

After it's the realization of its formal independence in 1961, Tanzania became a central node for a wide range of radicalisms. The capital, Dar es Salaam, served as the primary staging ground for national liberation campaigns in Africa after the first wave of decolonization and in the process cemented the president Julius Nyerere as the pre-eminent African Pan-Africanist after the coup of Kwame Nkrumah. This combined with Nyerere's espousal of a particular African form of socialism called Ujamaa to draw radical acclaim for the country. Notable leftist scholars from Walter Rodney to Giovanni Arrighi taught at the University of Dar es Salaam, and Tanzania hosted both the planning meeting for the Non Aligned Movement forum in Lusaka and the Sixth Pan-African Congress. Through the 1970s figures as diverse as Robert McNamara, Mao Zedong, and Angela Davis visited Tanzania or met with Nyerere, and hailed the importance Tanzania's project of African socialism, known as Ujamaa.¹

Influential scholars, including James C. Scott and James Ferguson, have argued that the limits of Ujamaa demonstrate the conceptual constraints of the high modern state or international development apparatus.² Over the past decade, however, Tanzanian historiography has been significantly concerned with reappraising the years of Ujamaa. Priya Lal's work on the contested possibilities of Ujamaa's controversial villagization is perhaps the most influential of a range of books which have noted the importance of Tanzania as a sophisticated experiment in indigenous anti-capitalism.³ Works by scholars like Emily Callaci and Laura Fair have further fleshed out

¹ Puri, Shamlal, and Michael Mundia. "Tributes to Mwalimu Julius Nyerere." *Review of African Political Economy* 26, no. 82 (1999): 512. Lal, Priya. "6 Maoism in Tanzania." In Cook, Alexander C., ed. *Mao's Little Red Book: A Global History*. Cambridge University Press, 2014. Markle, Seth M. *A Motorcycle on Hell Run: Tanzania, Black Power, and the Uncertain Future of Pan-Africanism, 1964–1974*. MSU Press, 2017.

² Ferguson, James. *The Anti-Politics Machine: "Development," Depoliticization, and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho*. University of Minnesota Press, 1994. Scott, James C. *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. Yale University Press, 1998.

Hydén, Göran. *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania: Underdevelopment and an Uncaptured Peasantry*. Univ of California Press, 1980.

³ Lal, Priya. *African Socialism in Postcolonial Tanzania*. Cambridge University Press, 2015.

the period by providing insight into the rich cultural and social production of Tanzania during this era.⁴

However, postcolonial Tanzania stands out on the African continent for more than for its commitment to a socialist project. By the 1980s, the global commodity crisis that had emerged from the oil crisis had served, in tandem with other endogenous and exogenous factors, to immiserate Tanzania's economy. In the aftermath of economic collapse, Tanzania became one of the first countries to resist and then eventually adopt an International Monetary Fund (IMF) SAP.⁵ My work extends the rich body of recent work on Ujamaa by analyzing the transition away from socialism. By tracing the intellectual contributions of Tanzanian economic theorists and bankers, particularly through the discursive arena of agrarian 'development,' I hope to illustrate the more muddled relationship between the self-help socialism of Ujamaa and the market orient reforms of the 1980s. In doing so I draw out how this domestic tradition, which found its realization in the neoliberal 1980s, also represented a longer continuity with local and transnational late-colonial liberalisms in Africa. Building on the insights of Dependency Theorists like Samir Amin, I hope to further demonstrate that in its role as periphery Africa is not

Markle, Seth M. *A Motorcycle on Hell Run: Tanzania, Black Power, and the Uncertain Future of Pan-Africanism, 1964–1974*. Michigan State University Press, 2017. Bedasse, Monique A. *Jah Kingdom: Rastafarians, Tanzania, and Pan-Africanism in the Age of Decolonization*. University of North Carolina Press, 2017. Bjerk, Paul. *Building a Peaceful Nation: Julius Nyerere and the Establishment of Sovereignty in Tanzania, 1960-1964*. University of Rochester Press, 2015.

⁴ Ivaska, Andrew. *Cultured States: Youth, Gender, and Modern Style in 1960s Dar Es Salaam*. Duke University Press, 2011. Callaci, Emily. *Street Archives and City Life: Popular Intellectuals in Postcolonial Tanzania*. Duke University Press, 2017. Fair, Laura. *Reel Pleasures: Cinema Audiences and Entrepreneurs in Twentieth-Century Urban Tanzania*. Ohio University Press, 2018. Grace, Joshua. *African Motors: Technology, Gender, and the History of Development*. Duke University Press, 2021.

⁵ Hyden, Goran, and Bo Karlstrom. "Structural adjustment as a policy process: The case of Tanzania." *World Development* 21, no. 9 (1993): 1395-1404.

incidentally entangled, but rather necessarily embedded, in the construction of the neoliberalism of the core.⁶

In order to accomplish this project, I need to access archives in the United Kingdom and Sweden this summer. The United Kingdom was the primary colonial power in Tanzania, and as a result is the site a majority of the relevant colonial material as well as a significant amount of postcolonial attention. While in the UK, I will review the personal archives of neocolonial functionaries held at the Bodleian Library at Rhodes House to frame colonial constructions of debt and draw on documents at the Public Records Office in Kew from series on the IMF in Tanzania (T534/34) and bilateral commercial debt agreements between the UK and Tanzania (FO93/192/10). While not primary colonial powers like the UK, the Nordic states in general, and Sweden in particular, were exceptionally significant aid donors to Tanzania through the 1970s but significantly reduced their aid in the 1980s because of Tanzania's debt burden.⁷ The Swedish National Archives in Stockholm currently hold the collections of the Swedish development agency SIDA which includes a series of documents from Swedish independent development projects in Tanzania (SE/RA/420743) and a series of papers from inter-Nordic development projects in Tanzania (SE/RA/2715). Sweden also hosts the Nordic Africa Institute which serves as a repository for materials from Africa and about Africa from other Nordic countries including a Natural Resources and Environment collection with materials on Tanzania. I will focus on diplomatic memos and internal development reports on the perceived valence of

⁶ Amin, Samir. "Accumulation and development: a theoretical model." *Review of African Political Economy* 1, no. 1 (1974): 9-26. Amin, Samir. "Underdevelopment and dependence in Black Africa—origins and contemporary forms." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 10, no. 4 (1972): 503-524. Wallerstein, Immanuel Maurice. *Africa and the Modern World*. Africa World Press, 1986. Rodney, Walter. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press. 1981.

⁷ Engh, Sunniva. "The Conscience of the World?: Swedish and Norwegian Provision of Development Aid." *Itinerario* 33, no. 2 (2009): 65-82. Hyden, Goran, and Rwekaza Mukandala, eds. *Agencies in Foreign Aid: Comparing China, Sweden and the United States in Tanzania*. Springer, 1999.

debt, as well as documents about the process of procuring land for foreign development projects.

In sum, this trip will provide a keystone set of archival materials for my dissertation on the intellectual formations of agrarian development and neoliberalism in African economic thought.

Budget for Research Trip- Approximately 6/15/2023-8/15/2023

Item	Cost
Airfare: Baltimore to London	\$480
Airfare: London to Stockholm	\$110
Airfare: Stockholm to Baltimore	\$600
Accommodation in London	\$1,400
Accommodation in Sweden	\$800
Total Cost	\$3,390 (\$1,890 self-funded)