

First let me extend my warm appreciation and gratitude to Dr. Blair Rutherford, and to Carleton University's Institute of African Studies for inviting me to this prestigious University. I am honoured to speak to you about the legacy of Julius Kambarage Nyerere, our first President, a great African statesman, and a personality who remains a role model for many aspiring leaders.

Last year Tanzania commemorated the tenth anniversary of President Nyerere's death. Worldwide, his life inspired the many, the young and the old throughout the world. We remember our great leader for his intellect, humility and for his impeccable integrity.

The influence of Julius Nyerere went well beyond his country and the continent. Activities to commemorate this tenth anniversary were shared from Cape Town to Edinburgh, from Geneva to Kuala Lumpur, from Beijing to Washington.

Because Julius Nyerere was a great man, we in Tanzania were always proud to have him as the founder of our country. He has been in the centre of many of the decisive struggles of our continent and of our humanity. His words, as well as his deeds, his achievements, like his mistakes, have remained a mirror on which we look to see where we are and how to overcome both the present and future threats and challenges facing our country.

As we sit here at this institute of higher learning to discuss his life, I am obliged to touch on his contribution in education. He was an educator and creative educational thinker. Before launching his political career, he was a teacher. His philosophy of education created interest, relevance and inspired many within the circles of education policy makers and practitioners. He advocated a rounded humanitarian education which was not elitist, which did not divorce its participants from the society and which encouraged productive work. An intellectual of high calibre, Nyerere believed that education had to work for the common good, foster cooperation and promote equality. Further it had to address the realities of life in the society it intended to serve. In this respect, Julius Nyerere shared the vision of the great educators from Aquinas to Tagore.

Nyerere's educational philosophy was based on education for self-reliance and on adult education. To him education was a lifelong learning process and a tool for liberation of man from the restraints and limitations of ignorance and dependency. His vision of education for self-reliance was to prepare Tanzanians not only to be employed

but also to employ themselves and take their rightful place in the society. Under his leadership education became not only a right for every citizen but compulsory for every child. With this policy Tanzania achieved high enrolment in schools under the universal primary education with mass adult literacy campaigns. His commitment to social justice and equality were the pillars of his intellectual life. Under his leadership Tanzania achieved the highest literacy in Africa. He used his powerful oratory skills, argued his case, analysed and wrote not only as a philosopher king, which he was, but with a commitment to humanity. His vision for Tanzania was based upon the interests of the poor and the voiceless of the world.

When we discuss the legacy of Julius Nyerere, we remind ourselves of one of his greatest achievements, **that of building a strong national identity for his people**. He united a country of 120 tribal groups and ethnic backgrounds and different religious denominations. He was characterised by his ability to transcend ethnicity, creed, colour and social differentiation. He was able to inspire, mould and mature our national identity, which Tanzanians are proud of in a continent, marred by ethnic conflicts and tribal differences. Mwalimu ("The Teacher") as he was fondly known, remains the beloved citizen of Tanzania, surely the most respected African statesman, an outstanding leader of the Third World and an admired international personality.

In 1967 Nyerere introduced the famous Arusha Declaration with the ambition to mould the nation under strong fundamental principles of equality, dignity and a strict leadership code of conduct. The Arusha Declaration, which stood on two key pillars *Ujamaa*, socialism and Kujitegemea, self-reliance, became the blueprint of socialist Tanzania. Its objective was to emancipate every man and woman from the three enemies identified at the time of Independence - poverty, ignorance and disease. The Declaration was an attempt to build an independent egalitarian society based on equality and dignity for all. **A society in which all members share equal rights and equal opportunities and in which all may have a gradually increasing level of material welfare before any individual lives in luxury.**

Other African leaders, notably Leopold Senghor of Senegal, Sekou Toure of Guinea and Tom Mboya of Kenya, were influenced by Julius Nyerere and made attempts to introduce some form of African Socialism.

With the Arusha Declaration, the government embarked on massive nationalisation. Privately owned large farms, commercial banks, industries, housing and even services were taken over by the government. The Declaration came with a code of ethics for leaders. The objective was to separate business and politics, and check on those in power from using their offices to accumulate wealth. When asked as to why he came with the Arusha Declaration Julius Nyerere said:

***“A short time after independence a privileged group was emerging from the political leaders and bureaucrats who had been poor under colonial rule but were now beginning to use their positions in the Party and Government to enrich themselves. This kind of development would alienate the leadership from the people. So we came with a new national objective; we stressed that development is all about our people and not just a small and privileged minority. The Arusha Declaration was what made Tanzania distinctly Tanzanian. We stated what we stood for, we laid down a code of conduct for our leaders and we made an effort to achieve those goals.”***

Ujamaa, the concept of togetherness often referred to as African socialism, is another of Nyerere's enduring legacies. Ujamaa villages were created to socialise production and distribution. There can be no doubt of the logic of bringing scattered communities together into centres of production and also where goods and services can be made available. Nyerere had the vision to do this but the implementation of others was found wanting. Unfortunately this vision was not realised. The idea of collective production was less than attractive to many people. The majority, found themselves worse off as productivity went down. However, the focus on human development and self-reliance did bring some success in other areas notably in health, education and in political identity.

These founding socialist principals enabled Tanzania to survive the challenges of the postcolonial African evils of tribalism, regionalism and religious intolerance. In fact Mwalimu Nyerere took measures to address tribal and religious imbalance in all matter of social justice and participation in national affairs. For example, when he realised how the failure to ensure equal access to education among children of different denominations could contribute to religious discord, he initiated legislation and nationalised all schools owned by religious institutions to allow admission children of all other religions equal

access. Nyerere was always decisive to speak and take actions towards those who attempted to sow seeds of social divide, in politics and in other platforms. He remained a politician of principal and of intelligence. He was firm and fair.

It would be unfair to claim that all went well. Some of Nyerere's measures were controversial. Excesses were apparent. Some people's rights and privileges were suppressed to achieve the nation's common good. A single party system and a highly centralised presidency permitted such. Indeed, because of these initiatives, by the time Tanzania adopted the multiparty system in 1992, the stage had already been set for managing religious, tribal, racial and other diversities in the formation of political parties. It became easy to mainstream these principles into a new democratic dispensation.

Accountability, transparency, an elaborate welfare system and empowerment of the people, all these attributes that the poor communities advocate today, were part of Nyerere's socialist package in Ujamaa. Nyerere also created **Ombudsmen** to check on abuses of office and corruption. We may discuss policy errors he made but we cannot fail to agree that he had a vision and was committed to the welfare of his people. Some of his socialist experiments may have failed but the fundamental principals he espoused remain the pillars of the country he moulded and the identity of the people he left behind. It was this ideology that united the people and attracted those from afar into Tanzania.

Unfortunately, despite his great vision and good intentions, the socialist policies of Mwalimu Nyerere did not provide the country with his hoped for lofty objectives. A few years, during a worldwide slump, and before he stepped down, the country became highly indebted, the economy was in shambles, social services like education, health and water were drastically effected, infrastructure deteriorated and lack of foreign exchange made it difficult to import fuel, machinery, raw materials, spare parts and other necessary consumables. Nationalised property fell in the hands of inexperienced and greedy managers and production came to a near standstill leading to the introduction of rationing of whatever little was produced. Bureaucracy became inefficient and corruption slowly entangled the administration and the delivery of goods and service. Nyerere, who was genuinely persuaded by and committed to Ujamaa, could not change the internalised individualism of the majority of his lieutenants. Socialism, he claimed was an attitude of

mind, and hoped to convert people by moral preaching. Unfortunately, he never really came to grips with the forces, national as well as international, which he was setting out to defeat. The International Monetary Fund demanded harsh conditions under their Structural Adjustment Program and Nyerere refused to accept them.

Speaking about Mwalimu Nyerere automatically brings to mind the other giants of the liberation struggle, the likes of Kwame Nkrumah, Ahmed Benbella, Gamal Abel Nasser, Kenneth Kaunda, Amilca Cabral, and many others. **They all shared a common objective, total freedom for Africa.** Unfortunately, some did not live long enough to make their full contribution. Mwalimu Nyerere was blessed to live and lead this noble cause. He was very firm and uncompromising in the struggle for freedom and justice. For him this cause transcended national and continental borders. To quote the words of the late Egyptian President Anwar Saadat,

**“Everywhere there was oppression there was Julius Nyerere fighting oppression”.**

Nyerere fought for the people of South Africa as he fought for the people of Guyana. He made submissions for the people of Western Sahara. He spoke for the black people of the United States as he spoke for the minorities in Africa and elsewhere. He was a man of principles and of strong conviction and he stood by them, even sometimes paying a huge price. On many occasions, very bravely he made it clear that Tanzania’s independence was meaningless **as long as other countries in the continent remained under colonialism and apartheid.** His unreserved commitment to the struggle for freedom led him to offer political and military training camps for all the movements fighting for independence.

In many cases, most of the difficulties he encountered with the Western powers had little to do with bilateral relations but more with his stand on matters of principle. His support to the peoples of Vietnam against the United States aggression, to China over the question of its rightful position in the United Nations, his commitment towards the liberation of the Palestinian people and his firm stand against the apartheid system in South Africa stand as classic examples on how he always remained the embodiment for justice and equality in the world.

Upon receiving an honorary degree at the University of Toronto in 1969, in his acceptance speech, Nyerere explained why he was ready

to make huge sacrifices of his peoples' prosperity in support of liberation and justice and I quote:

***“ Tanzania must support the struggle for liberation regardless of the political philosophy of those who are conducting the struggle. If they are capitalists, we must support them, if they are liberals we must support them, if they are communists, we must support them, if they are socialists we must support them. We support them as nationalists. The right of a man to stand upright as human being in his own country comes before questions of the kind of society he will create once he has that right. Freedom is the only thing that matters until it is won”.***

When apartheid South Africa tried to introduce a so-called non-aggression pact with Frontline States, though some member states bought the idea, Nyerere vehemently opposed it. He went to the United Nations and argued decisively against the idea noting that as apartheid itself constituted aggression, it is impossible for one to institute non-aggression pact with aggression itself.

Mwalimu Nyerere used his global personality to bridge the inspiration of Southern African people with the world opinion. His most distinguished attributes remain among others, commitment to principles, brilliance in arguments and his intellect, well witnessed during the fierce battle he waged to oppose the notorious Unilateral Declaration of Independence by the white minority regime of Southern Rhodesia in 1965, then a British colony.

While many African leaders hesitated to implement the Resolution by the OAU to cut diplomatic ties with Britain after it had failed to stop Ian Smith from unilaterally declaring independence, Nyerere did not hesitate to implement the Resolution, even though he foresaw the harsh and negative implications of that decision in both economic and diplomatic terms. As it happened, Britain, which was the biggest donor to Tanzania, immediately cut Aid Funds to Tanzania.

Fittingly the OAU's Liberation Committee was headquartered in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, that city which had become the crossroads of Africa. In another example of his commitment to the cause of liberation was the welcome given by Tanzania to refugees from the former colonies and from South Africa. Land, resources for development and education were set aside for their needs. Mwalimu's monumental enduring achievement is the role he played in the liberation struggle in Southern Africa to the ultimate victory of

FRELIMO in Mozambique, SWAPO in Namibia, Zanu PF in Zimbabwe, MPLA in Angola and the ANC in South Africa. I had the privilege of travelling with Mwalimu Nyerere to these liberated countries after his retirement. It was fascinating to witness the dignified reception he was given by the leaders and the people of the newly liberated countries and, not surprisingly, far greater than those accorded to sitting presidents.

On our African continent, Nyerere will be best remembered for the quest for freedom and human dignity .

The world knows about South Africa's great Nelson Mandela but, seemingly, forgets that Mwalimu Julius Nyerere was a major world influence behind Nelson Mandela's cause for freedom and liberation. **Without Nyerere's significant efforts the world would not have had the Mandela success story as is presented to us today.**

Let me take you through the pages of history. In 1959, Nyerere and Archbishop Trevor Huddleston founded the anti-apartheid movement in Britain. It attracted a total membership of over 700 organisations and nearly 18 million people. Nyerere's continued effort to mobilise international support for the release of Mandela and the dismantling of apartheid was evidenced by the fact that South Africans from all walks of life and from all races mourned Nyerere, paying great tribute for his role in liberating their country. They were honest enough to admit that the anti-apartheid victory freed blacks as well as whites.

Addressing a banquet in honour of Julius Nyerere in Johannesburg in 1997, the then President Nelson Mandela paid a moving tribute to him when he said, and I quote;

***"I had the privilege of meeting Julius Nyerere as the newly independent country's President in 1962, seeking help as we embarked on the armed struggle. Then as now, I was struck by his lucid thoughts: his burning desire for justice everywhere and his commitment to Africa's interest...The people of Tanzania gave unstinting support to the liberation of South Africa".***

Many economists agree that Tanzania could possibly have had a better economy if it did not accept the sacrifices for the freedom of the continent. Mwalimu was true to his principles and his vision. At the end, his vision of a liberated Africa was achieved.

Anyone who discusses the life and times of Julius Nyerere cannot escape travelling the historical path of his role in uniting the continent. He was a Pan-Africanist who strove tirelessly with full commitment to unite the continent. His active engagements in the discussions and consultations preceding the formation of the Organisation of African Unity provided guidance in forging a new architecture of African Unity. His stance, warnings and the way he faced up to challenges still offers us the best way forward. He advocated a gradual and evolutionary approach to creating regional associations that would ultimately become the building blocks of the African Union. His pragmatic approach was adopted, as opposed to the positions advocated by Kwame Nkrumah and Ahmed Sekou Toure for a unified continental government.

Out of his approach emerged Africa's first attempt at regional integration, the East African Community. To ensure this vision is achieved, Nyerere was willing to delay his country's independence to wait for his neighbours, Kenya and Uganda to become free so that they could together forge a political union. His argument was that it would be far more difficult to persuade a state to abandon its privileges once it attains full sovereignty. Whatever everyone failed to reckon with was the fact that he, virtually alone among his African peers, was willing to hold his ambitions in check for the benefit of wider regional integration. Later in 1967, the East African Community was established but only a decade later it collapsed.

Failing to realise that, he went on to establish a United Republic of Tanzania, a union consummated by Tanganyika and Zanzibar. After more than four decades, the union remains an important example of resilience and viability in uniting the African people. Nyerere played a leading role in the formation the Southern African Development Community SADC. It was transformed from the Front Line States an organ of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa. Today SADC is one of the most formidable regional organisations in the continent. Indeed, in one sentence one can say that Julius Nyerere embodied the African spirit.

Nyerere's faith on the cause of egalitarian society transcended national borders. These values can be traced from his strong Catholic faith and intellectually from his years at Edinburgh university where he was influenced by the Fabian Society. While he was committed to socialist values based on African history and social realities, his approach towards the Cold War ideological divide was pragmatic. His



focus was much on the interest of the voiceless of all sides, East, West and North and South conundrums, rather than alignment with one super power against the other. He was one of the leading lights of the non-aligned movement, a group of countries, which attempted to remain neutral during the cold war.

He was an uncompromising advocated of the non-alignment. He made clear from the beginning that no one would chose a friend or an enemy for Tanzania and for the other member states. In emphasising the need for this policy, Nyerere explains:

***“ By non-alignment we are saying to the big powers that we also belong to this planet. We are asserting the right of small or weaker nations to determine their own policies in their own interests, and to have an influence on the world affairs which accords with the right of all peoples to live on earth as human beings equal with other human beings”***

In his quest for independence Nyerere was able to forge strong relations with the socialist countries, received huge aid from the Scandinavian countries and maintained warm relations with the West. Tanzania had good relations with the Americans and other Western powers as she had with Russia, China and Cuba. Nyerere maintained good relationship with the leaders from both sides of the ideological divide. Among the leading development supporters in his socialist oriented projects in Tanzania were Sweden, Norway, Denmark, the Netherland, Germany, Britain and Canada.

Nyerere and the former Canadian Prime Minister became intellectual as well as political friends. His close relationship with Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau established a lasting relationship between Canada and Tanzania. Among the fruits of this relationship was Canada's involvement in supporting different development projects in Tanzania including the famous Hanang wheat-farming project in Arusha. The two leaders also worked together in the struggle against colonialism and apartheid. When he retired Trudeau worked with Mwalimu Nyerere and other leaders such as Bruno Kreisky of Austria, Carlos Perez of Venezuela, Joop Yul of the Netherlands and Olaf Palme of Sweden to initiate a nuclear free world.

The strong bond established by Nyerere and Trudeau created the foundation of the current cooperation on key areas of political commercial and development between our countries. It is of particular significance that the Canadian International Development

Agency selected Tanzania in the African continent as one of the few countries of concentration for Canadian development assistance. Today there are several Canadian companies in Tanzania with a total investment exceeding over two billion Canadian dollars, mainly in the mining sector.

Julius Nyerere was a leading figure and an eloquent spokesman of the Third World during his time in office and even after he retired as President of Tanzania. He worked hard in establishing an environment for constructive engagement between the developed north and the poor south. His early work on North–South relations with former German Chancellor Willy Brandt, opened the doors for logical discussions on matters of common interest.

Mwalimu had come to the conclusion that the concept of Aid was wrong. He argued that Aid is a helpful palliative but it is not a solution to the problem of world poverty. He argued that Aid is wrong in principle since, ultimately, it reduces poor countries to the status of beggars. In Nyerere's view, the poor want FAIR TRADE, hence the slogan of “*fair trade not aid*”. Africans want fair prices for exported commodities from the developing world and for imported manufactured goods from the industrialised countries.

One of his last international duties was to create the South Commission, a Third World inter- governmental think tank that he chaired between 1995 and 1999, when he passed away. His service to that Commission put his vision, his unique strategies and political acumen in the service of the Third World and its development. He worked closely with outstanding leaders such as Mahathir Mohamed of Malaysia, Manmohan Singh of India, Nelson Mandela of South Africa and other leaders from Africa, Asia and Latin America. Through this institution, developing countries actively advocated on the importance of South–South cooperation in areas of trade and investments and in forging common position on issues of negotiation between the North and the South. They initiated various international platforms at the United Nations as in the group of seventy-seven and in the non-aligned movement to advance and protect the interest of the poor countries.

In 1985, after 24 years as President of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere voluntarily stepped down opting to retire to his village where he lived modestly. His decision to step down only added to the high regard in which he was held. In retirement, he lived on small pension. Even after retirement, he took important responsibilities both in

Africa and internationally. He welcomed Canadian visitors. I am delighted to see Mwalimu Nyerere's friend Don Mitchell, a Carleton graduate, in our audience.

So ten years have passed since Julius Nyerere's death. It is fitting to acknowledge the lasting legacy he endured to the common cause of human dignity and African unity since such remain among his greatest achievements. As we remember him, we need to emphasise that Africa and the world needs his leadership qualities of integrity, commitment to serve his people and humanity, abstention from luxury and belief in simplicity and humility. Many African leaders have risen to power only to slowly and systematically slip into corruption, cronyism and despotism. **Nyerere remained selfless and dignified, a virtue, which makes him exemplary.**

Mwalimu was not a rich man who could bribe people to support him; he did not use public office to enrich himself or his extended family members; he was not from a dominant tribe that treated him like demi-god. His authority was primarily moral derived from cardinal principles of ethics and true honesty and charisma. Beside his wisdom and integrity, his powerful personality and modesty in power, Nyerere was also special in the high standards he set for African leadership. Mwalimu lived a simple life in harmony with his message and the values of truth and justice to which he espoused. Incorruptible and fully accountable, his life and work set an example that challenge his country, his people, the rest of Africa and the world. Even after his death Nyerere remains one of Africa's quintessential man of the twentieth century. His personal probity was unequalled. In many ways Nyerere was the **conscience of Africa**. It was his intellectual strength and moral fibre that enabled him, **when he made mistakes, to admit them openly**. His humility and his towering greatness can be testified by his willingness to admit his mistakes. When an interviewer asked Nyerere why he retired he politely responded that he had to step down **to allow others to correct on what he failed**. How few modern leaders ever follow this path of integrity. Even when it was suggested to him to extend his term of office, he responded as follows:

***"I do not think I can make in five years what I could not achieve in 24 years".***

President Andrew Jackson of the United States said once, that any man worth his salt will stick up for what he believes, **but it takes a slightly better man to acknowledge instantly and without reservation that he is in error.** As he was stepping down Julius Nyerere admitted his mistakes and apologised to Tanzanians. In his farewell speech on November 4, 1985 he said:

***“ Since we began to govern ourselves I have been the leader of Tanganyika and then of the United Republic of Tanzania. Time and again you have re-elected me thus expressed your confidence in my ability do the job you needed done. And in the last few weeks you have paid many tributes to my work as President of our country. You have forgiven even if you have not forgotten my many mistakes of commission and omission”.***

After retirement, Tanzania coined a title to honour him, he became known as the **Father of the Nation**. Even after retirement he wielded tremendous influence in Tanzania and beyond. His not-so-visible hand was evident in many of the decisions made by the country's leadership on major issues of the day. One of Mwalimu's greatest successes was that he managed to remain relevant nationally, continentally and even internationally after he had given up formal power.

Julius Nyerere was only human. Pointing out and correcting his mistakes would indeed be a fitting tribute to his teaching. We shall remain not only indebted but also inspired by the seeds he sowed, the values he stood for, the struggles he successfully wedged and the achievements he scored.

**Mwalimu was the teacher as we called him. He taught us two important lessons: How not to govern and, more positively, the virtues of retiring voluntarily, as he did in 1985, thus giving honour to the democratic process of leadership.**

For 30 years, Carleton has been dedicated to Tanzania and there has been a long term Carleton and University of Dar es Salaam scholarship exchange programme. Last evening, the Speaker of the House of Commons, The Hon. Peter Milliken, hosted a fund raising dinner to contribute to this noble cause. On behalf of the Staff and Students of the University of Dar es Salaam I extend to all of you our deep appreciation and gratitude for this support and for contributing to the Canada-Tanzania relations.

Julius Nyerere provided intellectual and moral leadership. Incorruptible and fully accountable, his life and work set an example that challenges his country, his people, the rest of Africa and the world. Even after his death, Julius Nyerere remains one of Africa's quintessential man of the twentieth century.

Mwalimu was the teacher, as we called him. He taught us two important lessons: How not to govern and, more positively, the virtues of retiring voluntarily, as he did in 1985, and thereby gave honour to the democratic process of leadership.

I THANK YOU ALL