

Paul Bjerk, “Historicizing Tanzanian Foreign Policy”
Presentation for “Legacies of Nyerere” Conference, Carleton University, 4 March 2011

1. Interpretive Issues

- a. Realism, Idealism, and Pragmatism
- b. Turning Points: 1961, 1964, 1967, 1971, 1979, 1990
- c. Dependence and Sovereignty: Material and Discursive Structures of Power
- d. Agency and Structure: Nyerere’s Role

2. An Integrated Strategy

- a. Assertive:
 - i. Political Stability and Security depended on Southern African liberation
 - ii. Unity as a measure to achieve that, built up from regional level
 - iii. International Influence
 - iv. Intervening in the discursive code of sovereignty
- b. Defensive:
 - i. Economic Development and Self-Reliance
 - ii. International Cooperation: UN, OAU, Commonwealth: Which were also interventions in Code of Sovereignty
 - iii. Cold War Balancing Act
 - iv. New International Economic Order

3. Major Policies

- a. Liberation of Southern Africa
- b. African Unity and Regional Federation
- c. Managing Aid Flows and threat of Neo-colonialism
- d. Self-Reliance
- e. Interference and Non-Interference
- f. Post-Retirement Statesmanship

4. Conclusion

- a. Hierarchy of Principles
 - i. Compare to Nyerere’s articulation of principles at Mwanza, 1969.
 - b. Illustrative moments
 - i. Zanzibar Union
 - ii. Position favoring Biafran Independence
 - iii. Uganda War
 - iv. Forced Return of Rwandan Refugees
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Abstract: Paul K. Bjerk, “A Federation for Liberation: Tanganyika’s Foreign Policy Under Nyerere, 1960-63,” *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 2 (2011)

Tanganyika’s foreign policy, before the union with Zanzibar that created Tanzania, has been seen as a time of impotence and inaction by scholars who have been nearly silent on these formational years just before and after independence. An African administration, under the leadership of Julius Nyerere, gained control of Tanganyika’s government in May 1960 and began immediately to define the parameters that would guide the country’s foreign policy for the next three decades. Seeking to solidify the internal and external aspects of its sovereignty, Tanganyika aided liberation movements in Southern Africa, pursued federation for East Africa, and sought to separate foreign aid from Cold War loyalty. For Nyerere these policies were not only ideological, but essential to his country’s security and national interests. Archival documents from the US, UK, Portugal, and Tanzania reveal that Tanganyika’s marked, if incremental, success towards these goals constituted a realist foreign policy that belies the common perception of fruitless idealism.