p. 63) puts it clearly that “discourse is a practice not just of representing the world, but of signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning”. Magufuli’s utterance was reconstructing and signifying a new practice where socialism, as opposed to liberalism, was considered and favoured in the country’s economy. This also showed that Magufuli’s government advocated for government control over natural resources and he in doing so aligned himself with the discourse of the Ujamaa era.

Moreover, referring to another discursive event, “the world market” (Magufuli, 2018), Magufuli insisted on offering reasonable prices to farmers. He recalled the world market discourse where he pictured that a first class cashew nut at the world market can never be sold at lower price. In his speech concerning cashew nut businesses, he also drew from other discourses in Vietnam, India and China as the main market for Tanzanian cashew nuts as a matter of inter-contextualizing his speech.

This also shows that there has been a transformation in Tanzania, whereby in the past major exports were to western markets, while in recent years the market has shifted to the Middle and Far East countries, hence signifying the spirit of Bandung. Nevertheless, speaking out on behalf of the farmers who are considered 70% of the population, he positively positioned himself on the majority side hence earning his title of the “man of the people”.

6.2.2 Distribution of the Discourse

Fairclough (1992, pp. 79-81) refers the distribution of the discourse as ways or channels used by the producer of the text to reach his or her audiences. These include complex (written) channels like newspapers, books, articles, news on television, radio and social media on one hand, and immediate distribution like conversation and speeches with simple and immediate distribution on the other. For instance, Magufuli’s speeches were distributed through various public, private, international and local media outlets. All of his speeches were streamed live by the National Broadcasting Television and Radio (TBC), The Chama cha Mapinduzi Media (i.e. Channel Ten and Uhuru Media), other private television channels such as ITV, Star TV and Cloud Media, to mention just a few. His speeches were also available via social media outlets such as YouTube, Facebook, Jamii Forum, Twitter and

WhatsApp. They were available via online television platforms such as AyoTV and Global TV. The speeches were printed in local and international newspapers. He was also popular on international television and news outlets such as the BBC and CNN where, mostly, his political incorrectness was discussed and criticized. However, he was also censored on social media, especially because of his stance on COVID-19. Magufuli also addressed parliamentary sessions, which means that his speeches were recorded in parliamentary archives and can be used for reference with wide dissemination, where their access is free for people.

6.2.3 Consumption of the Discourse

Fairclough (1992, p. 79) declares that “texts are... consumed differently in different social contexts”. A text is consumed when people make effort to interpret the text they are exposed to. Furthermore, consumption of Magufuli’s text were both collective and individual (Fairclough, 1992, p. 79). For Magufuli, as a president of a nation, his audience were not mere individuals but rather the nation and international community as a whole. Therefore, each speech was meant to be consumed by all citizens and the concerned international community. In this case, the consumption of Magufuli speeches was threefold. First, it was consumed directly by those who were present or watching the speech on television. Secondly, consumption happened after the speeches were transformed into other texts such as newspapers articles, speech and archives documents. Lastly, consumption happened when the speeches were processed into presidential or government records which could be used to report on a historical epoch.

In the media and in public opinion, Magufuli was labeled both positively and negatively. With the positive labels, he was referred as a “hoe”, “an iron”, “a stone”, “rock of Africa”, “the army”, and “the bulldozer”. All these words were used to describe his leadership style, as a leader who made strong decisions, was dependable, had a workaholic attitude and held firm in protecting national interests. These interpretations were commonly used in the local and social media, and common people used them, in open meetings, to refer to the way his government dealt with corrupt individuals and those in conflict with the law.

On the other hand, Magufuli was not short of critics. His critics negatively called him a petty dictator, denier of science, undemocratic and against Western investment. Again, the choice of labels was not accidental. Fairclough (1992, pp. 78-86) noted that the use of language is always rooted in the social context and is negotiated by power relations. No wonder Magufuli was labelled as a hero in one discursive event, while on the other discursive event he was seen as a petty dictator. This is so because those who chose to use a particular label ascribed the meaning

to particular socio-political context (i.e. members' resources). For example, criticisms were raised drawing from his action toward COVID-19 when his government decided to be critical of the globally imposed prevention measures such as lockdown, the use of industrial facemasks and COVID-19 vaccines. Some political leaders, especially from the political parties such as Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA) and Alliance for Change (ACT), and Western media like the BBC were critical of him because his style of leadership never favoured open-air meetings and demonstrations. His approach toward foreigner investors was strongly criticized by those who benefited from the previous regime that had less control over the ownership of natural resources and investments.

Discursive practice has established ground that will be further developed in the social practice analysis where the link between social practice and linguistic practice will be highlighted.

6.3 Social Practice Analysis

In this section, we look at the social effect of Magufuli's discourse, as an analytical tool to assess its political and ideological impact in Tanzania. When talking about social practice, Fairclough (1992, pp. 86-100) compares it to the form of ideology and power relations (hegemonic power) whereby ideology in discourse is revealed through the constitution of the subject. Hegemony however is "about constructing alliances and integrating rather than dominating subordinate classes, through concession or through ideological means, to win their consent" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 92).

Magufuli's speech can be explained under the above-mentioned theoretical base. For instance, a statement that "complete freedom" is reflected in "control over the economy" echoes a constant class struggle at different levels (Magufuli, 2017, 2018). First, it implied that Tanzania has not yet attained her full independence because it does not control her economy. Secondly, there are forces (external and internal/Western superpowers and local big businesspeople) that are controlling the economy or denies the country full freedom. Therefore, he was positioning himself as a person who was heading toward attaining complete national freedom by controlling the economy.

This is illustrated in his speech stating that: "in the past years, business men's decision was final, but this government it is not final" (Magufuli, 2018), positioning him on the side of ordinary citizens and thus indicating that his government was "working for the interest of farmers, workers, pastoralists and fishermen" whom he considered victim of capitalists' urge or profit and, therefore, government inter-

vention was for the interest of the lower class – the helpless individuals (Magufuli, 2018).

Statements like the above constructed convergence and alliance with the ordinary people whom he considered marginalized by capitalists and previous regimes. His choice of the target population was critical; i.e. farmers, small businessmen and women, artisanal miners and fishers, etc., whose voices were pushed to the periphery by the previous regimes. And, hence, the resemblance to Nyerere's understanding of Ujamaa (socialism). Nyerere iterated that:

The Arusha Declaration ...is based on the assumption of human equality, on the belief that it is wrong for one man to dominate or to exploit another.... It is a commitment to the belief that there are more important things in life than the amassing of riches, and that if the pursuit of wealth clashes with things like human dignity and social equality, then the latter will be given priority (1968, p. 316).

The above argument by Nyerere (1968) is illustrated in Magufuli's critique over the state of mining operation in the country. Magufuli expressed a situation of exploitation by mining companies and, consequently, a skewed relationship with regard to the profit coming from misuse of national resources. "All our wealth is stolen", and "we have been toyed a lot", he uttered, describing a situation of loss and exploitation by the large mining companies (Magufuli, 2017). Such utterances signified a reconstruction and transformation in the relationship of dominance by transferring power from individual ownership to public ownership of the major means of economy. By speaking about this issue, Magufuli was able to win the heart of the majority and in so doing created alliances with the majority of Tanzanians. Thus, he cemented the direction of the country toward one measure of sustainable utilization of natural resources for the benefit of the people and the nation as a whole.

Magufuli also employed ideological apparatuses such as education, health, media and religious institutions to win the consent of Tanzanians. During the outbreak of COVID-19 Magufuli used religion as one of the mechanisms against the pandemic. At the peak of COVID-19 in 2020, Magufuli urged Tanzanians to participate in three days of nationwide prayers. The question was asked: was Magufuli mixing religion and politics? However, according to Ndaluka et al. (2021, p. 130), this action brought the nation together and hence unified all religions and believers against a common enemy (COVID-19). Ndaluka et al. concluded that:

...the role of religion and God was emphasized in the public rhetoric, but it was a combination of religious and scientific strategies stressing the need for safe, medically grounded behavior (wearing masks, avoiding social contacts [shaking hands], closing of schools and colleges and constant hand washing). In that regard, based on the significance of positive religious practices, religious institutions are encouraged to maintain similar practices in other comparable situations (2021, p. 130).

This hegemonic integration of religion into government businesses and the expansion of the social sector and access to social services accorded the government accolades from the people. Also, the people reciprocated the effort by supporting the government and re-electing Magufuli into power in 2020. The trust he earned from the general public was exemplified at his farewell in his burial ceremony where many people turned out on the road to show their solidarity with the departed president.

7. Conclusions

This chapter has demonstrated that Magufuli's discourse reproduced both discursive and social transformation that was a reflection of the Ujamaa era. The chapter has established that, indeed, the discourse is grounded in the practice of social institutions (Fairclough, 1992, p. 87). The Ujamaa philosophy used by Magufuli played its role in unifying Tanzanians in a similar way as it was in the time of Nyerere's leadership. In doing so, the main aspects included the Ujamaa hegemonic power of integrating the masses through government expansion of social expenditure and control over major means of economy and information. This in turn showed that Ujamaa as a philosophy has the potential to unite Tanzanians.

Moreover, Magufuli's employment of Ujamaa philosophy to unite Tanzanians was effective because Ujamaa philosophy is still preferred by Tanzanians. In other words, Ujamaa philosophy is "a members' resource" (Fairclough, 1992, pp. 72, 80, 82, 85) in which the majority use it when interpreting and creating meaning about their socio-economic conditions. All of this indicates that Ujamaa is still relevant to the general population and what was missing was an advocate of this policy. In this Magufuli 'played smart' and was awarded the compliment by the common citizens.

Nevertheless, efforts to introduce philosophy of unities were not only made in Tanzania. Many nationalist leaders in Africa and Asia introduced philosoph-

ical systems to guide their societies. Kwame Nkrumah, for instance, introduced Consciencism as a philosophical system that was rooted in the principles of humanitarianism and egalitarianism (Ajei & Kwesi, 2018). Like Ujamaa, Consciencism was a decolonizing philosophy that aimed at solving five African problems namely colonialism, imperialism, neo-colonialism, disunity, and lack of development (ibid.). However, unlike Ujamaa where its center is Tanzania, Consciencism was to be applied throughout the African continent (ibid.). Again, narratives in Tanzania indicated that the Ujamaa philosophy is still preferred and desired by the common citizens, feeling that unite the society.

Similar to Ujamaa and Consciencism is the Ubuntu philosophy which is based on the thought and practices of the people of South Africa (Ajei & Kwesi, 2018). Ubuntu is thought to provide a guide and worldview of practical action of the people (ibid.). Unlike Ujamaa and Consciencism philosophies, Ubuntu is not associated with any scientific socialism system or Western Marxist way of thinking (Dokman and Cornelli, 2022). Nevertheless, what makes these three philosophies similar is their emphasis on a just, fair, and equal-based society that is devoid of any forms of injustice, inequality, oppression and coercion (Ajei & Kwesi, 2018).

Furthermore, religion and religious institutions played their part in the social engineering in the country. This was manifested during the time of difficulties, for example, the outbreak of COVID-19, where religion was prominent in the public domain and was used by political leaders as a resource for uniting the people to fight against COVID-19.

This, however, should not be taken to mean that during Magufuli's time, there were no peripheral voices that were struggling and competing for dominance and transformation of social institutions and social structure. In this chapter I have presented critiques levelled against Magufuli's leadership including his approach toward COVID-19, control over private business, political parties and media which signified the voices which were competing for similar status (Shivji 2021). This chapter recommends a similar study at a large scale level in order to bring to light the effectiveness of the Ujamaa philosophy in uniting Tanzanians.

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