

INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN STUDIES

CARLETON UNIVERSITY

NYERERE'S TANZANIA AND ITS LEGACIES

By Dr. Rose Shayo, Visiting Scholar, Institute of African Studies, Carleton University 2010-2011

1. INTRODUCTION

First and foremost, I would like to start by thanking the organizers of this workshop, and in particular Professor Blair Rutherford, Director of the Institute of African Studies, for providing me this unique opportunity to present a paper on *“Nyerere’s Tanzania and its Legacies*. Indeed, I feel greatly honoured and privileged. Second, I wish to congratulate the team for making it possible for this workshop to take place simultaneously both here at Carleton University and Tanzania Global Learning Centre in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. It is my sincere hope that this opportunity has created space for staff and students from our two universities to share and exchange important ideas on role and importance of Nyerere’s legacy in understanding and interpreting contemporary issues taking place in Tanzania. In addition, opportunities like these, also enables our youth (our future leaders) to get to know the contribution of past leaders on the development of their respective countries. Finally in the long run it is my expectation that this forum will refresh and continue to create important avenues for people from Africa and Canada to establish and strengthen networks that will be used for addressing many problems and challenges facing our respective countries.

Third, I want to thank all the participants here in Canada particularly, those from the Carleton university who conceived this idea of paying tribute to

the Father of the Tanzanian Nation, Late Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere for all their efforts to promote international cooperation among staff and students from Tanzania and Canada over the past three decades. On behalf of Tanzanian people , I say thank you all

Fourth, I wish to indicate that, when I was invited to prepare this presentation, I did not know what I should write about because so much has been written or said on the legacies of the late President Julius Kambarage of Tanzania both within and outside Tanzania. Surprisingly, as I was reading what have been written about Nyerere's legacies I found two contradictory messages including positive and negative. Interestingly, the majority of those who commented positively on Nyerere's legacy were scattered across different levels including national, regional and international level. It is unfortunate that I could not find enough time to examine in details the key characteristics of such people or institutions that provided sweet memories or legacies of the late president Nyerere of Tanzania), On the other hand , there are few critical people again both within and outside Tanzania who highlighted the negative things Nyerere did when he was in power for almost twenty eight years consecutively. In a nutshell, commentators in the latter category include people who were somehow or directly affected by some of the social and economic as well as political policies that Nyerere introduced at different periods as a President. This fits neatly with a Swahili proverb that says, '*aisifuye mvua imemnyea*' literally meaning '*people love rain when it does not do them*'

In fact, as a Tanzania female citizen who was born, raised and educated in Tanzania during and after the Nyerere era, I thought my duty is not to take any position in this debate but instead participate in ongoing discussions and learn more about the legacies of our late President. As academic scholars our duty is to continue searching for empirical evidence and facts to clarifying some of the

misconceptions about Nyerere's legacy which I summed up as *sweet and sour* respectively. Nevertheless, I know it is pretty hard to convince some people on what they already know or think about the late father of our nation but I know there are people both in Tanzania and Canada who worked very close with Nyerere who might come forward and respond to the so called sour memories. Personally, I believe that, human beings are not perfect creatures and even the most successful I have met admit that their success stories were not easy and straight forward. Indeed, some confessed that they were not afraid of taking risks whenever an opportunity occurs. Most of these kinds of people (who we call entrepreneurs) operate through trials and errors especially whenever a second opportunity reemerges. It is against this background that I am trying to situate the legacy of Nyerere as a political entrepreneur of his time. This is going to be my entry point as I analyse and interpret what went right or wrong during Nyerere era and after in Tanzania. Nyerere himself welcomed constructive contributions from learned people as clearly reflected in his own words "*...Intellectuals have a special contribution to make to the development of our nation, and to Africa. And I am asking that their knowledge, and the greater understanding that they should possess, should be used for the benefit of the society of which we are all members.*" Julius Kambarage Nyerere, from his book *Uhuru na maendeleo 1973*

2. Focus of the Paper

The paper highlights major legacies of Nyerere both at national, regional and international levels with a focus on the social, economic and political aspects. Information presented in this paper draws mostly from secondary sources of data available here at Carleton and f Dares Salaam universities and the internet respectively. In addition, this information will be complimented with my own personal experiences as a Tanzanian academic woman who does research in

rural areas and touch base with the majority of people who have lots to say about Nyerere's legacy. Thus, in the third part of this paper, the focus will be Nyerere's legacies before (1961) and after independence periods (1961-1985) whereas in the fourth part it will focus on the post Nyerere period up to the time of his death (1986-1999). In the fifth part the focus will be post Nyerere's death to date (1991-2011). In the sixth part , a synthesis on what have been major legacies of Nyerere in selected aspects including publications and awards he was given at national, regional and international levels.

3. NYERERE LEGACIES DURING THE PRE-INDEPENDENCE ERA

In this section information on four major legacies of Nyerere which are often given prominence by most people both within and outside Africa namely, his family background, intellectual ability, love for his people and leadership skills

(i) Family/educational background

Kambarage Nyerere was born in a polygamous family on April 13, 1922 in Butiama village, Mara region which is located on the eastern shore of Lake Victoria. His father was the late Chief Burito Nyerere (1860–1942) and his mother was Mgaya Wanyang'ombe (1887-1997). He was born during the rainy season and therefore, he was given the name of Kambarage (meaning '*the spirit which gives rain*'). He belongs to the Zanaki tribe which is one of the smallest tribes in Tanzania comprising of about 40,000 people. In Tanzania, there are more than 120 ethnic groupings with diverse norms, cultures and traditional practices.

At the age of twelve years, he was started his primary education at Mwetenge Primary School in Musoma town, Tanzania, a school that was about forty-two kilometres from his home. Despite walking long distances to school

and been raised up with a single parent after the death of his father (at the age of 20), Nyerere performed extremely well in his studies. He excelled in all examinations that he did from primary to secondary school not only in his region but in the whole country. While in secondary school he decided to join the Roman Catholic Church, got baptized and chose a Christian name Julius that was added to his two traditional names Kambarage Nyerere.

(ii) Ability to link theory and practice

Due to his exemplary academic ability Nyerere got a scholarship to pursue his undergraduate studies at the Makerere University in 1945 which was the only university in East Africa and he majored in politics. After completing his studies he got a teaching position at Saint Mary's School where he taught for less than ten years. These years gave him enough experience about the realities of the Tanganyika people. In 1952, when Nyerere received a scholarship to go to Edinburgh University in Scotland and he majored in history, political economy and economics..

While studying at Edinburgh University, he also started thinking how to put into practice what he learned in class including his particular vision of connecting socialism with African communal living. In 1952, he was the first Tanzanian to study at a British university, to be awarded a Masters degree and he was the second African to gain a university degree outside Africa. I consider this as one of the legacies of Nyerere. It is very uncommon to see majority of student's concentrating on social problems as they are studying. Most students tend to focus on passing their examinations and later join the labour force. It is no surprise that when he became the President he introduced the policy of socialism and self reliance for youths to put in practice what they were learning in class. At the same time, we are told that, during his spare time, he used to study two foreign languages including Greek and Latin. This is another legacy that we see happening a lot to date especially in the northern universities. In

most universities in most universities in the Africa, this is not given much weight despite its relevance in increasing on competencies required in the job market. Learning other languages and doing other extracurricular activities and outreach activities not only contributes to good time management but also results in creating social capital.

When he returned to Tanzania he was assigned to work at St. Francis School, Pugu in the current Coastal Region. After working for one year) Nyerere, married Maria Gabriel Majige in 1953 who was a primary school teacher, from Musoma region and they were blessed with seven children, namely; Rosemary, Anna, Madaraka, Makongoro, Andrew, John, and Majige. Besides his ability and privileges as a President, all his children went to local schools in Tanzania as other Tanzania children. When pursuing my undergraduate degree at the University of Dar es Salaam, in the 1980's I was fortunate to study with one of his boys (who did civil engineering). He was an ordinary student and he related well with the rest of his colleagues. To date, most leaders in Tanzania have sent their children abroad.

(iii) Leadership Skills

Before independence, Julius Kambarage Nyerere played an active role in establishing and managing student associations to discuss issues affecting student affairs. By so doing Nyerere was able to develop and strengthen his leadership skills that he had, as a son of a chief. Some of key positions he held within different organization as are as follows:

- A Founding Member of a national political party known as Tanganyika African National Union(TANU) in 1954
- Leader of the Opposition in the Colonial Parliament in 1958

- Member of the Legislative Assembly in the first elections in which Africans were allowed to vote between 1958-1960
- Chief Minister of the first Internal Self-Government Administration in 1960

Nyerere's leadership experience, has contributed to the ongoing debate arguing that are leaders born or made. It is evident from Nyerere's experience that few leaders are born naturally whereas in most cases leaders are made. This is what made some people to think that it is due to Nyerere's potential leadership skills including *integrity and ability as a political orator and organizer, and readiness to work with different groupings* that significantly contributed to the attainment of independence in the then Tanganyika without bloodshed. As leader of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), he advocated peaceful change, social equality, and ethnic harmony. In elections in 1958 – 60 TANU won many seats in the legislature.

(iv) Commitment to fight for people's rights

Nyerere is remembered for his commitment to fight for people's rights in Tanzania before and after independence. He worked very closely with the people when campaigning for independence including men and women despite facing numerous threats and obstacles from the colonial government. In 1958 he went in front of the United Nations Organization (UNO) to plea for the independence of Tanganyika which was then under the ordinance of the British Trusteeship Territory.

3. Nyerere's Legacies during the post- independence period (1961-1985)

The mainland of Tanzania was colonized by German from 1884-1918 and was known as Tanganyika. From 1918 to 1961 Tanganyika Protectorate was colonized by British government. At the same time the Sultanate of Zanzibar became a British Protectorate in 1890. In 1963 Zanzibar achieved

independence, and a year later formed a union with Tanganyika and became politically united and was renamed to the new name of Tanzania. In this section an attempt is done to highlight some of the major legacies during the time he was in power to the time he retired from active politics. Five major legacies on Nyerere are emphasized including trust in political leadership, promoter of gender equality, promoter of African culture, champion of socio-economic development policies, and unwavering faith are highlighted .

(i) Trust in Nyerere's leadership abilities

The then Tanganyika obtained its political independence in 1961. Immediately after this, J, K Nyerere was elected as the first Prime Minister of the first Government of Independent Tanganyika only for a period of one year. In 1962, Nyerere was unanimously elected as the first President of Tanganyika when it became a Republic and between 1964-1985, Nyerere served as first the President of the United Republic of Tanzania respectively. As a head of the state, he was also appointed to serve as the chancellor of public universities including Chancellor of the University of East Africa (1963-1970), Chancellor of University of Dar-es-Salaam (1970-1985) as well as Chancellor of Sokoine University of Agriculture (1977-1990 and 1984-1985 respectively. He was also elected as the chairman of the ruling party Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) which was formed by a merger between TANU and the Afro-Shirazi Party of Zanzibar. CCM was born in Zanzibar on February 5, 1977. In all these different portfolios he did exemplary well and lots of positive memories were echoed when he died in 1991. To date Presidents are not necessarily Chancellors of Universities for some good reasons including the mushrooming on universities including public and private. In Tanzania there are about 26 universities. The number of people qualified to take those roles has also increased as well, thanks to his efforts.

(ii) Architecture of gender equality in Tanzania

Because most of his early years of life, he grew up in a rural area where he witnessed different forms of discrimination against women, Mwalimu Nyerere developed empathy for the poor, marginalized, and excluded including men and women respectively. Nyerere's legacy on gender equality is clearly seen in the way he criticized oppressive gender relations since 1944, when he wrote an essay about the freedom of women. The significance of this attempt is highly appreciated because of the fact that he did this long before any serious movement towards women's liberation was born anywhere in the world, even in the western world, let alone Africa. Thus, immediately after independence he explicitly expressed his commitment to promote gender equality by putting a male and female figure in the national logo and in the national constitution. Nyerere also included different sections of the masses in the ruling party by establishing political wings including women, youth, parents and cooperatives that are still been implemented to date . This practice is still in place and it is widely used in the interest of promoting participatory democracy

(iii) Love and Respect for African Culture

Nyerere's legacy is also seen in his profound and sincere respect for African culture and traditions including games, language, dressing and food. Although he loved to wear Chinese suits, he was critical of African who abandoned wholesale Africa culture, languages and traditions by considering them as "primitive" and sign of backwardness. Even to date, neglect of African cultures by most people has far reaching social and economic implications. For instance, at independence, the use of Swahili language united all Tanzania and it eased communication. Nyerere is remembered for his continued support in promoting and respecting African cultures by deeds and actions. He loved eating Tanzania local foods and during his leisure time he played *bao*. By so

doing he was able to touch base with ordinary people and got to know the immediate needs and problems facing them.

(iv) Respect for peasants and workers

Nyerere legacy is also seen in the way he respected, even esteemed, peasants and workers during and after his time in office. Due to his upbringing in the rural area, he deep down counted himself as one of them. He introduced the concept of *Ndugu* (comrade) to show respect for what peasants and workers are doing in national economic development. This was also evident by the kind of people he socialized with at Butiama after his retirement. As an academician and seasoned politician, he had many options for keeping himself busy after retiring but he chose to go back to his village and live with his people. Nyerere recognized agriculture as the backbone of the Tanzanian economy and wished to promote it at all levels, in schools and everywhere. He considered farming as one of the most respectable callings a person can opt for and did not understand why most people were migrating to urban areas and stayed idle. In fact the foundation of the whole *Ujamaa* system, is the promotion of agriculture as the centerpiece of the Tanzanian nation's development.

(v) Social and Economic Development Policies

Immediately after independence, Mwalimu Nyerere identified three priority development problems that needed support from the state, namely, poverty, diseases and ignorance. In addressing these three issues he came up with policy options and measures to create an enabling environment for promoting development in the country. Some of these the introduction of the first three year development plan for Tanganyika (1961/62 –1963/64), the introduction of the Arusha Declaration and Educational for Self Reliance as well as Ujamaa and Rural Development Policies. For instance, the Arusha Declaration in 1967

resulted in the nationalization of many pillars of the economy. Its original objectives of state ownership of major means of the economy were to ensure that the corporate sector of the economy was in national hands. Prior to nationalization, the control of the pillars of the economy was either in the hands of foreign investors or the minorities that enjoyed business dominance upon independence. At that time, the economic policy assumed that public enterprises would perform in an environment of market accountability, management autonomy and promotion of incentive for efficiency.

However, the implementations of these policies were faced with lots of problems and challenges including institutional and structural as well as inadequate support from different groups of people both within and outside Tanzania. There is abundant literature showing both the positive and negative legacies of Nyerere's post independence policies and I will not attempt to summarize them here. There were criticism that some of economic policies introduced by Nyerere resulted into a reduction in productivity in some sectors including ujamaa policy. However to date , to most rural people who moved and lived Ujamaa villages, the ideas of Nyerere seemed to have somehow helped them in terms of getting access to basic resources such education and health. On the other hand, there are some who argue that, his focus on human development and self-reliance brought some success in selected social and economic indicators. In summary, it is it is evident that Nyerere's legacy can be seen at four domestic issues . These includes ; (i) the development of the Tanzanian economy, which he saw as a *sine qua non* for the accomplishment of most if not all other objectives; (ii) securing and retaining national control of the direction of Tanzania's economic development; (iii) creating political institutions that would be widely participatory and sustain the extraordinary sense of common purpose which in these early years united Tanzanians under

his leadership and that of the Tanzanian African National Union (TANU); and (iv) building a just society in Tanzania that would be genuinely equitable for all its citizens.

(vi) Strong faith in God and the role of religious institutions

Even as a politician, Nyerere practiced his Christian faith openly in concrete ways. First, he was a very devoted member of the Roman Catholic Church. During his lifetime, he used to attend early Morning Prayer service everyday from 6.00 to 7.00 a.m. at St. Joseph's congregation, Dar es Salaam. Secondly, for the sake of religious tolerance he helped to formulate the religious articles in the constitution of the government of Tanzania and endorsed them in the 1960s. These articles, which are still used at the present time, mainly focus on the right to freedom of religion. The article on freedom of religion was re-incorporated in 1984, 1992, 1995, and 1997 constitutional reviews and was critical on people discriminating each other on the basis of religion . Soon after independence Nyerere initiated a legislation which was passed in 1962, compelling missionary schools to admit students of all denominations and faiths. In 1969 all non-state schools (the majority of which belonged to Christian missions) were taken over and made state schools. Seminaries were the only ones spared. (The Guardian, September 28, 2006).

As president of Tanzania, from 1961 to 1985 -and even afterwards,Nyerere continued to challenge the church until his demise in 1999. Whenever he had opportunities of speaking to church leaders and the general public he told them that the church had to serve the whole person, mentally, spiritually, and physically. Furthermore, he said that church had to serve people beyond the church. For instance, schools, hospitals, and income generating projects would not only benefit churches and Christians but also non-believers. The political unity and religious tolerance that we see in Tanzania did not come by accident.

It is a product of deliberate action and the vision of leaders of Tanzania from the founding president, the late Mwalimu Julius Nyerere. Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere, took specific to engender tolerance in matters of by promoting equitable policies, institutional innovations, political messages, and legal constitutional provisions.

Last but not the least, because of his strong belief in his God, he saw his death before it happened. Shortly before leaving for medical treatment abroad, Nyerere knew he was not going to come back alive and as a farewell to Tanzanians he promised to pray for them as quoted saying, "*Najua sitapona toka ugonjwa huu. Nasikitika kuwaacha Watanzania wangu. Najua watalia sana. Lakini mimi nitawaombea mbele ya Mungu.*" ("I know that I shall not recover from this sickness. I am unhappy to leave my Tanzanians. I know that they will mourn very much. But I shall pray for them before God.") Indeed it was a very sad day for President Benjamin Mkapa, the cabinet, all of Tanzania, and friends of Tanzania worldwide, when Julius Kambarage Nyerere, "the father of the nation" died on October 14, 1999 at 10.30 a.m.

4. Nyerere legacies after retirement

Although Nyerere retired as a President of URT in 1985, he continued to be the chairman of his ruling party, Chama Cha Mapinduzi until 1990. Nyerere remained vocal about the extent of corruption and corrupt officials during the Ali Hassan Mwinyi administration. He also blocked Jakaya Kikwete's nomination for the presidency, citing that he was too young to run a country. Nyerere was instrumental in getting Benjamin Mkapa elected (Mkapa had been Minister of Foreign Affairs for a time during

In the final years and months of his life, Julius Nyerere devoted much time to two major regional issues - the search for justice and reconciliation in Burundi and the strengthening of the still tiny and fragile South Centre, a non-governmental organization seeking to provide for the world's poorer states an international voice and a range of professional advice and aspiring to be the seed of a southern parallel to the OECD. Otherwise he spent most of his time in the farm as any other rural farmer.

5. Nyerere's legacies on regional and international development

In addition to local politics, Nyerere's contributions to promoting both regional and international development throughout his entire life cannot be overemphasized. For instance, he championed the establishment of the first short lived East African Community (EAC). Further, Nyerere had been one of the first African leaders to support the liberation struggle in Southern Africa. He remained one of the most resolute, assisting its organizations, aiding its operations and sheltering its leaders. He also persistently reminded other African states of their obligations towards the liberation struggle and urged western states, in vain alas, "to refrain from giving comfort and help to those who would deny freedom and dignity to us."

Likewise, Nyerere shared the preoccupation with economic development in Third World countries with almost all of the Third World leaders of his generation including Nehru, Kenyatta, Kaunda Nkrumah, Manley, and Fidel Castro all of whom were determined to improve social economic development in their respective countries. Later he was appointed mediator for the political problems in the Democratic Republic of Congo. He was also chairman of the South-South Commission. In his reconciliation efforts, Nyerere noted that the major causes of civil conflicts were poverty, greed for power, and tribalism. Using his international influence, Nyerere launched a campaign for the

cancellation of debts owed by poor countries. The campaign, which was continued by many other organizations worldwide, persuaded some rich countries to cancel the debts of developing countries.

6. Foreign policy

Nyerere was one of the African Leaders during the Pan-African movement that swept the continent in the 1960s. He was a larger-than-life person, a seemingly incorruptible individual and a committed Pan-africanist. Nyerere was also one of the founders of the Organization of African Unity in 1963. Nyerere provided a home for a number of African liberation movements including the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan African Congress (PAC) of South Africa, FRELIMO when it sought to overthrow Portuguese rule in Mozambique, and ZANLA (and Robert Mugabe) in its struggle to unseat the white regime in Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). From the mid-1970s, along with President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, he was an instigator and leader of the "Front Line States," which provided uncompromising support for the campaign for Black Majority Rule in South Africa. In 1979, he led Tanzania into war against Uganda, then under the dictatorship of Idi Amin, resulting in the defeat of Uganda and exile of Amin. However, Nyerere also instigated the 1977 coup d'etat that ousted the first president of the Seychelles, James Mancham, and replaced him with socialist France-Albert René, a move regarded to have set back development in the Seychelles for many years. Nyerere's foreign policy overall emphasized neutrality in the Cold War, and under his leadership, Tanzania enjoyed friendly relations with both the West and the East through the policy on nonalignment.

Outside of Africa, Nyerere was a model to Walter Lini, Prime Minister of Vanuatu, whose theories on Melanesian socialism owed much to the ideas he

found in Tanzania, which he visited. Lecturers inspired by Nyerere also taught at the University of Papua New Guinea in the 1980s, helping educated Melanesians familiarize themselves with his ideas.

6. Nyerere's Tanzania after his death

Nyerere died of leukaemia in London in 1999. Many tributes were written by people both within and Tanzania and he was given different labels such as, The Father of the nation, Great African statesman, Great politician of his time , Economist, Historian , Educator, Artist, international icon Great Intellectual etc. In 2009, Nyerere was named "World Hero of Social Justice" by the President of the United Nations General Assembly (UNGASS). Yet to others, Nyerere was a great politician and African thinker as well as a philosopher. Mwalimu's sudden departure is a major loss for the developing world, depriving it of a highly respected leader and a courageous, frank and articulate spokesperson. It has come as a major shock and personal loss to all who worked closely with him.

Since his death, many events have been organized both locally and internally to honour the life of Nyerere. In Tanzania, for instance, the government declared 14 October declared as a national holiday for people to commemorate the legacies of Nyerere. Different groups of people organize various activities such as workshops to discuss various development issues. The University of Dares Salaam has established a Chair for Nyerere which is currently held by Prof Shivji , one renowned lawyers in Tanzania. Likewise , some of his policies has been abandoned including the policy of Ujama aand Socialism.

7. Accomplishments by Nyerere

Nyerere wrote many books and some of his speeches were compiled into books. Some of his works are After the Arusha Declaration (1967), Azimio la Arusha (The Arusha Declaration) [1976], Crusade for liberation (1978),

Education for Self-Reliance (1967), Freedom and Development (1960), Man and Development (1974), Ujamaa--Essays on Socialism (1968 and 1971), Uongozi wetu na hatima ya Tanzania (Our leadership and the destiny of Tanzania) [1993]. Some of his books are used as university text books in Tanzania and beyond and some have been translated from Swahili into English, French, Portuguese, and Arabic. Nyerere also translated some books of the Bible into Zanaki. In 1996 he wrote poetry and spiritual songs inspired by the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, and the Acts of the Apostles.

In addition he translated William Shakespeare's play, *Julius Caesar and The Merchant of Venice*) nto Swahili and it was published by Oxford University Press, 1969.

8.Awards

- Nehru Award for International Understanding, 1976
- Third World Prize, 1982
- Nansen Medal for outstanding services to Refugees, 1983
- Lenin Peace Prize, 1987
- International Simón Bolívar Prize, 1992

Sources:

Julius K. Nyerere, *Man and Development* (Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1974).

Freedom and Development (Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1960)

Ujamaa--Essays on Socialism (Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1968)

Amin, Mohamed, Annie Smyth, and Adam Seftel. *Tanzania: The Story of Julius Nyerere Through the Pages of Drum*. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers, 1998.

Mailu, David G. *Julius Nyerere: Father of Ujamaa*. Nairobi: Sasa Sema Publications, 2005. McDonald, David A., and Eunice Njeri Sahle. *The*

Legacies of Julius Nyerere: Influences on Development Discourse and Practice in Africa. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2006.

Smith, William Edgett. *We Must Run While They Walk; A Portrait of Africa's Julius Nyerere*. New York: Random House, 1972

Internet sources