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The Synthesis of “Ujamaaism” of Nyerere and Habermas’ Critical Social Theory

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The main aim of this paper was to demonstrate the synthesis of “Ujamaaism” of Nyerere and Habermas’s critical social theory. However, the study used critical and analytical methods. “Ujamaaism” is a new term coined by the author to explain the socialist theory of Nyerere. The study found that critical social theory elements were in a good position to correct the “Ujamaaism” of Nyerere to be a more useful theory because it failed to realise its expectations. It follows that the critical social theory of Habermas was in a good position to have the best correction for reinstating “Ujamaaism” praxis in Tanzania because of its nature of critical consciousness, critical reflection, enlightenment, autonomy as well as emancipation, which help human being to come out from all social restrictions and conditionalities that hinder them from reaching self-awareness. These values were not much reflected by Nyerere, as a result, the study aimed to re-create the “Ujamaaism” of Nyerere.

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INTRODUCTION

This article intends to introduce the Synthesis of "Ujamaaism" of Nyerere and Habermas' critical social theory. The study affirms that the failure of Nyerere's "Ujamaaism" was due to the insufficiency of the elements of the critical social theory of Habermas. It is the argument of the authors that the application of Habermas's critical social theory could reinstate and grant the "Ujamaaism" of Nyerere a second chance to be considered.

Objective of the Study

The main purpose of this study was to introduce the Synthesis of "Ujamaaism" of Nyerere and Habermas' critical social theory.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study applied a critical-analytical method. This implies that the study used two methods; the critical method as well as an analytical method. The critical method was used for this study to elaborate in detail and critically different ideas of "Ujamaaism" as well as critical social theory. Those ideas have been presented, explained, scrutinised, and challenged in order to have a further understanding of the subject.

The analytical method refers to the study of the individual phenomena or each aspect of a thing examined.¹ This is likely to say we decompose the whole into parts. It goes together with logical analysis. In this study, analytical method has been used to simplify and break down the complex ideas of "Ujamaaism" and Habermas's critical social theory for easier understanding.

THE MEANING OF "UJAMAAISM"

In order for this study to clearly convey the intended aim of exposing Nyerere's concept of Ujamaa, we have coined a new word, "Ujamaaism". It is an addition of the suffix –ism to the root word Ujamaa in order to expand its meaning to encompass a related system, theory, or practice. Thus, the new word "Ujamaaism" is taken here to indicate that the root word Ujamaa represents a specific practice, system, or philosophy. So "Ujamaaism" resonate well with Nyerere's philosophical and political ideologies centred on the practice of brotherhood that is sometimes loosely translated as a family hood. The use of -ism at the end of the root word Ujamaa suggests that the word is related to a belief (or system of beliefs) accepted as an authority by many traditional Africans. The suffix –ism at the end of the root Ujamaa raises the new word "Ujamaaism" to an appropriate noun like other common -ism words such as activism, atheism, alcoholism, capitalism, dualism, environmentalism, fatalism, globalism, hedonism, individualism, materialism, realism, sexism, vegetarianism, socialism.

The newly coined word "Ujamaaism" can now be taken here to refer to a kind of philosophy which is actively lived by people who share some aspects of their culture and traditions in daily socio-political and economic activities. In this study, the word "Ujamaaism" will be attached to Nyerere's concept of socio-political and economic philosophy because "Ujamaaism" is not just a word representing equal socio-political and economic philosophy, but rather it is a life.

¹ Cf. Jose A. Lombo – F. Russo, *Philosophical Anthropology*, 20.

The Rationality of Habermas' Critical Social Theory

Rationality has been an important concept in Habermas' Critical Social Theory. The theory insists on the use of reason in order to rationalise society. By rationalisation of society, Habermas meant that agents or actors within the lifeworld or society would communicate and act rationally.² Rationality embraces the use of validity claims as well as argumentation, which can be tested by the soundness of reason, whether or not the argument can convince participants in a given discourse.³ In this context, the argument should motivate the participants to accept the validity claim posed. It follows that to be rational means that a person participating in an argument should show rational use. The openness towards reason is also a key factor in responding to the offering of arguments for or against claims.⁴

It has been argued that Habermas' critical social theory intended to expose a society which has a rational purpose and well organised in order to bring welfare to the people belonging to that society. The teleological conception of society has been presented even by Karl Popper in his three-world theory: firstly, the world of physical objects or physical state; secondly, the world of states of consciousness or of mental states; thirdly, the world of objective contents of thought like of scientific and poetic thoughts and works of art.⁵ From those types of worlds, we find interest in the ontological

view of the world taken by Popper, which shows the way members of society are constantly learning... and in a constant process of self-discovery and self-making.⁶ Since discussing Karl Popper's world idea is not the main aim of this study, it was fair good to show how much the rationality concept as reflected in Habermas's critical social theory, got support from Popper. Furthermore, rationality can be observed in society which is well observed; people in this society embrace rational communication, and they discuss ideas freely, and this is how a mass democratic society can be found.

Rationality has a nature of self-reflective, as found by Kant and Hegel.⁷ Then it follows those self-reflective leads to self-consciousness and later, the emancipative mind, as proposed by Karl Marx gets its way down.⁸ As the way Adorno and Hoikhermer appreciated the role of reason in reconstructing society, and so did Habermas.⁹ Rationality stands as an engine of the critical social theory of Habermas because, since Frankfurt, rationality has been at the centre of Critical Theory discussion.¹⁰ In the twentieth century, the power of reason got some attacks from philosophers, questioning its limitation towards truth. It was during modernism whereby the dominant tradition was to give a critique towards reason.¹¹ Habermas through the Theory of Communicative Action represented the idea of how the reflective attitude and the rational exchange of arguments would protect the lifeworld of human beings.¹² To Habermas, this protection was possible

² Cf. Jurgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action*, trans. Thomas McCarthy, vol. 1, 18.

³ Cf. Jurgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action*, trans. Thomas McCarthy, vol. 1, 18.

⁴ Cf. Jurgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action*, trans. Thomas McCarthy, vol. 1, 18.

⁵ Jurgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action*, trans. Thomas McCarthy, vol. 1, 76.

⁶ Cf. Jurgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action*, trans. Thomas McCarthy, vol. 1, 80.

⁷ Cf. Omid A. Payrow Shabani, *Democracy, Power, and Legitimacy-The Critical Theory*, 23.

⁸ Cf. Omid A. Payrow Shabani, *Democracy, Power, and Legitimacy-The Critical Theory*, 26.

⁹ Cf. Jurgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action*, trans. Thomas McCarthy, vol. 1, 8-9.

¹⁰ Cf. Omid A. Payrow Shabani, *Democracy, Power, and Legitimacy-The Critical Theory*, 26.

¹¹ Cf. Omid A. Payrow Shabani, *Democracy, Power, and Legitimacy-The Critical Theory*, 27.

¹² Cf Hanco Jurgens, *Habermas for Historians-Four Approaches to his Works*, 7.

if rationality would apply to change the capitalist bureaucracy and culture.

Moreover, the rationality of the critical social theory of Habermas was observed in another book of Habermas called *The Structural Transformation of The Public Sphere*, where Habermas introduced the concept of the public sphere.¹³ In this regard, capitalists colonised the public sphere; these people have power, money and own media. As a result, they created beauracracy and systems. Habermas suggests that it is through critical social theory would set free the colonisation of the lifeworld systems.¹⁴ The lifeworld is a shared world, whereas Habermas conceived it as a sociocultural system.¹⁵

It was the period in which the evolution of reasons was pressurised by the enlightenment; the French revolution evens whereby the use of rationality increased as the reasoning power was then exercised all over the places such as in salons, coffee houses, the printing presses growing literary culture, restaurants, freemasons lodges. Habermas aimed to expose bad culture during modernism and how to revise that situation.¹⁶ Like Marxists who believed that society evolves through a change in the mode of production, to Habermas believed that these changes should be explained by changing the balance of the private and public spheres in bourgeois families as well.¹⁷ Habermas on discussing the idea of reason and rationality explained it as a foundational aptitude of the human species.¹⁸ Habermas explained further that; the reason is universal as well as it cannot be naturalised.¹⁹ Habermas would like all people to know the supposition that we are engaged with rational beings when we communicate in our daily life. S/he should have a reason why act, behave, or

express the way it can be observed because what has been done was an intentional move.

As we have illustrated above, the nature of critical social theory is reason. This is because the critical social theory is based on self-reflection, self-consciousness and emancipation in nature. Also, we have as well seen the way Habermas insisted the rational communication among the people, it is through rationality that we can assert universal valid claims which are subject to argumentation. As it has been demonstrated that the linguistic turn and response to the problem of modernity led Habermas to apply the critical social theory as less or more approached by the Frankfurt school; hence due to these factors we are convinced that the critical social theory is rational. Without rationality critical social theory loose its fundamental and essential nature, it is even hard to apply communication to create Intersubjectivity among the people within the society. As results the applicability of critical social theory will nowhere to be relevant to bring the intended impact to the society as Habermas' motives.

A Commonalities of Fundamental Elements of “Ujamaaism” of Nyerere and Habermas’ Critical Social Theory

Despite Nyerere and Habermas existed in different times, countries, culture, and personality, but they somehow found themselves addressing common social ideas, which aimed to reconstruct their societies. In both theories of “Ujamaaism” of Nyerere as well critical social theory of Habermas there, is similar concepts occurred despite the fact that they differ on the way

¹³ Cf Hanco Jurgens, *Habermas for Historians-Four Approaches to his Works*, 5.

¹⁴ Barbara Fultner, *Jurgen Habermas, Key Concept*, 74.

¹⁵ Barbara Fultner, *Jurgen Habermas, Key Concept*, 77.

¹⁶ Cf Hanco Jurgens, *Habermas for Historians-Four Approaches to his Works*, 8-9.

¹⁷ Hanco Jurgens, *Habermas for Historians-Four Approaches to his Works*, 8.

¹⁸ Barbara Fultner, *Jurgen Habermas, Key Concept*, 28.

¹⁹ Cf. Barbara Fultner, *Jurgen Habermas, Key Concept*, 28.

Equality

The concept of equality appears as essential elements in “Ujamaaism” of Nyerere but it is not fundamental in critical social science of Habermas. However, Habermas explained it in an umbrella of the concept of freedom like how Nyerere did in the concept of development and freedom. Despite those different approach, both elements demanded their society to encompass the right of equality. To Nyerere and Habermas, equality is not only an element but rather it is a value and right. Nyerere like Habermas conceived the idea of equality in Kantian understanding.²⁰ It was from liberal conception in which they came with the understanding that the society or lifeworld in Habermas’ term had to ensure that human rights prevail among all citizens.²¹ One of those rights was equality.

Christianity had also great influence to Nyerere’s concept of equality; it is from Christianity Nyerere learnt the teachings that God created all men equably regardless of their gender, nationality, colour, and any social status. Nyerere portrayed equality as engine of “Ujamaaism” because without equality it was hard for “Ujamaaism” to exist.²² However, by equality they meant that in dignity and social opportunities.²³ Habermas insisted that all citizens should be treated equal especially when they make contributions in discursive phenomenon.²⁴ It has been argued that the concept of equality paved the way to understanding and development of other ideas such as democracy, freedom as well as equity. Nyerere viewed Ujamaaism parallel to equality because it was

equality, which distinguished “Ujamaaism” with capitalism, exploitation, no loiters, no idlers.²⁵ Wealth distribution was one among many things, which make Nyerere to think about equality. In a country with more than 10 million people, demanded a proper concern about how the national cake would reach to all people. During independence time, colonialists left the haves as well as the have not classes in Tanzania.²⁶ Nyerere understood well that equality is not the same to uniformity since every human being is unique and has different ways of exercising his or her natural capabilities. Nyerere aimed to see equality in economic development of which all people were included without separation. The development should focus on the people’s welfare and well-being. Not only that but also Nyerere went further to make sure that even in professional life equality would prevail.²⁷ That the equal opportunity would provide to all competent and skilled Tanzanians so that they could have to serve the country with big impact and efficiency.

To Habermas equality went further to the context that he wanted even citizenship to go beyond local or national boundaries, and proposed something like global or cosmopolitan citizens.²⁸ These citizens should be treated with respect and equality. Habermas fought against the systems within the capitalist society of the lifeworld. The system created classes in which citizens did not enjoy their rights due to the bureaucracy. He gave examples like German, England, France the way capitalism created a public sphere, which demanded critical mass opinion. These demands underpinned the use

²⁰ Cf. Evarist Cornelli, “A Critical Analysis of Nyerere’s Ujamaa,” 4.

²¹ Cf. William Outhwaite, *Habermas A Critical Introduction*, 7.

²² Julius Nyerere, “Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism,” 11.

²³ Cf. Innocent Sanga, *Julius Nyerere’s Philosophy of Human Dignity*, 61-62.

²⁴ Cf. Luke Goode, *Jurgen Habermas-Democracy and the Public Sphere*, 73.

²⁵ Cf. Innocent Sanga, *Julius Nyerere’s Philosophy of Human Dignity*, 17.

²⁶ Cf. Innocent Sanga, *Julius Nyerere’s Philosophy of Human Dignity*, 103.

²⁷ Cf. Innocent Sanga, *Julius Nyerere’s Philosophy of Human Dignity*, 107.

²⁸ Cf. Luke Goode, *Jurgen Habermas-Democracy and the Public Sphere*, 13.

of reasons, free of manipulation, and coercion.²⁹ Furthermore, Habermas explained that the public sphere occurred when private people come together as a public to engage public authorities; the culture in public sphere proposed equality among the members based on rationality. It suggested that, to be superior in public sphere went together with to give good argument, and no other social status quo.³⁰ No one would be greater than the other but only in better argument, which were equally treated and tested. This shows that equality in public sphere was urgent factor among the members of the public sphere. There were as well universal principles for access whereby the doors of deliberative space were open to all the people. In this way, it was possible to reach the deliberative practices in democratic society.³¹

Discursive Democracy

“Ujamaaism” of Nyerere and critical social theory of Habermas presented discursive democracy as essential element to human being as well as to the society. Again, Kant influenced both of them to develop this concept.³² Starting with Nyerere, democracy at first concern was taken as the situation of whereas people were free to choose their leaders and to make their own decision. At this stage democracy did not count political parties. It follows that the coming of multiparty system changed this understanding because people had to divide themselves through different political parties. To Nyerere this was equally to turn a country to disunity as he worried some people would use this opportunity to leverage tribalism or group’s politics under the umbrella of political parties. It was the aim of Nyerere that after attainment of

independence and freedom, people would have autonomous of deciding how, who, and why to choose their leaders and leadership style. However, Nyerere sees democracy to be within the wider concept of freedom, that is why the influence got from Stuart Mills in his concept of *utilitarianism Liberalis*,³³ reflected important elements of democracy. As Sanga puts from Mill; Nyerere perceived freedom as “Uhuru”, which gave citizens ability for them to determine their own future.³⁴

Later on, Nyerere campaigned for freedom of speech, freedom in decision-making, which would affect the destiny of an individual as well as the whole community. Sanga is also explained the way Nyerere influenced by Rousseau especially in Nyerere’s book *Freedom and Unity* whereby Nyerere mentioned Rousseau in introduction. It seems that Nyerere was interested with the way Rousseau presented the concept of freedom and man with his famous saying that Man is born free; and everywhere he is in chains.³⁵ The idea of freedom represented bigger picture of individual freedom that constituted in democracy. This is simply because it is democracy which announces the freedom of people to speech, transparency, equality, and equity, and so on. Furthermore, we can argue that if freedom is not there, therefore, no democracy as well. This is quite because no slave was free neither to choose nor to be chosen.

In the same line with Nyerere, Habermas introduced the idea of democracy from Kant, especially in his rational natural law, in which, as Max Weber believed that law had internal relation to politics as

²⁹ Cf. Luke Goode, *Jurgen Habermas-Democracy and the Public Sphere*, 13.

³⁰ Cf. Guy Uriel Charles and Luis Fuentes-Rohwer, *Habermas, The Public Sphere, and The Creation of a Racial Counter public*, 1-5.

³¹ Cf. Guy Uriel Charles and Luis Fuentes-Rohwer, *Habermas, The Public Sphere*, 17-21.

³² Cf. Innocent Sanga, *Julius Nyerere’s Philosophy of Human Dignity*, 34.

³³ Cf. Innocent Sanga, *Julius Nyerere’s Philosophy of Human Dignity*, 35.

³⁴ Cf. Innocent Sanga, *Julius Nyerere’s Philosophy of Human Dignity*, 35.

³⁵ Cf. Innocent Sanga, *Julius Nyerere’s Philosophy of Human Dignity*, 37.

well as morality.³⁶ Habermas understood equality as natural and political right, which citizens in modern and lifeworld would enjoy and entitled. To underpin equality in politics required the legal theory and mass democratic legislation to be encompassed so that, this right would have executed with effect. It has argued by Kant that the rational natural law should be universal just as moral principles.³⁷ Habermas drew the idea of sphere of subjective rights as those, which citizens must attribute to one another in legitimation of collective life. Furthermore, Habermas views democratic possibilities in perspective of countertendency in developed and modern society. Nevertheless, an individual in this modern society found himself facing new demands, choices, and freedom. Habermas proposes a kind of radical democracy because the complexity societies characterised by industrial development have as well complicated social systems such as large scale, social division of labour. This tendency ruins the democratic participation among the people as well as decision-making.³⁸ How to do then? Habermas suggested that a group and coalitions would check but not guide the experts as well as political elites through voting and lobbying.³⁹

To Habermas, radical democracy was a proper mechanism required in modern society for the betterment within institutions of civil society, resulting from multiple and pluralistic roles. So, the function of radical democracy is to restore solidarity, authority, and capacity for general action and projection to the later societies.⁴⁰

³⁶ Cf. William Outhwaite, *Habermas A Critical Introduction*, 138.

³⁷ Cf. William Outhwaite, *Habermas A Critical Introduction*, 139.

³⁸ Cf. Stephen K. White, *The Cambridge Companion to Habermas*, 168.

³⁹ Stephen K. White, *The Cambridge Companion to Habermas*, 168.

⁴⁰ Cf. Stephen K. White, *The Cambridge Companion to Habermas*, 169.

However, reaching to this point would have not been easy until Rousseau like Kant perpetuated human rights doctrine,⁴¹ as the exercise of political autonomy of the citizens under communication and discursive formation of opinion and policy.⁴² In free market capitalist society, Habermas wanted universal human being emancipation. Like what Karl Marx,⁴³ called for the universal rights of the works, and so Habermas. The bourgeoisie brought exploitative actions in society as results, the classes of haves and have not emerged. It follows that in this kind of society, there were the imbalance of social and economic status quo, which also influenced even political and cultural domain.⁴⁴

Habermas was after the idea that democracy should necessarily flow from their consciousness and reflection of their mind, opposite of that to Habermas was a big crime because the society would not attain its full wellbeing and democracy, because the minds of the people were not free and critical enough to eradicate bad systems and to make good argumentation for their rights and to freely express their ideas which is important steps to the construction of modern society. This trend changed the understanding of relation between the subject and object. Hence, it follows that; the structure of the self-relation of subject is what according to Hegel marks the modern times. So like Hegel, Habermas believed that the principle of the modern world is freedom of subjectivity characterised by four aspects like individualism, autonomy, right to criticism, and idealism.⁴⁵ It is those four aspects which determines the whole concept of freedom as conveyed by Habermas. From all four aspects,

⁴¹ Cf. Luke Goode, *Jurgen Habermas- Democracy and the Public Sphere*, 14.

⁴² Cf. William Outhwaite, *Habermas A Critical Introduction*, 141.

⁴³ Cf. Luke Goode, *Jurgen Habermas- Democracy and the Public Sphere*, 15-16.

⁴⁴ Cf. Luke Goode, *Jurgen Habermas- Democracy and the Public Sphere*, 15-16.

⁴⁵ Cf. Luke Goode, *Jurgen Habermas- Democracy and the Public Sphere*, 18.

autonomy is most important since it gives the rest aspects the opportunities to be exercised. Habermas suggested self-transformation that requires a reconstruction of democracy and discursive reasoning. It has been argued that democratic discourse enhances autonomy of the participants. The autonomous participants will be able to engage in critical examination of self and others. Engage in reasoning processes and arrive at judgment they can defend in argument. Habermas argued that discursive context adds individual's capacity for practical reasoning.⁴⁶ Habermas perceived autonomy as normative ideal.

As it was asserted by Mark Warren that "Habermas does not treat autonomy as something given to individuals by nature, or as a logical "presupposition" or as an empirical precondition of democracy. Rather he conceptualises autonomy in such a way that it is one developmental possibility embedded within relations as such, when these relations are viewed in light of human potentials for self-reflection".⁴⁷

As we are trying to understand Habermas, to him autonomy is important element to rational agents, as it leverages him or her a space to express ideas and to engage in discourse freely without any social restrictions. It is this autonomy that determines how far society would attain the free state.

Development Concept

Nyerere and Habermas did not leave behind the concept of Development. Both of them conceived development as necessarily wellbeing of the people than material achievement. They both agreed that when people are free, it is easier for them to obtain

development. By starting with Nyerere, development goes hand-to-hand with freedom.⁴⁸ He believed that it was very difficult for one to develop if he or she is not free. At first, he conceived freedom as a situation of been free from colonial rule. Thus, why soon after independence Nyerere established different programs to enhance development of the people. However, the strong belief of Nyerere about people came from his essential aim of "Ujamaaism" which was to create an equal and one society. This caused Nyerere to develop idea that development should centre on the people and not in material.⁴⁹ To him things like roads, building, and good crops production and so on were not development but just tools, which should help people to attain their wellbeing. Having saying this, Nyerere articulated his perspective in his book *Man and Development*. He portrayed the idea that when development is centred to man, then the dignity and respect of man would be observed and that is the real meaning of people to be free and self-reliant.⁵⁰ When development is centred to the people it should increase people's freedom, which together with other things it should serve the people with their interests.⁵¹ Nyerere's response towards development was based on the way he established different development schemes and project like Five Year Plan, Ujamaa Villages with "Mama Maendeleo" (Woman official of the community Development Official),⁵² community tractors as well as other many initiatives.

Habermas development concern is the same to Nyerere whereby people came first. However, Habermas went further to expand the concept of development especially when he was solving the problem of modernity during the renaissance era,

⁴⁶ Cf. Stephen K. White, *The Cambridge Companion to Habermas*, 172.

⁴⁷ Cf. Stephen K. White, *The Cambridge Companion to Habermas*, 172.

⁴⁸ Cf. Julius Nyerere, *Freedom and Unity*, 25.

⁴⁹ Cf. Innocent Sanga, *Julius Nyerere's Philosophy of Human Dignity*, 74.

⁵⁰ Cf. Innocent Sanga, *Julius Nyerere's Philosophy of Human Dignity*, 35.

⁵¹ Cf. Julius Nyerere, *Man and Development*, 361.

⁵² Cf. Michaela Von Freyhold, *Ujamaa Villages in Tanzania*, 132.

identified the hindrances for well-being and development of the people to attain standard life.⁵³ Those difficulties are brought by capitalist bourgeoisie's system in the lifeworld. To Habermas, development includes a totality of many things from consciousness to freedom available in public sphere. Development means that people should be free to express rationally their ideas, to get rid from coercive apparatus and unfree states. Human being should be conscious with their consciousness and freedom. People should emancipate from all bad systems in order to reach to the free state development. He or she has to reflect about himself as well as other subjects through Intersubjectivity. In the public sphere, mass democracy should prevail to give each one a chance through communicative action to exercise his or her opinions and decisions.⁵⁴

Language

Language as one of essential and unique properties of human being that has appeared to both Nyerere and Habermas. They have also believed that society and social interaction, which brings common understanding and consensus, is impossible without language.

Soon after independence, Nyerere used Swahili language as social tool to bring people together. It was also the same language, which was used during decolonisation struggle by many political parties like Tanganyika National Union (TANU) and Afro Shiraz Party (ASP). It was important for Nyerere to find a way to unite people because Tanganyika had many small ethnics and tribes led by their chiefs.⁵⁵ So bringing people in solidarity and unity to be one nation was the first job of Nyerere soon after independence. Swahili was used in schools as

medium of instruction, in commerce as well as in administration. It was also a national language.⁵⁶

So "Ujamaaism" of Nyerere enjoyed the presence of Swahili language for its publicity and acceptance among the people. The beginning of "Ujamaaism" in the villages confirmed the significance role of Swahili as people in those villages were brought together from different background under the umbrella of Swahili language. Furthermore, Swahili language was used in the armies as communication language since many people who joined the army were familiar with their vernacular languages as well as Swahili language. It is not with surprise that due to this tendency. Swahili language is a lingua franca for many armies especially in East Africa countries as they use it in different trainings as well as operations. Nyerere tried hard to make Swahili language to appear in many activities within the country like in sports, artist's performance, and so on. With Swahili language, many Tanzanians feel free to communicate eloquently and express themselves confidently.

On the side of Habermas critical social theory, language as communicative tool played a very important role. To Habermas, language is a universal medium in which our social life unfolds.⁵⁷ He stands with the idea that agents within the lifeworld would use language in communicative rationality perspective. According to Habermas, language has a power to coordinate action in consensual or cooperative way.⁵⁸ Habermas represented this idea under reconstruction of pre-theoretical knowledge of competent speakers and actors. It was a linguistic turn from analytic philosophy tradition, since Habermas called for the use of universal validity claims. This drastic change

⁵³ Cf. Omid A. Shabani, *Democracy, Power, and Legitimacy*, 4-6.

⁵⁴ Cf. Omid A. Shabani, *Democracy, Power, and Legitimacy*, 32

⁵⁵ Cf. Colin Legum and Geoffrey Mmari, eds. *Mwalimu the Influence of Nyerere*, 28

⁵⁶ Cf. Colin Legum and Geoffrey Mmari, eds. *Mwalimu the Influence of Nyerere*, 28

⁵⁷ Cf. Luke Goode, *Jürgen Habermas- Democracy and the Public Sphere*, 29.

⁵⁸ Cf. Stephen K. White, *The Cambridge Companion to Habermas*, 120.

of views towards language, as linguistic turn as well as communicative rationality conveyed the emancipatory character of language.⁵⁹

It was clearly understood that Habermas reached this point due to his motive to resolve the problem of modernity, which was about the self-subject, whereby the self-constitution based on the critical analysis of communicative interaction.⁶⁰ Habermas counter attacked positivists who claimed that knowledge had no connection with normative presupposition of human cultural domain. This claim led knowledge to be understood from empirical perspective as something with no any connection to daily human activities. They also insisted that pure reason and pure facts were independent from human being, who is the knowing subject experiencing the sociocultural life. As a result, Habermas wrote a book *Knowledge and Human Interest* to explain what Horkheimer and Adorno narrated the way scientific research was closely related to social conflicting interests.⁶¹

By using a theory of *knowledge-constitutive interest*, Habermas continues to stand with the fact that knowledge is historically rooted and interest bound, and the knowing subject should possess; capability of using language, capable of using tools, as well as capability of employing reason. It was from this argument Habermas laid down the critic that science could not be understood in abstract system of formal rules but rather it must view as product of human interaction and language. Habermas believed that what raises us out of nature is the only thing whose nature know that is language. Our first sentences reflect the unequivocal, the intention of universal, and unconstrained consensus. Language of community

comprises the tradition of human activities; even understanding requires the meditation of tradition.⁶² That is why Habermas buys the idea that any critical social analysis should be grounded on a theory of language.⁶³ Since language is a means of communication which serves mutual understanding, whereas actors, in coming to an understanding with one another, so as to coordinate their actions and their particular aims, with this way agents can easily reach the integrating consensus about norms and values instilled through cultural tradition and socialisation.⁶⁴

As we have illustrated above, Nyerere and Habermas had also commonality in the concept of language. They both believe that human being needs language in order to create stable and sustainable society; despite of their different approaches and foundations of it but as we have noticed, language to them presented to be an essential element which carries traditional and cultural values of their social realities.

The Differences Between Nyerere's "Ujamaaism" and Habermas Critical Social Theory

Apart from similarities existing between "Ujamaaism" of Nyerere and critical social theory of Habermas, there are some fundamental differences, which made each theory to be unique.

Self-Consciousness

In "Ujamaaism" of Nyerere, self-consciousness or self-reflection was not essential elements like what has appeared in critical social theory of Habermas, which conveyed self-consciousness as necessary and unique element which should be possessed by

⁵⁹ Cf. Luke Goode, *Jurgen Habermas- Democracy and the Public Sphere*, 27.

⁶⁰ Cf. Luke Goode, *Jurgen Habermas- Democracy and the Public Sphere*, 27.

⁶¹ Cf. Luke Goode, *Jurgen Habermas- Democracy and the Public Sphere*, 27-28.

⁶² Cf. Luke Goode, *Jurgen Habermas- Democracy and the Public Sphere*, 29.

⁶³ Cf. Luke Goode, *Jürgen Habermas- Democracy and the Public Sphere*, 29.

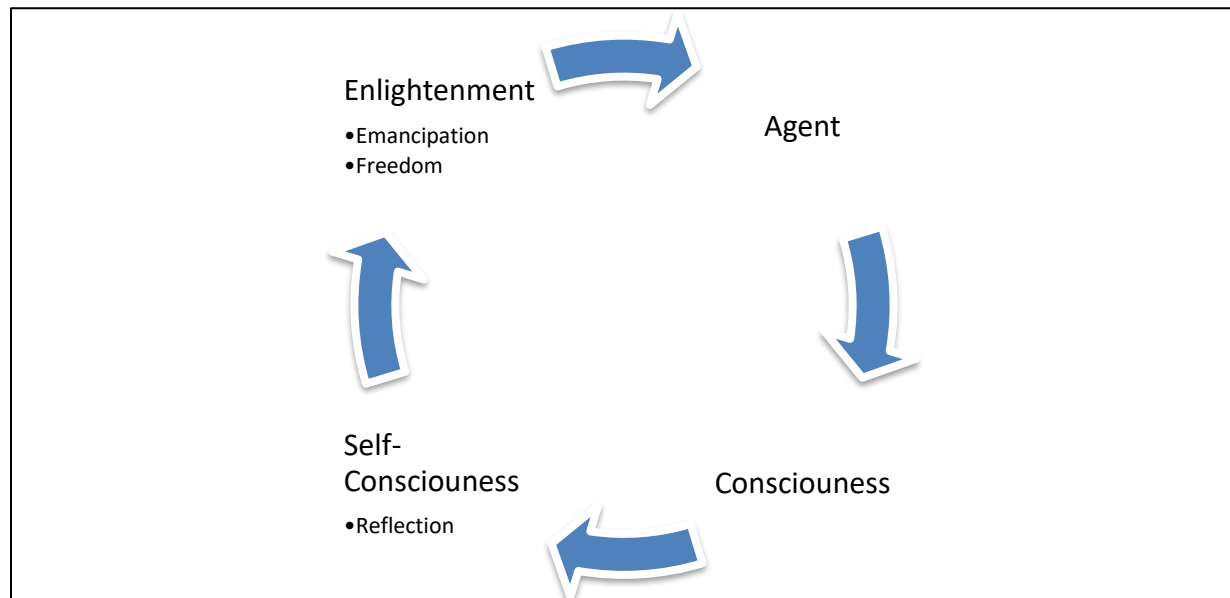
⁶⁴ Cf. Jurgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action, Trans. Thomas McCarthy, Vol. 1., xi.*

the knowing subject⁶⁵ in order to emancipate and free itself from coercive and unfree state of nature.⁶⁶ Habermas quoting Tugendhat says that, self-consciousness is supposed to be consciousness of an I something to be an I should has a structure of the identity of knowing and what is known.⁶⁷ Here we are told that the I Subject should have the knowledge not only of the subject but also of itself. Self-consciousness to Habermas was the point of departure for the subject to be critical and reflective enough for his or her emancipation.⁶⁸

Unlike Habermas, Nyerere’s did not observe such kind of understanding, to him as he explained his philosophy about Man, he conceived Man as rational social being with unique talents and gifts, who is equally created in image and resemblances of God. So, to Nyerere this Man had to exist among the community to share those talents and participates to bring common welfare of the people.

“Ujamaaism” of Nyerere did not provide a room for an individual thinking. The “Ujamaaism” embraced homogeneous thinking than heterogeneous thinking.⁶⁹ Also, by communal thinking, Nyerere did not intend to emancipate Man from any oppressive form like Habermas in capitalist system of bourgeoisie, but rather equal fight for poverty, ignorance, and diseases through hardworking, cooperation, and caring to each other. In this case under “Ujamaaism” Nyerere acted as a thinking tank of Tanzanians. To Habermas self-consciousness is important due to the fact that it is the first step of an agent towards enlightened, reflection and emancipated from unfree and coercive state to free state where the agent finds the freedom of mind to reason and to excess his free will. The diagram below illustrates more in simple method the way Habermas critical theory is all about:

Plate 1: Diagram of Habermas’s critical social theory processes



⁶⁵ Cf. Jurgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action*, trans. Thomas McCarthy, vol. 1., 394-395.

⁶⁶ Cf. Jurgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action*, trans. Thomas McCarthy, vol. 1., 390-391.

⁶⁷ Jurgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action*, trans. Thomas McCarthy, vol. 1., 394.

⁶⁸ Cf. Jurgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action*, trans. Thomas McCarthy, vol. 1., 390.

⁶⁹ Cf. Innocent Sanga, *Julius Nyerere’s Philosophy of Human Dignity*, 28.

As we have shown above, Habermas philosophy was so much depended on the consciousness of the subject. The subject as the known agent should be aware about its own knowledge as well as the knowledge about an object. This kind of relation helps the agent to closely follow its right system to freedom. Once the agent is free, he or she will eradicate systems and bureaucracy established by capitalist in the society or lifeworld.

Despite Habermas, another scholar who reflected about consciousness was Karl Jaspers, who demonstrated the importance Intersubjectivity as a necessary step to regain consciousness among the Germans. As Max Pensky quoting Karl Jaspers from his book *The Question of German Guilt*:

*Germany cannot come to [regain consciousness] unless we Germans find the way to communicate with each other...we want to learn to talk with each other. That is to say we do not just want to reiterate our opinions but to hear what the other thinks. We do not just want to assert but to reflect connectedly, listen to reasons, remain prepared for a new insight. We want to accept the other, to try to see things from the other's point of view; in fact, we virtually want to seek out opposing views. Finding the common in the contradictory is more important than hastily seizing on mutually exclusive points of view and breaking off the conversation as hopeless.*⁷⁰

The above quote asserts the way Jasper affirms Habermas's illustration about the importance of self-awareness to build self-understanding to the self as well as to other subjects. Sharing to others what one has reflected increases freedom to use knowledge and reasons and so the whole society will be impacted as well. It is fact that the other's point of view brings contradictions and from

contradictions we get synthesis and new approach of issues.

I think that human being should assert self-consciousness first in order to attain autonomy and freedom of the mind. There is no way to be free from unfree and coercive state without invoking our consciousness from internal conditionalities exists due to lack of critical reflection.

Rationality

Rationality according to *Nicomachean ethics* of Aristotle is what the most essence of human being. It seems that Habermas shared the same understanding because rationality is what critical social theory embraced.⁷¹ However, "Ujamaism" of Nyerere did take this turn that human being is a rational being, but this man has to submit his knowledge and rationality to his or her community. Nyerere believed that human person has been endowed with attributes of intellect, will, conscience, and power of knowledge.⁷² These faculties are endowments from God, are the very faculties, which distinguishes human being from other animals. Through them human being should be aware about his own dignity as well as outside phenomenon surrounding him or her.⁷³ It follows that the community has more knowledge than an individual because it is through traditional communal life in which life defined and cherished. Nyerere insisted that Man should use his or her all-intellectual abilities to assist his or her fellow human beings. However, it is important to understand that Nyerere conceived rationality intuitively since the given gift of intellectual power of human being would overshadow the love of God to human being. Nyerere further believed that although differences of men were real but God endowed equal intellectual strength to all men. Up to this point, we

⁷⁰ Cf. Stephen K. White, *The Cambridge Companion to Habermas*, 90.

⁷¹ Cf. Barbara Futner, eds., *Jürgen Habermas: Key Concepts*, 40.

⁷² Cf. Innocent Sanga, *Julius Nyerere's Philosophy of Human Dignity*, 146.

⁷³ Cf. Innocent Sanga, *Julius Nyerere's Philosophy of Human Dignity*, 132.

have seen that Nyerere did not demonstrate the understanding of rationality the way you can find it to Kant, Aristotle, and other philosophers.⁷⁴

However, to Habermas, rationality occupies the central role of philosophy since the reconstruction of empirical investigation like the way the empirical communicative practices from the analysis of everyday speakers' use of language. These speakers were abided with the structure on how to use the particular language. The subject was expected to generate meaningful expressions. Through communicative action theory, Habermas shows that a speaker would establish a universal rule and reasonable for claim knowledge.⁷⁵ This is obvious since Habermas understood rationality as the existence of good reasons or grounds. Like western understood rationality as something that take an account of assessment of teleological or goal directed action. This implies any concept that assumes certain specific goals as well as life plans aimed to be achieved.⁷⁶ This kind of concept is what considered as self-understanding of the modern era.

Teleological actions presuppose knowledge about the situation in which one wants to intervene as well as knowledge of what means are available and what the consequences of the action might be.⁷⁷ Habermas argued that goal-directed actions and assertions involve the same kind of knowledge content employed in different ways. Whereas propositional knowledge at first gives the successfully intervention in the world while the second realm it pursues an understanding among those who participate in communication. Georgia Warnke puts that: "Participants should have rational adjudication which allows the expression of the

proposition knowledge. It follows that the action rational adjudication involves the –necessarily dialogical –capacity to defend one's beliefs and assertions against challenges and lastly to give reasons that others can accept".⁷⁸ However, the important role of reason still to defend the criticisable validity claims. As Georgia Warnke quotes Habermas:

In contexts of communicative action, we call someone rational not only if he is able to put forward an assertion and, when criticised, to provide grounds for it by pointing to appropriate evidence, but also if he is following an established norm and is able, when criticised, to justify his action by explicating the given situation in the light of legitimate expectations. We even call someone rational if he makes known a desire or an intention, expresses a feeling or a mood, shares a secret, confesses a deed etc. and is then able to reassure critics in regard to the revealed experience by drawing practical consequences from it and behaving consistently thereafter.⁷⁹

From this understanding, it follows the Intersubjectivity concept has a meaning once rationality is applied. The world is counted as one and the same for the speaking and acting community. So, the communicative concept of reason assumes the way norms, expression, and evaluation count as valid. It is further argued that the resilience of good reason goes hand in hand with truth, because it is from good reasoning one can avail to the truth.⁸⁰ Habermas believed that communicative action requires rational interpretation approach, which based on rational

⁷⁴ Cf. Innocent Sanga, *Julius Nyerere's Philosophy of Human Dignity*, 74.

⁷⁵ Cf. Barbara Futner, *Jurgen Habermas: Key Concepts*, 40.

⁷⁶ Cf. Stephen K. White, *The Cambridge Companion to Habermas*, 124.

⁷⁷ Stephen K. White, *The Cambridge Companion to Habermas*, 124.

⁷⁸ Cf. Stephen K. White, *The Cambridge Companion to Habermas*, 125.

⁷⁹ Cf. Stephen K. White, *The Cambridge Companion to Habermas*, 125.

⁸⁰ Cf. William Outhwaite, *Habermas A Critical Introduction*, 70.

evaluation of the validity claim.⁸¹ It was due to this consideration John Dryzek illustrates that:

Beyond providing a frame for the interpretation of social phenomena, Habermas's idea about communicative action can also be used in the evaluation of social practices. All such practices are going to be in violation of precepts of communicative rationality to greater or lesser degree. Conversely, glimmerings of communicative rationality should be apparent in almost all practices. Just like its precursor, the ideal speech situation, communicative rationality is not supposed to be an attainable ideal but rather a critical principle.⁸²

Another scholar David Sciulli emphasised at a very general level point out a research program for comparative politics that would use a modified version of communicative rationality principles in order to do assessment as well as to compare the degree of authoritarianism prevailing in political systems.⁸³

Habermas suggested that, the disputed claim should be cooperative and based on reason. The communication should be one where as the participants have an autonomy to challenge, to raise any claim beyond any coercive fear, or been intimidated, deceit. Not only that but also, they should have equal chance of speaking, to raise any assertions, normative claims, self-presentations as well as to give challenges to others. Furthermore, in order for the communication to manage securing of validity of disputed claims there are rules that must be obliged to; such rule is like participants should thematise a problematic validity claim, test with reasons, and only with reasons, whether the claim defended by the opponents rightfully stands or not.

As it has emphasised above, communicative rationality should not be taken in ideal perspective but rather to be used in real situation. We support this idea since (to use Kantian terminology) the maxims of this theory is doable and achievable. The same way Nyerere implemented "Ujamaism" elements, although it did not reach the highest goal but workable to some extent. Western countries for years now, have tried to use communicative rationality normative values and they seemed to work with efficiency.

Freedom

Nyerere and Habermas had discussed the concept of freedom in different approach and applications. They believe that human being has free will which gives him or her Freedom to choose. Freedom as one of essential components of human being provides a chance to practice reason in order to get development and welfare. However, Nyerere and Habermas differed all the way from very beginning. By starting with Nyerere discussed the concept of freedom with development; this development would be development of the people.⁸⁴ To him there was no separation between the two. It was like chickens and eggs that you cannot get other without the rest. It follows that there was no freedom without development and no development without freedom.⁸⁵ Also his main focus was on physical or independence freedom of the country as well as the people. The pleasure of Nyerere was to see his country and the people were free from colonial domination. He also campaigns for freedom of speech and to act but he or she would observe the laws and boundaries of others' rights.⁸⁶ Nyerere added that it was through democratic government

⁸¹ Cf. William Outhwaite, *Habermas A Critical Introduction*, 73.

⁸² Cf. Stephen K. White, *The Cambridge Companion to Habermas*, 104.

⁸³ ⁸³ Cf. Stephen K. White, *The Cambridge Companion to Habermas*, 105.

⁸⁴ Cf. Innocent Sanga, *Julius Nyerere's Philosophy of Human Dignity*, 74.

⁸⁵ Cf. Innocent Sanga, *Julius Nyerere's Philosophy of Human Dignity*, 74.

⁸⁶ Cf. Innocent Sanga, *Julius Nyerere's Philosophy of Human Dignity*, 119.

the basic rights of individuals and all community would be observed and protected accordingly.⁸⁷

Development should bring greater freedom to the people, who are central focus of development. Unlike Nyerere, Habermas conceived freedom from greater point of view that is self-consciousness. To Habermas, human being would first pass through self-consciousness or self-reflection before reaching to the freedom sphere. Habermas freedom was the freedom of the subject. By using Kantian idea of liberalism, which led Habermas to conceptualise the idea of democracy as well, considered human being to be completely free when he or she is already enlightened and reached the free state condition. Free from coercive nature of an un-reflected mind.⁸⁸ Habermas demonstrated the way Kant tried to construct the universal rational concerning democratic foundation, although he did not achieve it.⁸⁹ The failure of Kant was due to the subject-centred philosophy. Habermas idea of Intersubjectivity and discourse ethics provide good ground of Habermas democracy, as he proposed in communicative action. Habermas illustrates that in order to unite citizens in pluralistic society, constitution was important method. Constitution according to him was necessary tool in institution development.⁹⁰ Habermas said that what unites the citizens of a society shaped by social, cultural, and philosophical pluralism are first of all the abstract principles of an artificial republican order, created through the medium of law.⁹¹

As Dryzek demonstrated the way Jean Cohen and Andrew Arato, in their analysis they considered society as an autonomous realm of association and discussion where influence over the state is at issue,

⁸⁷ Cf. Innocent Sanga, *Julius Nyerere's Philosophy of Human Dignity*, 75.

⁸⁸ Cf. Bent Flyvbjerg, "Habermas and Foucault Thinkers for Civil Society", 118.

⁸⁹ Cf. Bent Flyvbjerg, *Habermas and Foucault Thinkers for Civil Society*, 118.

⁹⁰ Cf. Bent Flyvbjerg, *Habermas and Foucault Thinkers for Civil Society*, 121.

while where the share of state power is not sought.⁹² This narration of Cohen and Arato disputes the importance of society to exercising freedom and democracy.⁹³ Habermas illuminates freedom as free consciousness that surpasses all social and normative fundamental conditionalities. It is free mind that can make right and sound decision.

Communications and Culture

Communication and culture is another area we find the differences between "Ujamaaism" of Nyerere and Habermas' critical social theory. In one hand, Nyerere did not consider communication and culture the way Habermas did. To Nyerere communication was attributed to Swahili language, whereas different tribes came together under Swahili from their different cultural and traditional background of extended families, brotherhood and family hood as well as caring for each other. So, this we think that was one of the mistakes Nyerere did, as he did not consider culture like Habermas as cultivated from within communication where the rational communication takes place. As results, this misconception led "Ujamaaism" to lose the internal and genuine coherence among the people and found it diminishing. Another takes for Nyerere about communication and culture as a tool for unity and nationalism. In fulfilling this aim, Nyerere decided to make Swahili national language which apart from other uses, Swahili was used in local politics for the same purpose. So Nyerere used Swahili as a means of communication, which would reflect well the aim of "Ujamaaism" creating human equality, human dignity as well as classless society.⁹⁴ The principle of solidarity would not succeed if Swahili language were not involved. Nyerere used phrases like

⁹¹ Cf. Bent Flyvbjerg, *Habermas and Foucault Thinkers for Civil Society*, 121.

⁹² Cf. Stephen K. White, *The Cambridge Companion to Habermas*, 102.

⁹³ Cf. Stephen K. White, *The Cambridge Companion to Habermas*, 102.

⁹⁴ Cf. Innocent Sanga, *Julius Nyerere's Philosophy of Human Dignity*, 62.

“Uhuru,” “Umoja,” “Mshikamano” to bring people together. Sanga quotes the translation of Nyerere work entitled “Kazi ni Kipimo Cha Utu” as Nyerere insisted that working hard with humility and creativity was the same as recreating and develop a whole human faculty.⁹⁵ Moreover, Nyerere went further to demand unity and solidarity to man him as well as to the whole African countries.⁹⁶ Nyerere believed that with the influence of Swahili language, people would live together, work together, and caring for each other as social responsibility to everybody.

On the contrary, Habermas communication is not only communication but also rather a rational communication. He insisted that agents or people should communicate universal valid claims, which carries the value of truth.⁹⁷ Habermas says that communication exists when people embrace social, traditional, and cultural realities, without this it is difficult for a person to use language to communicate. The agents should reach to the Intersubjectivity level among themselves through communicative rationality. As Flyvbjerg quotes, Habermas illustrates that, the communicative rationality recalls older ideas of logos, in as much as it brings along with it the connotation of non-coercively unifying, consensus-building force of a discourse in which the participants overcome they are at first subjectively based views in favour of a rationally motivated agreement.⁹⁸

Re-Thinking “Ujamaaism” in Light of Habermas’ Critical Social Theory

Rethinking of “Ujamaaism” reminds us about the legacy and greatness of Nyerere as the father of the nation of Tanzania as well the teacher, politicians, and philosopher. “Ujamaaism” as economic and

political concept has a lot of challenges, than “Ujamaaism” as a way of Traditional African’s life. This is because “Ujamaaism” as a way of life has no problem as people found themselves unintentionally living like that, that they had to care for each other, respect each other, live with harmony and peace in the community, working harder without exploiting other human beings. To our opinion, to institutionalize and constitutionalise “Ujamaaism” as political and economic doctrine brought a lot of problems which put “Ujamaaism” subjected to be reinstated with Habermas’ critical thinking. In this case, many parts in this paper we have demonstrated the way “Ujamaaism” lacks some rational and critical sentiments which would bring the contradiction of opposition as a necessary tool for self-consciousness, to be enlightened, emancipation from material and social conditions which acted as coercive apparatus and unfree state towards freedom of the will in free state.

We are thinking that “Ujamaaism” would be better if Nyerere would have involved all the people inclusively to well understanding of “Ujamaaism” from its meaning, aim, operations as well as the advantage of it. Nyerere took for advantage the traditional life of Africans like extended family, equality, caring for each other as already made factor, which would automatically work.⁹⁹

Unlike critical social theory of Habermas, “Ujamaaism” of Nyerere did not avail itself with rationality of the whole community even that of individual, because consciousness was never been an agenda in “Ujamaaism” praxis. It automatically follows that, “Ujamaaism” the way was established, failed to provide reflective, enlightenment and emancipative role as critical theory of Habermas

⁹⁵ Cf. Innocent Sanga, *Julius Nyerere’s Philosophy of Human Dignity*, 122-123.

⁹⁶ Cf. Innocent Sanga, *Julius Nyerere’s Philosophy of Human Dignity*, 86.

⁹⁷ Cf. Bent Flyvbjerg, “Habermas and Foucault Thinkers for Civil Society”, 119

⁹⁸ Bent Flyvbjerg, “Habermas and Foucault Thinkers for Civil Society”, 119

⁹⁹ Cf. Innocent Sanga, *Julius Nyerere’s Philosophy of Human Dignity*, 11-12.

did. It was the aim of Habermas that people by critical social theory became free from unfree and coercive state to find the true freedom from conditioned situation. In the lifeworld and system, as everyday world we share with others, demonstrated it as informal and unmarketized domains of social life, family and house hold, culture, political life outside of organised parties mass media voluntary organisations and so on.¹⁰⁰ By sharing Habermas intended to show the sharing of understanding as well as meaning. As we have illustrated about communicative rationality, that people should communicate truth and valid knowledge.¹⁰¹

Habermas understanding of lifeworld was under private and public sphere. It was the locus of moral practical knowledge whereby meanings were shared in families and workplaces while political opinion and action. All these get coordination from communicative action, that is the intended rational action, which leads a person to self-and mutual understanding. Whereas political states and economic (market) systems are connected by steering media of money and power.¹⁰² Ujamaaism of Nyerere missed all these social distinctions, which led it not to survive. The clear distinctions as Habermas did in critical social theory provided opportunities of the mind to choose systematically how to deal with each one. When Habermas analyse society in very scientific way, “Ujamaaism” of Nyerere conceive society in different perspective. All people under “Ujamaaism” were “Ndugu” (relatives). This kind of perception appeals to emotional than to rational and logical. Nyerere wanted material change than immaterial one like what Habermas insisted on the self-consciousness and self-reflection before emancipation and

freedom. Nyerere could have make Ujamaaism great if aimed to liberate the consciousness of the people than physical freedom. Nyerere was happy to see “Ujamaaism” acting to pragmatic philosophy, that was to see people came together in “Ujamaaism” villages than in common understanding of the common knowledge through self-reflection and rational communication.

At this point, “Ujamaaism” in praxis take our reflection to the way Karl Marx illustrated the historical materialism theory, which donates that development of consciousness is determined by development of reproductive forces.¹⁰³ This was because the expansion of productive forces cannot give the logic of development of Intersubjective capacities.¹⁰⁴ Habermas was against this kind of argument by saying that the interaction or communicative action flows to its own way of evolution. By this, Habermas meant that class conflict would not be the essential force in history but rather it was societies which acted as bearers of social evolution with the interaction of the people. Marx like “Ujamaaism” of Nyerere, focused on production and pragmatic perspective, “Ujamaaism” missed the potential role of emancipation and domination in the domain of interaction. As love puts it, there would be the confusion mastery of external nature with human freedom, and neglected social repression of internal nature.¹⁰⁵

“Ujamaaism” failed to attain equality due to the fact that, equality was based on social opportunities as well as in work and production. As it was known since then Tanzania during “Ujamaaism” did not have enough opportunities, as it was just poor country with no any stable economy. Furthermore,

¹⁰⁰ James G. Finlayson, *Habermas A Very Short Introduction*, 51.

¹⁰¹ James G. Finlayson, *Habermas A Very Short Introduction*, 52.

¹⁰² Cf. Stephen K. White, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Habermas*, 50.

¹⁰³ Cf. Stephen K. White, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Habermas*, 50.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Stephen K. White, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Habermas*, 50.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Stephen K. White, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Habermas*, 50.

colonialists had already divided society by favouring some tribes than others. For instance, some tribes were sent to school and others were not, some were used as cargo porters and slaves while others developed in agriculture and so on. Under this situation, critical social theory would add value in a new understanding of equality, which is based on free consciousness of the people and to eliminate bad systems within the lifeworld. Like individuals having a moral cognitive development, it follows that the society takes the same route from pre-traditional, from traditional to post-traditional consciousness.

As it has been argued, social and traditional cultural values are essential elements in making the theory of communicative rationality of Habermas to be relevance.¹⁰⁶ Based on rationalisation of the society idea, Habermas was further believed that mutual understanding enhanced the inherent *telos* of human speech.¹⁰⁷ Love says that; Habermas argues that a rational society is coordinated to achieve this end. A lifeworld is correspondingly rationalised to the extent that it permits interactions that are not guided by normatively ascribed agreement but-directly or indirectly by communicatively achieved understanding. Habermas continues to explain that although this rationalisation process is never complete, less rational lifeworld do presuppose more. From the above narration, it follows that Ujamaaism would find the same impression of rationalisation to be the first and foremost in its praxis. “Ujamaaism” of Nyerere would find the deeper understanding of what is like practicing “Ujamaaism”, to give it reason and logic on the why “Ujamaaism”, why it was the best practice against capitalism, scientific socialism, and other forms.

All these questions would raise very important reactions and reshape the participation, thinking as well as progress of “Ujamaaism”. Nyerere by taking “Ujamaaism” as everyday life of the people, it was difficulty to think that “Ujamaaism” would bring something strange than its own deteriorations. “Ujamaaism” of Nyerere did not give people something new since living “Ujamaaism” was the way of their traditional lives.¹⁰⁸ In that society everybody was a worker, no any exploitation existed, as distributive ethics was observed in a high level. Nyerere wrote: “In traditional African societies everybody was a worker. There was no other way of earning a living for the community. Even the Elder who appeared to be enjoying himself without doing any work and for whom everybody else appeared to be working, bad in fact, worked hard all his younger days”.¹⁰⁹

It was a belief of Nyerere that when people work together there would be a sense of equality and unity. Nyerere aimed to build an egalitarian society whereby all members would integrated together.¹¹⁰ We are thinking that, Nyerere missed the rational hinge or foundation, which would bind people together in “Ujamaaism”. Brotherhood, family hood, and traditional culture, as Molony conveyed it led to ethical foundation of peace, love, and legacy; were weaker bond to build modern and critical society like what critical social theory of Habermas would have performed.¹¹¹ Habermas theory did not give chance for emotions since he suggested meaning and understanding to be urgent when he proposed social theory. According to Habermas, Intersubjectivity about following closer all types of validity claim which are truth,

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Stephen K. White, eds. *The Cambridge Companion to Habermas*, 50.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Stephen K. White, eds. *The Cambridge Companion to Habermas*, 52.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Innocent Sanga, *Julius Nyerere's Philosophy of Human Dignity*, 11-12.

¹⁰⁹ Julius Nyerere, *Ujamaa-Essays on Socialism*, 4.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Innocent Sanga, *Julius Nyerere's Philosophy of Human Dignity*, IX-X.

¹¹¹ Cf. Innocent Sanga, *Julius Nyerere's Philosophy of Human Dignity*, 22.

truthfulness, and rightness.¹¹² “Ujamaaism” would have built a society like what critical social theory suggested. In that society which rationality is key. Subjects within the respective society are competence to speak and act in discourse, to question and to introduce any assertion whatsoever as well as to express his or her attitudes, desires and needs, also no speaker may be prevented by internal or external coercion.¹¹³ “Ujamaaism” would understand that communication among the subjects was the medium of the lifeworld or a shared society.

It is through the lifeworld that the context for action is provided and so the background of knowledge. The space for sharing of reason is found within it, as results agents are reaching to the consensus easily.¹¹⁴ Even the symbolic and cultural reproduction of society finds their medium through shared society. Nyerere would think of finding the possibility of critical reflection and possible disagreement within the shared society of the people. It is our hope that “Ujamaaism” would become a very good social theory to long survive and reach her expectations of building a sustainable modern and successful society of Tanzania.

CONCLUSION

Our demonstration in this paper was about the synthesis between “Ujamaaism” of Nyerere and critical social theory of Habermas. We have asserted that the elements of critical social theory had better position to improve that of “Ujamaaism”. It follows that “Ujamaaism” in general was not bad theory as an ideal, but it lacked a very proper execution mechanism in its praxis. As it has been argued, critical social theory founded on philosophy of consciousness, that leads to critical and self-references, which will further provide enlightenment and freedom. It was from these values an agent could find emancipation from

coercive and bad systems. “Ujamaaism” of Nyerere failed because it did not observe these factors as its foundations and basic in “Ujamaaism” praxis. It is our argument that if “Ujamaaism” would give people enough space exercise their rationality well; it could trigger and embrace critical and reflective consciousness, freedom and so development. With critical mind they would arrange well their socio-political and economic affairs. By applying critical social theory of Habermas, they would increase the discursive culture and the right to express their thoughts and speech, as results democracy and development would be attained. Through communicative rationality Ujamaaism would give opportunity of people to engage each other for mutual understanding something that would fulfil one of “Ujamaaism” aim to bring people together.

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¹¹² James G. Finlayson, *Habermas A Very Short Introduction*, 42.

¹¹³ James G. Finlayson, *Habermas A Very Short Introduction*, 43.

¹¹⁴ James G. Finlayson, *Habermas A Very Short Introduction*, 53.

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