
Julius Nyerere

14th October 1999

Press Coverage from the Internet

By date
By newspaper

Julius Nyerere.....	1
14 October 1999.....	6
ANC Statement On The Death Of Julius Kambage "Mwalimu" Nyerere	6
African National Congress of South Africa	6
PanAfrican News Agency	6
Tanzania's First President Dies In Britain	6
WorldBank	7
James D. Wolfensohn Statement On The Death Of Julius Nyerere	7
15 October 1999.....	8
BBC	8
Tributes pour in for Nyerere	8
Julius Nyerere: The conscience of Africa	8
E-mails tell of Nyerere's honesty and humility	9
Text of President Mkapa's address to the nation	10
Nyerere: A personal recollection	10
Songs of grief for Tanzania's founder	12
Tanzania prepares for Nyerere funeral	12
Independent	13
Julius Nyerere, the elder statesman of post-colonial Africa, dies, aged 77	13
Third World visionary who brought socialism to the villages	14
'I learnt at his feet ... he was our guru'	15
The Nation (Nairobi)	15
A Symbol Of Africa's Hope	15
The Times Of Zambia (Lusaka)	17
Tanzanians say goodbye to Mwalimu	17
The Times	18
JULIUS NYERERE	18
Guardian	21
Africans mourn death of the father of Tanzania	21
The Independent	23
OBITUARY: JULIUS NYERERE	23
16 October 1999.....	26
Panafrican News Agency	26
President Clinton Pays Tribute To Nyerere	26
Nyerere To Be Laid To Rest At His Butiama Home	26
The Times of Zambia (Lusaka)	26
We've been robbed of great leader-- Chiluba	26
Financial Times	27
Guardian	28
Idealism in a cynical world	28
The Nation (Nairobi)	28
Mwalimu Nyerere's bequest to Mkapa a tall order	28
17 October 1999.....	31
The Monitor (Kampala)	31
Kwa heri, Mtukufu Rais Julius K. Nyerere	31
Panafrican News Agency	32
Tanzanians In UK Bid Farewell To Nyerere	32
World Leaders Continue To Send Condolences	32
The Nation (Nairobi)	33
Mwalimu's rise to power	33
Mwalimu's enduring legacy	35
Independent on Sunday	38
18 October 1999.....	39
Guardian	39
Julius Nyerere	39
Richard Gott writes:	39
Simon Barley writes:	39
Ronald Segal writes:	39

Julius Nyerere

3

Chandra Hardy writes:	39
BBC	40
Email tributes	40
HYPE	47
The Meaning Of "Mwalimu"	47
Panafrican News Agency	47
Half A Million Tanzanians Welcome Nyerere's Body	47
Museveni To Lead Delegation To Nyerere's Funeral	48
19 October 1999	49
Guardian	49
Nyerere's return	49
The Times	49
Thousands flock to see Nyerere's coffin come home	49
New Vision (Kampala)	50
Nyerere Body Arrives In Dar	50
The Times of Zambia (Lusaka)	50
Chiluba declares four-day national mourning	50
20 October 1999	52
Independent	52
Tanzania weeps for father of the nation	52
BBC	52
World leaders arrive to honour Nyerere	52
Julius Nyerere: Political messiah or false prophet?	53
Panafrican News Agency	58
Nyerere's Daughter Denied Holy Communion	58
Wrangle Over Nyerere's Final Resting Place Solved	58
18 Heads Of State To Pay Respects To Nyerere	58
The Monitor (Kampala)	59
Dreams that never died	59
21 October 1999	62
BBC	62
World leaders honour Nyerere	62
Panafrican News Agency	62
Academician Revisits Nyerere's Development Vision	62
Rwandan TV Airs Nyerere's Funeral Ceremony Live	63
22 October 1999	64
Guardian	64
The world turns out to honour Nyerere	64
Independent	65
Nyerere, flawed fighter of colonialism, buried as hero	65
The Times	65
Leaders pay their respects to Nyerere	65
New Vision (Kampala)	66
World Pays Last Respects To Mwalimu Nyerere	66
Museveni Joins World In Mourning Nyerere	67
The Monitor (Kampala)	68
Big farewell for Nyerere	68
Business Day (Johannesburg)	69
Tanzania And The World Say Their Farewells To Nyerere	69
The Times of Zambia (Lusaka)	69
Nyerere was a great African statesman - Chiluba	69
Panafrican News Agency	70
Tanzanians Pay Homage To Nyerere On Eve Of Burial	70
Nyerere Provided Haven For Late Banda's Opponents	70
Downpour, Wind, Mark Arrival Of Nyerere's Body	71
23 October 1999	72
Economist	72

Julius Nyerere

4

Julius Nyerere	72
Guardian	73
Tanzania's unity weakens without Nyerere	73
Panafrican News Agency	73
The Road Ends For One Of Africa's Greatest Sons	73
BBC	74
Nyerere laid to rest	74
24 October 1999	75
The Monitor - Kampala	75
Mandela to visit Nyerere's grave	75
Nyerere's not so sweet side	75
The Nation.	77
Remembering a great son of Africa [Analysis]	77
Canto for hope	79
Panafrican News Agency	79
The Road Ends For One Of Africa's Greatest Sons	79
26 October 1999	81
The East African	81
As 'Kingmaker' Dies, Whither Tanzania Politics and Society	81
Ever the Idealist, Nyerere's Legacy is Everlasting	82
There Was Real Freedom in Mwalimu's Day	84
Painful Loss of a Friend, Mentor and Nationalist Par Excellence	87
Death Puts Nyerere Biography in Limbo	87
Leaders Pay Tribute to Mwalimu	88
Sporting Events Postponed in Honour of Nyerere	89
27 October 1999	91
Panafrican News Agency	91
Spirit Sends Soldiers Scampering For Safety	91
Business Day (Johannesburg)	91
Nyerere No Great Leader, But Ensured Poverty For Tanzania (Column)	91
28 October 1999	93
Southern African Research and Documentation Centre	93
Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere- A Remembrance	93
Southern African Research and Documentation Centre (SARDC)-	95
Address To Members Of Parliament: By Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere	95
UN Integrated Regional Information Network	99
IRIN Focus on the union	99
29 October 1999	101
All Africa News Agency	101
Julius Nyerere: A Concrete Example Of Commitment	101
Who Else Would Get The Credit For Peace And Unity?	101
The Day The Villagers Lost Their Favourite Son	102
Panafrican News Agency	104
Tanzanian Authorities Crackdown On Poachers	104
The East African	104
He Did Not Think His Life Was in Danger	104
South Africa Remembers Nyerere as One of Its Own	105
Balancing Relative Values at the Funeral (Opinion)	106
A Legacy of Unity, But Not of Democracy (Opinion)	107
Why Mwalimu Never Went Out of Fashion (Opinion)	108
Coach Nyerere is Gone, the Team Must Play On	109
30 October 1999	111
Panafrican News Agency	111
Nyerere Mourning Regulations Relaxed	111
Miscellaneous	112
Saints and Presidents: A Commentary on Julius Nyerere	112

14 October 1999
ANC Statement On The Death Of Julius Kambarage "Mwalimu" Nyerere
African National Congress of South Africa
October 14, 1999

Johannesburg - The following document was released by African National Congress of South Africa: The ANC is devastated at the news of the death of Julius Nyerere earlier today. The organisation weeps in memory of this giant amongst men.

Julius Kambarage "Mwalimu" Nyerere was an outstanding leader, a brilliant philosopher and a people's hero - a champion for the entire African continent. He shall always be remembered as one of Africa's greatest and most respected sons and the father of the Tanzanian nation.

Throughout his long life he enjoyed respect and popularity that extended far beyond the borders of Tanzania. His wise counsel was sought from around the globe, even after he resigned from the presidency in 1985.

A legacy in his own lifetime, he served as a symbol of inspiration for all African nations in their liberation struggles to free themselves from the shackles of oppression and colonialism.

Mwalimu will always occupy a very important place in the hearts and minds of South Africans in general and the supporters of the ANC in particular.

The ANC is indebted to his memory for the unflinching support that he offered during our dark days of struggle against racist apartheid rule and for freedom and democracy. Our celebration of these basic rights today is to no small degree as a result of the benevolence of Julius Nyerere and the support, both moral and material, received from Tanzanian people under his rule.

The ANC pays homage to a true African legend, a man deserving of great admiration, respect and affection.

The ANC conveys its sincerest condolences to his family, friends and the Tanzanian people during this painful period.

Issued by Smuts Ngonyama

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PanAfrican News Agency
Tanzania's First President Dies In Britain
October 14, 1999
by Nicodemus Odhiambo

Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania (PANA) - The first president of the United Republic of Tanzania, Julius Kambarage Nyerere, who died Thursday in London, was born in March 1922 at Butiama, a village near the Lake shore town of Musoma, to a Zanaki chief, Nyerere Burite.

He received his early education at the Mwisenge primary school in Musoma before joining a secondary school at Tabora, a former slave town in the heart of Tanzania. From Tabora, Nyerere spent two years at Makerere College, Uganda, then returned to Tabora to teach at St Mary's school. In 1949, he went to Edinburgh University, where he graduated with a Master of Arts degree in 1952.

On his return, he taught at St. Francis, Pugu, in Dar Es Salaam. He later briefly served as a Temporary Nominated Member of the colonial Tanganyika Legislative Council.

In 1954, Nyerere was a founder member of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), and was elected president of the party. He accepted a further nomination to the legislature in July 1957, having forfeited his teaching post, but resigned in protest in December the same year.

In Tanganyika's first elections in 1958, he was elected a member of Parliament, and was returned unopposed in the second general election in 1960.

In May 1961, he was sworn in as chief minister and led the country to independence on 9 December, 1961. After the decision to make Tanganyika a republic, Nyerere was nominated as a TANU candidate for the post of president.

In 1962, he entered State House (formerly Government House) as Tanganyika's first president.

In April 1964, Nyerere was signatory to the Union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, and became president of the new United Republic, later renamed Tanzania.

On 30 September, 1965, he was declared president for a second term of five years,

14 October 1999

7

having secured a massive mandate from the people. Nyerere ruled Tanzania for 22 years under a socialist regime. But of it he once said: "We cannot go 'full-speed' into socialism. Where are the leaders for 'full-speed' socialism?." During his life, he backed independence movements in Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe (former Rhodesia) and the fettering of apartheid in South Africa. He was also the chairman of the South-South Commission. And in recent years, he was mediator in a number of peace talks especially in trying to end the civil war in Burundi. In Tanzania, he is credited for uniting the over 120 tribes into a cohesive society.

Known as 'Mwalimu,' Kiswahili for 'teacher,' Nyerere was a darling to millions of Tanzanians. He is survived by his wife, Maria, and six children.

"Mwalimu" (or "Teacher")-which was his first profession. Many of us still regard ourselves as his students, and we feel very honored to have known and worked with him in his life. To the people of Tanzania-and to his wider family across Africa and around the world-I want to say how much we share your sadness at his passing. However, the example he set and the ideals he represented will remain a source of inspiration and comfort for all of us. That is a legacy which even President Nyerere-modest as he was-would have been proud of.

James D. Wolfensohn, October 14, 1999
Africa News Online

WorldBank

James D. Wolfensohn Statement On The Death Of Julius Nyerere

October 14, 1999

Washington - For the men and women who have served the great cause of development in the world, one of the lights of our lives went out today. Mr. Julius Nyerere was one of the founding fathers of modern Africa. He was also one of the few world leaders whose high ideals, moral integrity, and personal modesty inspired people right around the globe.

While world economists were debating the importance of capital output ratios, President Nyerere was saying that nothing was more important for people than being able to read and write and have access to clean water. He gave his compatriots a sense of hope and achievement early in their life as a country. And he gave them a sense of nation with few parallels in Africa and the world-bound by a common language (Kiswahili) and a history almost entirely free of internal divisions and conflict. His political ideals, his deep religious convictions, his equally deep religious tolerance, and his belief that people of all ethnic and regional origins should have equal access to knowledge and material opportunities have marked his country-and Africa-forever.

He was a leader in the liberation of Southern Africa. He looked after hundreds of thousands of refugees forced to live in western Tanzania by political turmoil in central Africa. And he left office peacefully at an age when he could certainly have continued. He was known as

15 October 1999

BBC

Tributes pour in for Nyerere

Tributes have been pouring in from around the world for former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere who has died of cancer. The death of the 77-year-old statesman, who led his country to independence, was announced on Tanzanian radio by the current Head of State, Benjamin Mkapa. Dr Nyerere had been diagnosed with leukaemia in August and was admitted to St Thomas' hospital in London three weeks ago. In Tanzania, 30 days of mourning have been declared for the man known affectionately as "Mwalimu" - Kiswahili for "the teacher". Flags are flying at half-mast and many radio and television stations have been playing religious music.

President Mkapa said arrangements were being made for a state funeral. In New York, the United Nations General Assembly stood in silent tribute to Dr Nyerere. The President of the Assembly, Namibian Foreign Minister Theo-Ben Gurirab, called him "a venerable world leader and one of Africa's most charismatic and respected elder statesmen".

He recalled how Dr Nyerere had given refuge to the many black nationalist leaders who fled South Africa under apartheid. They were allowed to set up training camps inside Tanzania.

In Addis Ababa, the Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity, Salim Ahmed Salim, called the former president's death "a severe and painful personal loss".

Dr Nyerere was one of the founding members of the OAU and a passionate believer in the cause of pan-Africanism.

South African President Thabo Mbeki said Dr Nyerere "served as a source of great inspiration to efforts towards Africa's rebirth". "He was one of the wise sons of Africa who guided our journey towards placing Africa in her rightful place in the world," he said.

The Zambian President, Frederick Chiluba, said it was a sad day for Africa.

"We have lost a champion and great leader," he said.

Revolutionary and visionary

In Kenya, President Moi said Dr Nyerere was "a good friend" and that Kenyan flags would fly at half-mast for four days in tribute.

Robert Mugabe, president of Zimbabwe, said Dr Nyerere had been "the revolutionary, the visionary, the principled, indomitable and unyielding support of the struggle for our own and the region's independence".

UK Prime Minister, Tony Blair, led tributes from Europe saying: "The fact that Tanzania is today a country at peace with itself and its neighbours is, in large part, a tribute to Mwalimu."

Julius Nyerere served as Tanzania's first president from 1961 to 1985.

Addressing the nation on television, Tanzanian President Mkapa said the challenge now was for Tanzanians to build on the important foundation which he laid for the nation.

An important opponent of colonialism and apartheid, Dr Nyerere stood out as an African leader who ignored the trappings of power. But while he united his nation and made major advances in the fields of health and education, his African socialist policy of "ujama" - community-based farming collectives - proved disastrous for Tanzania's economy.

After stepping down as president, Dr Nyerere became an influential figure on the international scene, becoming one of Africa's most respected elder statesmen.

Most recently, he had been mediating talks in northern Tanzania aimed at ending the ethnic and political conflict in Burundi.

Julius Nyerere: The conscience of Africa

Julius Nyerere: A vision of self-reliance for Africa
Dr Julius Nyerere, who has died aged 77, led the former British protectorate of Tanganyika to independence in 1961, becoming its first prime Minister and later its first president. His country was withdrawn from British rule without violence and with comparatively little racial bitterness. Dr Nyerere acquired in the process the reputation of being a moderate, an idea that was encouraged by his personal modesty and his preference for Western values.

In both Africa and the West his prestige, when he first became President, stood high. It was seriously shaken, however, early in 1964, by a mutiny of the Tanganyikan Army that spread to other parts of East Africa and was only put down with British help.

Later, as President of Tanzania, formed by the joining of Tanganyika and Zanzibar,

Nyerere instituted a one-party system, together with other forms of government that smacked of a police state. Yet he always defended his position declaring that Tanzanians had far more freedom under his rule than they had ever had under the British, and that the one-party system was vital for stability. Over the years, he became increasingly anti-British and anti-European, and entered into close relations with Beijing. He accepted large numbers of Chinese military instructors and technicians, a development that angered the United States, which cut off aid. President Nyerere was outspoken in his criticism of British Prime Minister Harold Wilson's government for not taking military action against the Ian Smith regime in Rhodesia when it issued its unilateral declaration of independence in 1965. In common with other African leaders, he was greatly concerned about the possibility of the UK resuming limited arms sales to South Africa. Nevertheless, by November 1975 he came to London and was accorded the full honours of a state visit. He was then the longest serving head of a Commonwealth African state, and the UK government regarded him as a major stabilising force in an increasingly turbulent region. As the crisis over Rhodesia worsened in the late 1970s, President Nyerere played a campaigning role in moves by the so-called frontline states - Tanzania, Zambia, Botswana, Mozambique and Angola - to hasten majority rule. He also came to have an important influence with the nationalist guerrilla groups in what was to become Zimbabwe, and was a key figure in the formulation of the peace plan that was concluded at the Lancaster House conference in London in 1979. It was in that year that Tanzanian forces invaded Uganda forcing an end to the murderous regime of Idi Amin. In Tanzania itself, President Nyerere attempted to achieve his goal of a socialist and self-supporting state. In 1967 this policy of self-reliance had been enshrined in the Arusha Declaration (named after the northern Tanzanian town where it was announced). It came to be regarded as one of the most important political documents to have emerged in the developing world. Yet his policy of "ujama", community-based farming collectives, proved disastrous. The idealism of the grand project was

overwhelmed by the lack of individual incentive.

Ten years later, taking stock, President Nyerere issued a remarkably honest booklet which gave as much prominence to the failures as well as the successes.

"There is a time for planting and a time for harvesting", he wrote.

"For us it is still a time for planting".

It was his abject failure at home that will blight the reputation of a man who had gained respect as one of the few African leaders of his time who stood for idealism and principle.

E-mails tell of Nyerere's honesty and humility

Nyerere and Mandela - e-mails praise his statesmanship

E-mails paying tribute to Julius Nyerere have been arriving from around the world to the BBC News Online website.

The messages began appearing almost from the moment the death of Tanzania's former president was announced.

All express sorrow at the death of a great statesman - a man known as the father of Tanzania - and many references are made to his honesty, humility and vision.

Mziwakhe John Tsabedze, of Swaziland, says Julius Nyerere was a true leader. He writes: "He taught us integrity and he taught us to serve our fellow citizens.

Noble and edifying

"He taught us to know that the measure of a leader is not how many Mercedes Benz cars he has or how many wives he has. He taught us that a leader can relinquish power and still remain influential."

There were many other words of praise for the former president's frugal lifestyle and lack of hypocrisy.

Efosa Aruede, of Nigeria writes: "The simple and ascetic lifestyle of Mwalimu was always a reference point for Tanzanians.

"It is hoped that despite the embracing of market economics by the present rulers of Tanzania, they will not jettison all that is noble and edifying in the teachings of Mwalimu."

He preached water and drank water

Joshua Odeny, of Kenya, writes: "He was still popular 14 years since he left power, because he led by example.

"He preached Ujama and practised it. In other words he preached water and drank water. He remains the most honest leader East Africa has ever produced."

There are also many international tributes to Julius Nyerere's determination to pursue his

ideals and his ability to admit when he had made mistakes.

"Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere has gone down this day as a true and admirable citizen of the world," writes George Were, from Sudan.

"If he erred, that was only because he was human, not because he meant any harm to humanity."

'A true humanist'

Christian Sorenson, from Denmark, writes: "A true humanist, a great communicator and unifier. An African of the highest intellect. "He made mistakes, but who doesn't? I admire him."

Many of the electronic eulogies praise 'Mwalimu' for knowing when to step down. "He showed true leadership when he stepped down to make way for Ali Hassan Mwinyi", writes Hansel Ramathal, from India and the USA.

"This was a single act of mature leadership and it is something rarely seen in many of the worlds governments especially in Africa and Asia."

Bobana Badisang, from Botswana, sums up the affection and emotion many people felt for Julius Nyerere.

"In the desert wastelands of Botswana Mwalimu was an icon, a motivator and mentor. Farewell Mwalimu. Dusk has approached too soon."

Text of President Mkapa's address to the nation

President Benjamin Mkapa appeals for calm and unity

A special and unscheduled address to the nation by President Benjamin Mkapa, broadcast by Tanzanian radio on 14th October 1999.

Dear citizens, it is with great sadness that I announce to you that our beloved father of the nation, Comrade Julius Kambarage Nyerere, is dead.

Mwalimu died this morning at 10.30 Tanzanian time at St Thomas's Hospital, London, where he had been undergoing treatment for leukaemia since 24th September.

As our earlier statements have indicated, the condition of the father of the nation changed suddenly on Wednesday night, 30th September, and all his organs began to deteriorate.

This caused the doctors to transfer him to the intensive care unit, where he passed away today.

Shock and anxiety

I know that the death of the father of the nation will shock you and sadden all Tanzanians. Many will feel anxiety. Mwalimu created the foundations of unity for our nation and struggled for it with all his strength.

Mwalimu and the late Mzee Abeid Amani Karume created the United Republic of Tanzania, by uniting the Republic of Tanganyika and the People's Republic of Zanzibar.

Mwalimu gave this country fame and respect by leading national and international struggles to liberate the countries of southern Africa and making efforts to resolve political and military conflicts in independent neighbouring states.

Unity and union

Given this remarkable leadership record there will be some citizens who will fear that the unity of the country will be jeopardised, that our union will disintegrate and our relations with neighbouring countries will be affected. I beg you, citizens, to believe that Mwalimu succeeded in building a firm and strong foundation in all these areas. We, who inherited that unity and union, took an oath to make it everlasting and continuous.

I beg you, citizens, to cooperate in paying deserved respect to the father of the nation by remaining committed to the legacy of his work, his service and his love.

Comrade citizens, as we await the body of the father of the nation, I beg you to remain calm and to maintain our solidarity, brotherhood and love at this heavy and unique moment of grief facing our country.

The father of the nation will be accorded a full state funeral. The government will issue further statements later about the reception of the body of our beloved, and about the funeral arrangements.

We pray to God to rest the soul of our beloved elder in heaven.

God bless our country. God bless Africa.

Nyerere: A personal recollection

Everyone called him Mwalimu, a Swahili word for teacher

Vicky Ntetema, a Tanzanian journalist working for the BBC Swahili Service gives her personal recollections about the "father" of her country and assesses why he had such an important influence on his people.

I have met Julius Nyerere many times. The last while he was critically ill in hospital in London.

It was hard for me to believe that the great statesman was now lying in bed, speechless and so helpless.

He first began to make an impact on me when I was small child in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania.

What puzzled me was the way everyone called him Mwalimu, a Swahili word for teacher.

All my teachers at school were called mwalimu too - but with a small 'm'.

My mother told me that Nyerere could see both sides of a coin and make his argument understood to both sides no matter what the subject was.

But he was also a hard nut to crack, who feared nobody and who would always stand by his word.

Songs of praise

As I was getting older, I started listening to songs on the radio.

There was no single day which passed without hearing songs praising Mwalimu or Baba (Father) Nyerere.

Tanzania Bands sang of how he fought for the country's independence "without spilling blood" and how he was still fighting for the liberation of those nations under colonial and apartheid regimes.

One song was about his work as a leader of the then political and ruling party T.A.N.U. The words that I remember most were, "Nyerere, build more prisons to jail those who oppose T.A.N.U.".

Another said "Father Nyerere, build and spread socialism throughout the country and eliminate all parasites, capitalists and puppets of imperialists".

He preferred to call socialism "Ujamaa", which means brotherhood.

In school we were taught some of those songs and we would sing one or two at our daily assembly before and after classes.

Sharpened teeth

One day in Iringa, Southern Tanzania, I was one of the few schoolgirls who carried bouquets to welcome President Nyerere.

He was just an ordinary person with a great personality and a big smile which revealed his baby-like small sharpened teeth.

I remember him cracking jokes and laughing and the crowd echoed his laughter.

He was a leader whose ideas, ideology, policies, decisions and directives were respected and adhered to by all citizens.

But some were not amused by the announcement of his nationalisation policy.

They were going to lose their massive maize farms to the state as Ujamaa farms were established.

It was the end of capitalism in practical terms. I can look back today and say that if it wasn't for the Ujamaa ideology and policy, maybe I would have not had the chance to reach where I am today.

Under free medical services I was able to have a major operation 23 years ago.

I went to school at a time when primary education was compulsory and education was free up to degree level.

I was one of a family of 10 and I know that my father, a medical assistant then, would not have managed to send all of his children to school on his salary.

Not 'one of them'

I was sent to the Soviet Union on a government's scholarship where I acquired a Masters of Arts Degree in Journalism.

Many thought that Mwalimu was obsessed with Marxism and Leninism and that is why many students were sent to the U.S.S.R.

In fact while some of us were sent to the communist countries many others went to Europe, the United States, Australia and India.

The Soviets actually disliked Nyerere because he was not "one of them".

Whenever we went to the History of the Communist Party class I was attacked by my lecturer for being a Nyerere follower.

The lecturer did not like the idea of Tanzania being a member of a Non-Aligned Movement.

"You are either a communist or a capitalist ... we do not like people in the grey areas ... they can be easily swayed to the enemy side..."

Donating blood

Listening to Radio Tanzania we followed the struggle of Mwalimu and other African leaders for the liberation of the whole of the continent.

Twice a year we donated blood and clothing to our brothers and sisters in the struggle in Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Namibia.

We had to welcome and accommodate exiles from South Africa. They became our half-relatives and were given the best of everything, from education to health.

It was when I was in a boarding school in Mwanza that the war with Idi Amin's Uganda started.

We had to be evacuated when a Russian Mig 16 narrowly missed our dormitories along the shores of Lake Victoria.

The previous week we were taught by the army, under the air raids how to build trenches and how to stock food and sleep in the trenches.

Two years after the war with Uganda, the Tanzanian economy went down the drain. Shop display windows and shelves were filled with dust and spiders' cobwebs.

One language, many voices

Many were angry at the situation. But Tanzania had been attacked and Nyerere had had to defend his country.

He was just as tough defending the Union of mainland Tanzania with Zanzibar.

Nyerere used the Kiswahili language to unite Tanzanians.

He allowed Tanzanians to speak with many voices, but in one language. This was his vision of a nation free of tribalism.

The nation, especially my generation, will remember him for his smooth and voluntary exit from government leadership in 1985 and party leadership in 1990.

People were overwhelmed with grief at life without his active politics and governance.

They were pleading with him to reconsider.

In fact he had made up his mind long before the war with Uganda that he would retire.

But after the war he told Tanzanians that it would be very unfair if he left the country with a dilapidated economy in the hands of a new leader.

But the truth is that Tanzania never completely recovered from that war.

Living 'for others'

Four years ago I met him in London.

We spoke for more than two hours during which he asked my opinion on the multiparty system in Tanzania.

"Corruption has infested the country," he said "Would you like to go back to a single party state?" he asked me.

I was taken aback by his question. But I told him that Tanzania cannot live as an island in the new world.

I last saw him when he was critically ill at St. Thomas' Hospital.

He had lived all his life for others, for the betterment of his country, Africa and the rest of the world.

He will go down in history as one great African leader and world statesman who knew the right time to make his exit both in politics and in life.

Songs of grief for Tanzania's founder

By Tira Shubart in Dar es Salaam

Tanzania was plunged into national mourning today with the announcement of the death of former President Julius Nyerere, known here as the Father of the Nation.

The usual bustling streets of Dar es Salaam are almost silent as people gather around any available radio listening to President Benjamin Mkapa's tribute to Nyerere, which is repeated every few minutes.

Tanzania's foremost gospel singer Captain John Komba and his choir had composed and recorded a song of tribute and mourning, which was recorded earlier this week for television and radio.

The lyrics repeat the refrain:

"The nation is weeping. The father of the nation is gone, he has left us in tears. We will remember him forever. The nation is mourning, the nation is weeping. He was a soldier of Tanzania, he was a soldier of Africa"

Churches throughout Tanzania have convened special prayer services in memory of the man who led his people from colonialism to independence.

Some businesses have already begun to close down for a period of mourning. The official announcement for the funeral arrangements is expected shortly.

The government has called upon Tanzanians to remain calm and to respect the values embraced by the man they call 'Mwalimu' or Teacher, the first occupation of the nation's founder.

The most striking thing throughout Dar es Salaam is the intense sense of personal loss felt by virtually every Tanzanian.

Nyerere not only brought the country to freedom but also dominated the political and emotional life of Tanzania for half a century. There is stunned disbelief that he is gone despite a long decline into illness in London's St Thomas's Hospital.

Although for many years he had no formal role in politics, he played an integral position behind the scenes and his influence was felt by every politician.

He was the last surviving giant of the days of emerging African independence and until his death certainly the best known and most widely respected East African leader.

Now, on the quayside, people have left their offices, gathering together under the tropical trees, singing along with the radio: 'Nearer my God to Thee...'

Tanzania prepares for Nyerere funeral

Friday, October 15, 1999 Published at 12:56 GMT 13:56 UK

Government officials in Tanzania have been meeting to discuss funeral arrangements for

the former Tanzanian president, Julius Nyerere, who died on Thursday. Dr Nyerere's body is to be flown back to Tanzania, where it will lie in state in Dar Es Salaam before being buried in his home village of Butiama, near Lake Victoria. Meanwhile, world leaders have continued to pay tribute to the man who led his country to independence and was known affectionately by his people as 'Mwalimu' - the teacher. Former South African president Nelson Mandela recalled that he was among the first members of the African National Congress (ANC) to be received in Tanzania by Dr Nyerere during the long struggle against apartheid.

"The freedom of his country, the liberation of other oppressed peoples and the unity and decolonisation of the African continent were part of a single struggle for a better world," he said.

Another tributes came from President Museveni of Uganda, who praised the role of Tanzanian forces in helping to overthrow the dictatorship of Idi Amin in 1979.

"By helping us to overthrow the Idi Amin dictatorship, Mwalimu Nyerere gave us a fresh start," he said.

"All patriots of Uganda are eternally grateful for Mwalimu's contribution."

Ceasefire declared

US President Bill Clinton said Dr Nyerere was a pioneering leader for freedom and self-government in Africa, from whom many African leaders sought guidance as they crafted their own new societies.

In Burundi, where Dr Nyerere was involved in negotiating a peace agreement between the Tutsi dominated army and Hutu rebel groups, the main rebel faction, the Forces for the Defence of Democracy, has declared a 48 hour unilateral ceasefire as a mark of respect. A spokesman for the FDD said that, although Dr Nyerere had made mistakes, he had shown himself a good friend of the Burundian people.

However, the Burundian authorities have accused him of bias and poor judgement in the peace negotiations.

The death of the 77-year-old statesman, who led his country to independence, was announced on Tanzanian radio on Thursday by the current Head of State, Benjamin Mkapa.

Dr Nyerere had been diagnosed with leukaemia in August and was admitted to St Thomas' hospital in London three weeks ago.

In Tanzania, 30 days of mourning have been declared for one of the country's most revered figures.

Flags are flying at half-mast and many radio and television stations have been playing religious music.

Julius Nyerere served as Tanzania's first president from 1961 to 1985.

An important opponent of colonialism and apartheid, Dr Nyerere stood out as an African leader who ignored the trappings of power.

But while he united his nation and made major advances in the fields of health and education, his African socialist policy of "ujama" - community-based farming collectives - proved disastrous for Tanzania's economy.

Independent

Julius Nyerere, the elder statesman of post-colonial Africa, dies, aged 77

By Joe Khamisi in Dar es Salaam

15 October 1999

THE TANZANIAN nation was in shock yesterday following the death of the country's founder Julius Nyerere, one of Africa's elder statesmen.

At exactly noon yesterday, a sombre President Benjamin Mkapa went on national television to announce – his voice cracking with emotion – that the man known to all as "Mwalimu" (teacher) had finally succumbed to leukaemia at the age of 77. Nyerere, the father of African socialism who led his country to independence from Britain in 1961, had been in a London hospital in critical condition since 9 September.

"Today, I have the sad duty to announce that Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere has died," said Mr Mkapa, as senior officials around him struggled to hold back tears. He ordered a 30-day mourning period.

This port city of almost three million citizens virtually came to a standstill as people huddled around televisions and radios. Running documentaries on Nyerere's life were broadcast throughout the day.

Mr Mkapa summarised Nyerere's achievements in fighting colonialism, his vision that led him to forge the union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar in 1964, and his role in the independence struggle of several southern African nations.

"There may be those who may fear that the country would plunge into instability or that our relations with our neighbours would suffer," said Mr Mkapa. "Nyerere bequeathed this nation with peace and stability and I want to appeal to all to

unite and co-operate to accord Mwalimu the respect that he deserves."

Nyerere remains a revered figure in Tanzania and abroad, despite his disastrous introduction of Maoist-style policies in the 1960s, which led to the forced relocation of millions of people into the countryside in an attempt to boost agricultural production. The experiment began to crumble in the late 70s when it became clear that the policy had brought farming to a standstill and plunged the East African country into debt.

Nyerere commands respect for being one of the first post-colonial African leaders to hand over power voluntarily. He retired in 1985 after 23 years as president, admitting that development policies he so vigorously advocated had failed. Yesterday, world leaders praised his statesmanship. Tony Blair stressed Nyerere's achievement in subordinating tribal rivalries to national identity. "The fact that Tanzania is today a country at peace with itself and its neighbours is in large part a tribute to Mwalimu," said Mr Blair.

From elsewhere in Africa tributes poured in, especially from Uganda – where he was admired for sending troops to chase out the dictator Idi Amin – and from Zambia, where he is credited with securing the release from jail of the former president Kenneth Kaunda after Mr Kaunda was blamed for a failed coup in 1997.

Nyerere's death had been expected after a brain scan earlier this week showed that he had suffered a severe stroke. Family members at his bedside had been debating whether to switch off a life-support system when he suffered a further stroke. Preparations for a state funeral were well under way yesterday. The government has already taken block bookings in major hotels to ensure accommodation for foreign leaders. Repair work is being carried out on the airport road and on the national stadium in Dar es Salaam, where his body is expected to lie in state following repatriation.

Third World visionary who brought socialism to the villages

By Alex Duval Smith Africa Correspondent
15 October 1999

JULIUS NYERERE was among an elite club of African statesmen – including Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah, Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda and Kenya's Jomo Kenyatta – who led their countries out of British rule into self-determination and provided the backbone for independence movements which changed the face of the continent.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s they believed in seeking "the political kingdom" which would ultimately lead to independence for all of Africa and solidarity between people whose countries,

they pragmatically agreed, would be determined according to colonial boundaries.

The Nyerere generation espoused old-fashioned socialism, collectivism, even Maoism – ideological concepts which now seem redundant and damaging but which were crucial, in their day, to nation-building. Those concepts were certainly founded on more substance than the greed and power-hunger which have discredited the "strong new leaders", such as Congo's Laurent Kabila, heralded less than two years ago as "beacons of hope" by the US Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright.

The legacy of Nyerere – or *Mwalimu*, meaning "teacher" in Kiswahili – is that of a political activist and, to his fans, a visionary who detribalised the country. His critics point to the poverty and decrepitude of Tanzania today. You have to take your pick.

Post-war Britain, which was administering Tanganyika under a League of Nations mandate, was ready to be shot of it. This was not Kenya or Uganda which with their wealth could help bridge the dollar-gap; it had more than 100 tribes and the Tanganyika African National Union (Tanu) was a convincing movement.

Tanu's president, Nyerere, in common with a whole generation of Africans, had studied in Europe or fought in the Second World War. They had returned home with new ideas of justice – linked to the view that Britain had gone to war to defend an oppressed minority like the Poles – and a whole philosophy built around melding African rural tradition with European-style government. After 12 December 1961, when Tanganyika became the first east African nation to gain independence, Nyerere as its prime minister and president-to-be wasted no time in bringing Zanzibar into the fold.

Nyerere's triumph was to build a lasting physiognomy for a place which had no logical *raison d'être* apart from in the pencil and ruler of a 19th century map-maker. He ruled that Kiswahili be spoken nationwide, introduced a consistent education policy and rotating official posts. Along with the idea of centralised socialist government, he imposed "*ujamaa*" – communal land ownership which he said was a national extension of African village co-dependency. Naturally, it led to a nation of farmers who drove their tools into the soil, then leant against them and nodded off.

Stanley Meiser, who was a foreign correspondent in Tanzania in the 1960s, said: "He nationalised the banks, plantations and manufacturing plants when he did not have personnel to run them. He pressured farmers into becoming *ujamaa* villagers even though Tanzanians found collective farming abhorrent. He broke relations with Britain,

Tanzania's chief aid donor, because he wanted the rest of the world to "take Africa's word seriously". He retired in 1985, becoming the first African leader ever to step down voluntarily. To some, it was 24 years too late. But even if his Maoist economic policies were disastrous, Nyerere was modern enough to understand that "debt, development and drought" were Africa's greatest challenges.

'I learnt at his feet ... he was our guru'

By Anne Penketh
15 October 1999

"I LEARNT at his feet," said Olara Otunnu, UN special representative for children and armed conflict, of Julius Nyerere, the former Tanzanian president who died yesterday.

Mr Otunnu, 50, like many of his generation, travelled to Dar es Salaam as a student from his native Uganda to hear the "Mwalimu" expound on his ideas for African and East African unity, and the radical development policies that gave rise to his brand of African socialism. "He was our guru; he influenced a whole generation," said Mr Otunnu, a former Ugandan foreign minister.

The two forged a friendship over the years and would later meet every few months in Geneva or New York on a Sunday. "I would always ask – do we meet before the church service, or after?" Mr Otunnu said. Nyerere, always with his cane – a sign of authority and wisdom – was a Roman Catholic.

The Nyerere that Mr Otunnu knew was a man with a mischievous sense of humour ready to discuss African issues but also Shakespeare. "It was always like a college seminar, whether it lasted 10 minutes or two hours." For Mr Otunnu, Nyerere was "a giant by all measure in Africa". At a time when African leaders are known for self-aggrandisement and corruption, he set "a personal example of probity".

Nyerere's main focus recently had been trying to end the Burundi conflict between the Hutus and Tutsis. The last time Mr Otunnu saw the "Mwalimu" was in Geneva in May. "He said how difficult Burundi was but he wanted them to enter the new millennium with a new compact. I said whatever happens, he must see it through ... He replied: 'That much at least I will do'."

The Nation (Nairobi)

A Symbol Of Africa's Hope

By Nation Correspondent

Nairobi - Tanzanians affectionately referred to him as "Mwalimu" (Swahili for teacher).

Across the Eastern, Southern and Central Africa region, he was known as a champion of the liberation movement, a father figure and a Pan-Africanist.

Julius Kambarage Nyerere, Tanzania's founding President who died of leukemia yesterday in a London hospital aged 77, will be remembered as a symbol of Africa's hope as it emerged from the shadow of European colonial rule.

Such was his resolve for regional integration that he was prepared to negotiate a delay in Tanzania's independence to wait for Kenya to be granted freedom for the countries to form an East Africa federation.

Later as President, he eloquently justified Tanzania's invasion of Uganda in 1978 during an Organisation of African Unity (OAU) summit. The invasion was at the expense of Tanzania's fragile economy but it set the tide of opposing dictatorship on the continent.

It is to Nyerere that President Benjamin Mkapa owes the presidency after the elder statesman intervened on the side of older politicians against youthful ones especially the current Foreign Minister Jakaya Kikwete. Nyerere, was one of Africa's most revered post-colonial leaders, although his attempt to build a socialist society ended in failure and impoverished his country.

Nyerere paved the way for his bold experiment by leading Tanganyika to independence from Britain in 1961 before becoming its first president in 1962 and masterminding its union with the island of Zanzibar in 1964.

His 1967 'Arusha Declaration' proclaimed socialism and self-reliance as Tanzania's twin goals and set the stage for sweeping nationalisation and a controversial attempt to group scattered peasant families in "ujamaa" - co-operative - villages.

The scheme produced major benefits in education and health care, but Nyerere's social achievements were overshadowed by the absolute failure of his economic policies. When he stepped down as president of Tanzania in 1985, he confessed that he had failed to improve the agriculture-based economy of the impoverished country of 30 million people, a rare admission on a continent where few politicians admit any fault.

Popularly known as Mwalimu - Kiswahili for teacher - and usually dressed in a Mao-style safari suit, he earned respect for his integrity and intellect but was accused by critics of turning a potentially rich country into one of Africa's poorest.

Tanzania's economic crises and the reluctance of Western donors to continue funding aid projects which they felt were being undermined by government policies led Nyerere to open talks with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in 1980.

He balked at demands for massive devaluation and easing of rigid controls on the economy and left his hand-picked successor Ali Hassan Mwinyi to decide whether to accept the IMF terms.

After his retirement, Nyerere played an advisory role in both Tanzanian politics and broader African affairs. For the last four years of his life, he mediated in peace talks aimed at ending civil war in neighbouring Burundi.

Nyerere's successes were in the international arena, where he championed African liberation from colonial Western rulers.

He was a strong opponent of South Africa's white minority rule and pushed for economic and political measures against the government's apartheid policies.

As a major force behind the Pan-African movement and one of the founders of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1963, Nyerere was a key figure in African events in the 1970s. It was then that Tanzania became a magnet for anti-colonial activists and radical intellectuals.

But his role in Africa was often controversial. In 1967, he recognised secessionist Biafra, crushed three years later in Nigeria's civil war. In 1979, he rejected the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of OAU member states and sent the Tanzanian army to end Idi Amin's brutal dictatorship in Uganda.

Julius Kambarage Nyerere was born on April 13, 1922 at Butiama, a small village near Lake Victoria.

The son of Chief Nyerere Burite of the Wazanaki sub-tribe, he attended a government school from the age of 12 and then went to a mission school, where he became a devout Roman Catholic.

Nyerere took a teacher's diploma at Makerere College in Uganda and in 1948 won a scholarship to Edinburgh University in Scotland to study history, politics and law.

He became the first black graduate in British-administered Tanganyika and in 1954 formed the Tanganyika African National Union - the fore-runner of the ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi now led by President Benjamin Mkapa to campaign for independence.

Nyerere is survived by his wife Maria, whom he married in 1953, and their eight children.

He was known as "Africa's Conscience" and he called himself the "Father of the Nation". No other statesman embodied a country as much as Julius Kambarage Nyerere did Tanzania. As president, he led the country along its own path of African socialism.

Following his retirement from active politics in 1985, he became a mediator in the numerous crises that gripped Southern Africa and was a spokesman for the region until his death. As the 26th child of a chief in the then Tanganyika, Nyerere grew up near Lake Victoria. His second name Kambarage is Swahili for Rain Spirit.

A charismatic academic with a sense of humour, he championed the unification of Tanganyika with the Indian Ocean island of Zanzibar to form the United Republic of Tanzania in 1964.

"Let the others fly to the moon, we need to work to feed ourselves," he said in reference to his country's socialist policy of self-reliance with the emphasis on agricultural economic policy.

Nyerere, whose charisma brought him admirers from outside his country and who appeared on the world stage as a voice of reason, tolerated little criticism within Tanzania.

Right up to the end of the 1970s there were more political detainees in Tanzanian prisons than there were in those of apartheid South Africa.

Nyerere was also a friend of the liberation movements trying to free southern Africa from white rule.

Freedom fighters from South Africa, Zimbabwe (then known as Rhodesia) and Mozambique all began their long fought campaigns from Tanzania.

Nyerere also dominated the informal group of nations, known as the "Frontline States", which were committed to the end of white minority rule in South Africa and Rhodesia. He was one of the founders of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and left an indelible mark on the social and political history of the continent, earning a place next to Senegal's poet-hero Leopold Senghor and Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah in the pantheon of African legends.

A politician of vision - detractors said utopian - he was a skilled negotiator, and his services as a mediator in international or regional conflicts were in regular demand years after his official retirement.

This smiling, modest and somewhat priest-like man - he was a lifelong devout Roman Catholic - assumed the charge of a poor state

with little modern infrastructure, dependent on agricultural cash crops as its main resource. Reformist rather than revolutionary, he preferred to look to the conscience of the West for the solution to problems of development rather than to the Communist bloc as did many of his contemporaries in post-independence Africa. Mwalimu will indeed be missed by many.

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The Times Of Zambia (Lusaka)

Tanzanians say goodbye to Mwalimu

October 15, 1999

By Austin Kaluba

Lusaka - Julius Kambarage Mwalimu Nyerere's passing at St Thomas Hospital in London is a close of a chapter in Tanzanian history. Nyerere shaped his own brand of African socialism that ushered in ujama (familyhood) complete with the promotion of the indigenous Kiswahili as a lingua franca. After remaining at the helm of power in the ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) for almost three decades, Dr Nyerere voluntarily retired in 1985 joining African leaders like Leopold Senghor of Senegal and Olusegun Obasanjo who stepped down on their own. The 77 year old politician commanded respect for his dedication and idealism that appealed to the masses who thronged his rallies to listen to him. Mwalimu (teacher), one of Africa's most respected leaders will be mourned as Tanzania's father of the nation who helped to shape the destiny of his country and African ideology.

The international community will also remember him for his mediation in the war in neighbouring Burundi in the last few years until the time of his death. Mwalimu commanded respect internationally and locally.

Even the opposition in his country had respect for him. Leader of the opposition United Democratic Party John Cheyo once said Nyerere was a fountain of wisdom who qualified for the father of the nation. The Tanzanian former president fell into a coma on October 1 when he was taken to London for treatment.

Despite frantic efforts to save his life, the condition continued to deteriorate. Tanzanians

conducted prayers to ensure their beloved leader recovered but in vain.

Nyerere was liberal minded, a socialist and pan-Africanist. He was a revolutionary who radiated charm and charisma.

His brand of African socialism that emphasised self-reliance and togetherness (ujama) under the Arusha declaration of February 7 1967 made him a darling to many Tanzanians despite its failures in later years.

Born in March 1922, his father Chief Burito Nyerere named him after a rain spirit since he was born during rain season.

He was born from a polygamous marriage being a son of a fourth wife. His tribe Zankani is one of the smallest among Tanzania's 113 tribes.

At the age of 12 only wrapped in an old piece of cloth, he was sent to primary school. He did exceptionally well and within a few years he entered Tabora, the only secondary school in Tanzania then run on strict English public school lines. From 1943 to 1945 he studied at the prestigious Makerere University in Uganda.

After graduating, he taught at St Mary's a Catholic school run by White Fathers.

Recognising his intelligence, the priests encouraged him to study at Edinburgh University in Britain. He took up the challenge and studied for an arts degree.

While in Britain he met other black intellectuals who inspired him in nationalism.

When he returned home, he formed the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU).

In 1955 he took the anti-colonial case before the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations.

In 1957 he served for four months as a nominated member in the legislative council and then resigned because the country was making insufficient progress in attaining independence.

As the fight to attain independence intensified, the colonialists adopted a sterner stance in dealing with nationalists. Nyerere was arrested in 1958 and fined for an article he had written in a party paper. He scooped the 1961 elections and became president of the new Tanganyika republic.

He won by a 97 per cent affirmative vote.

Later the island of Zanzibar was granted independence but the Afro-Arab government was overthrown by a revolutionary African government. The coup hysteria spread to Tanganyika where Tanganyika Rifles mutinied and Nyerere came close to being toppled.

He went into hiding and sought British intervention to restore order. Nyerere realised

that to ensure unity he had to unite with Zanzibar.

The two governments came together to form Tanzania with Nyerere as president. But up to this day the union has remained more theoretical than practical.

Zanzibar has retained its autonomy which preserves its own parliament, armed forces, customs regulations and its own foreign reserves. Nyerere's foreign policy was of non-alignment and several other policies were similar to those of the former Zambia president Kenneth Kaunda.

He also got involved seriously in liberating southern African countries that were under colonial rule. Dar-es-Salaam like Lusaka became a base of the leading freedom fighter movements in Africa.

It also became a permanent seat of Africa Unity Liberation Committee. Like Zambia Nyerere cut relations with Britain for recognising Rhodesia's unilateral declaration of independence. The relationship were only restored when Britain made assurances that it was not going to give Rhodesia independence under a white minority government.

Being a socialist at heart, Nyerere made a pact with China when he visited the country in 1965. He introduced a one party state.

Zambian opposition leaders like the late Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula leader of the African National Congress felt Nyerere had to blame for introduction of the same system in Zambia. His major home policy of ujama, has had a big influence in the country's economy and lifestyle of Tanzania.

The system of ujama villages where people came together spread like a bush fire. By January 1972 there were over 3,000 Ujamaa villages covering a population of 1.3 million- the tenth of the country's population.

Like Zambia, Nyerere embarked on a nationalisation exercise. The exercise empowered Tanzanians to run institutions which had previously been in the hands of colonialists.

Like Kaunda, Nyerere at first supported the Biafra secession cause before condemning the move by asking the two parties- the Biafran secessionists and the federal government to dialogue. In 1971, he refused to recognise the government of Idi Amin in Uganda because it had come into power using force. His country played an important role in ousting the dictator in 1979.

Even in retirement, his advice to solve African conflicts was much sought. Until his death he had played a major role in mediating in the Burundi crisis.

When Chiluba was elected Zambia's President, he met Nyerere in Uganda. Though Mwalimu was a close friend of Kaunda, he respected the decision that Zambians had made.

He even commented philosophically that if one's son was made chief, the father had an obligation to respect him. Chiluba has openly praised Nyerere for his outstanding statesmanship.

At a Press conference in Harare, Zimbabwe, Chiluba said Nyerere was one of Africa's foremost statesmen who value democratic norms. In 1998, Nyerere successfully persuaded Kaunda to start eating after the former president's fast in protest against his incarceration for misprison of treason.

Kaunda's family members had tried in vain to make him eat.

Nyerere went further to ask the Government to transfer Kaunda from Mukobeko prison to Kalundu House where he was put under house arrest. His death is a big loss to Africa and Tanzania whose development he had greatly helped to nurture.

That was Julius Kambarage Nyerere. His countrymen and East Africans will bid him farewell Kwaheri Mwalimu (goodbye teacher)

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The Times

JULIUS NYERERE

Julius Nyerere, President of the United Republic of Tanzania, 1964-85, died in hospital in London yesterday aged 77. He was born on April 13, 1922.

Principled but impractically doctrinaire economic policies: Nyerere in 1983

As Prime Minister of Tanganyika from 1961 and, after the union with Zanzibar, President of the United Republic of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere was widely regarded as one of the most cultured and personable African statesmen of his time. His natural inclinations and aptitudes might ordinarily have made him a preacher or a teacher. To the end of his life he was popularly known by the Swahili title, Mwalimu, or teacher, and among his publications were translations into Swahili of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* and *The Merchant of Venice*. But circumstances conspired to turn him into a nationalist campaigner, the leader of an

emergent nation and the prophet of a revolutionary socialist philosophy for Africa.

As a statesman Nyerere achieved a reputation for personal incorruptibility and principled dealings which made him stand out among post-independence African leaders. But his experiment in agricultural socialism, with its collectivisation of traditional farming methods, was over-ambitious and ultimately disastrous. The destruction of the native communes and their replacement with the notoriously inefficient state marketing boards, through which farmers had to sell their produce, reduced a naturally fertile country to a state of colossal dependence on overseas aid. And although Nyerere made great strides in spreading education and healthcare, these were always at the mercy of economic circumstances which kept his country perilously short of resources. In the end the state to which the agricultural economy of Tanzania had been reduced made Nyerere seem, at the end of his 23-year stewardship of the country, an ineffective figure in practical terms, however pure his motives may have been.

As Nyerere's own political position became increasingly embattled, an instinct for survival conspired to make this once liberal and, by nature, gentle man become impatient and coercive in his dealings with those who rivalled or opposed him, and with those of his countrymen who declined to share his view of what was socially and materially good for them. His one-party state became dictatorial and, his personal austerity apart, it developed a pampered and corrupt political elite. By the time that Nyerere - true to his word - stood down from the presidency in 1985, his once saintly image had become somewhat tarnished.

Julius Kambarage Nyerere was born Kambarage Nyerere, the son of a chief of the Zanaki, a small tribe of people who lived east of Lake Victoria. The Zanaki are of Hamitic stock, and this distinctive ancestry showed in Nyerere's features and complexion.

From a local school his quick mind and amiable nature gained him a place first at the elitist government boarding school at Tabora and then at Makerere University College in Uganda. He had already become deeply interested in Roman Catholicism and at the age of 21 he adopted the Christian name Julius. In 1949 he was selected to go on a government scholarship to a British university and eventually graduated with an arts degree at Edinburgh. It was at Edinburgh, under the influence of postwar Fabian socialists, that he developed his ideas of grafting socialism on to African communal habits.

Three years after his return to Africa he decided to give up teaching in order to devote his whole time to politics and the foundation of a party he called

the Tanganyika African National Union (Tanu). In the next six years he played a leading part in forcing the pace of Tanganyika's progress towards self-government and independence. He led, though he did not always control, the variegated activities of Tanu in its struggles with a paternalistic colonial administration which, to use his own analogy, was travelling in the same direction but at a different speed.

He was an excellent speaker and organiser but his quiet manner and generally moderate views concealed a strength of character and purpose which led some to underestimate his calibre as a politician and a demagogue. If he sometimes seemed unwilling to grasp the nettle, he did not lack moral courage.

Soon after Tanganyika became independent in 1961, Nyerere resigned from his post of Prime Minister as a result of disagreements with some of his more volatile colleagues and devoted himself to refreshing his contact with the people through travel. He did so with such success that within a year he was elected President of a newly-constituted one-party republic with virtually no opposition. In 1964, however, an army mutiny, organised by a group of dissident rivals, created a situation in which Nyerere reluctantly felt obliged to ask for British military forces to restore law and order and his own position, a call which was quickly met and generously acknowledged.

At about the same time a revolution in Zanzibar caused an upheaval which led to the two countries uniting as Tanzania. The union was meant to act as a moderating influence on Zanzibar but in practice it served to demonstrate the ineffectiveness of Nyerere's Government in a situation in Zanzibar where, like the British Government in Ian Smith's Rhodesia, it had nominal authority but no real power.

In Tanganyika itself Nyerere could exercise greater control. The political philosophy which he worked out and gradually applied throughout the country was set out in his *Arusha Declaration* in 1967. It laid emphasis on hard work and self-help, on the importance of growing crops and living on the land, and the unwisdom of relying on money and expertise from either the West or the East for the development of the country's resources.

This did not mean that Nyerere was averse to receiving such aid, and there was a time when Tanzania was getting more outside help per capita than any other country in Africa. A visit to Mao's China meant that when Western sources declined to lend money for what was believed to be an uneconomic railway between Tanzania and Zambia, China agreed both to build and finance it. Nyerere was particularly impressed by his visit to China and by the seeming relevance of that country's problems and solutions to those of his

own. When he returned he proceeded to remind his sometimes bewildered countrymen that a citizen has as many duties as rights, and to manifest his conversion to practical socialism by wholesale acts of nationalisation, and the establishment of collective farms and villages which were not always appreciated by those they were meant to benefit.

In spite of pressure from some of his own supporters Nyerere generally pursued a policy of racial and religious toleration, and he set a personal example of simplicity and honesty in his style of living and the enjoyment of the fruits of office. When it came to preserving his own and his party's political power his record was less impressive. He showed little regard for the individual rights and liberties which he and others had demanded or taken for granted under colonial rule, and after the abolition of British legacies like *habeas corpus* in 1964 he used locally enacted legislation such as the Refugees Control Act and the Preventative Detention Act to hold without trial those who embarrassed or opposed his administration.

Nyerere had equally little time for democratic processes which could upset the uninterrupted exercise of power by himself or his party. In 1975 he was re-elected President for a fourth term of five years. There were no other candidates, an exclusion which was justified on the grounds of the slow and imperfect progress which Tanzania had made towards the ideal of an egalitarian and self-sufficient society. In a review called *The Arusha Declaration Ten Years After*, which was published in 1977, Nyerere attributed these failings to the inability of many of his countrymen to understand the principles of sacrifice and hard work.

In 1980 Nyerere was re-elected President for a fifth, and final term. By this time the economy of Tanzania was in a parlous state and Nyerere had to reapply for a massive loan from the International Monetary Fund which he had earlier rejected on the grounds that it was dependent on conditions, such as devaluation and reduction of government expenditure, which were condemned as "using our economic difficulties to interfere in the management of our economy".

In external affairs Nyerere took a leading part in the activities of the Organisation of African Unity, and in supporting and encouraging efforts, by whatever means, to end white domination in the Portuguese colonies and in Rhodesia and later in Namibia and South Africa. Realising the weaknesses and dangers of divided forces, he strove to induce the various nationalist leaders in Rhodesia to subordinate their separate tribal and personal interests to a common cause, and to

accept the leadership of Robert Mugabe at a time when it was still in considerable dispute.

In the wider fields of international affairs Nyerere for a time earned a reputation for clear thinking, plain speaking and moral superiority, but in the 1970s and 1980s, as he got older, more autocratic and perhaps less secure, he allowed himself to become embroiled in other parts of East and southern Africa in ways which did him less credit. He quarrelled with his partners in the East African Community and terminated long-standing associations in matters of communications and transport which had served them well. He closed the border with Kenya for several damaging years until an arbitrated agreement on the Community's assets led to its re-opening in 1983.

With Milton Obote as his guest in Dar es Salaam after the Ugandan ex-President's expulsion by Idi Amin, Nyerere became a target for Amin's resentment. In 1979, to distract his people from the country's internal troubles, Amin invaded Tanzania. Uganda's forces were soon thrown back and Nyerere took the opportunity to rid his neighbour of its savage leader and restore Obote to power. The earlier use of his forces to help to topple regimes in the Comoros (1975) and in the Seychelles (1977) had a far less clear-cut legitimacy. Nyerere was elected chairman of the Organisation of African Unity in 1984.

Nyerere had given an undertaking that he would relinquish the presidency of Tanzania when his last term expired in 1985, and it was in character that when the time came he did not seek to alter or postpone it. It had indeed been prefaced and confirmed in the previous year by changes in the Constitution which among other things raised the minimum age of a President from 30 to 40 and limited his tenure to two periods of five years. Nyerere's chosen successor, Ali Hassan Mwinyi, had already been nominated and formally elected as the senior Vice-President, and when the time came for Nyerere to give up his post Mwinyi was the only candidate for the succession.

In 1985 Nyerere paid a visit to Britain where he both lunched with the Queen and delivered a rebuke to the City for using its financial strength to impose onerous conditions on its debtors in the Third World. While his country had enjoyed an era of peace and political stability under his presidency, it had also acquired a huge burden of debt and its economy was in a state of serious and uncomfortable decline.

Although he stood down from the presidency Nyerere did not retire from politics. He remained as chairman of Chama cha Mapindizi, the ruling party organisation, for a further five years, continuing to look and to play the part of an *éminence grise* both in domestic and in external affairs. This was not always convenient. In such a

position he was capable of playing an obstructive role as the country's new leaders attempted to roll back the frontiers of his Utopian socialism and return to more pragmatic policies.

His own reputation as a statesman of sincerity, ability and integrity remained high, both in Africa and in the outside world. His incorruptibility made him singular and the austerity of his personal life was in marked contrast to the excesses of many of the leaders of neighbouring countries. In 1990 he finally quitted the political stage and retired to his modest farm at Butiyama on the shores of Lake Victoria. Recently, however, he had emerged to play a role in trying to negotiate an end to the civil strife in neighbouring Burundi.

In August 1998 leukaemia was diagnosed and Nyerere was examined by a German doctor. Early last month he flew to London for further tests. He died in St Thomas' Hospital, where he had been receiving treatment since mid-September.

Julius Nyerere married, in 1953, Maria Magige. They had five sons and two daughters.

Guardian

Africans mourn death of the father of Tanzania

Julius Nyerere, former president of Tanzania and, in the two decades before the release of Nelson Mandela from prison, the most important politician in Africa, died in London yesterday aged 77, after a long battle against leukaemia.

His wife, Maria, and six of his eight children had been at his bedside during the last week. His death was mourned across Africa, where uniquely he retained his prestige both with the generation of leaders whose countries he helped in their struggles for independence and with ordinary people for whom he was the continent's one leader untainted by corruption. He was tireless in his crusade against poverty.

He will be buried at his birthplace in the impoverished remote area of Butiyama. His body will be flown home after a mass at Westminster cathedral at noon on Saturday. Tony Blair, the prime minister, said: "He was a leading African statesman of his time and the founder of modern Tanzania. He played a historic role in consolidating independence in his country.

"The fact that Tanzania is today a country at peace with itself and its neighbours is, in large part, a tribute to 'Mwalimu' Nyerere."

Peter Hain, the foreign office minister, who arrived in Dar es Salaam on a visit yesterday, said: "Mwalimu Julius Nyerere was a

grandfather to modern Africa, loved and respected by the whole continent, and the international community.

"He was an inspiration to everyone involved in freedom struggles across Africa, and his passing hurts us all."

South Africa's president, Thabo Mbeki, said Nyerere was a pillar of strength for oppressed people.

His death raised the spectre of instability in Tanzania, where political in-fighting and tension over the future of Zanzibar have been rising in recent years. They had been held at bay by Nyerere's control of the ruling party - Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM).

His death was announced in a television and radio address by the current president, Benjamin Mkapa. He said: "Dear Tanzanians, it is with great shock and sorrow that I announce our beloved father of the nation, Julius Kambarage Nyerere, is dead."

He added: "I know the death of the father of the nation is going to shock and dismay all Tanzanians. Others will be filled with great doubt and fear.

"Mwalimu built a foundation of unity in our country and he fought for the freedom of all. I assure all Tanzanians Mwalimu left a firm foundation."

State radio played funeral music while its TV station ran film of Nyerere giving speeches in parliament, meeting heads of state, and speaking with ordinary citizens.

Victoria Brittain

Friday October 15, 1999

Nyerere was the first president of Tanganyika after leading the country to independence from Britain in 1961. He masterminded union with Zanzibar in 1964, renaming his country Tanzania.

He launched an ambitious project to transform the lives of the country's 30m peasants. He was enormously successful in bringing education and health to even the remotest areas, though the collectivising of the agricultural economy largely failed and brought him ridicule from a hostile west.

In the last years before his death Nyerere was the key negotiator who stopped Burundi's ethnic violence from spilling out of control, as had happened in Rwanda in 1994, and the one voice of sanity against the unravelling of Congo.

For Nyerere the move marked the beginning of an effective commitment to African liberation movements: later, he played host to the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan-African Congress (PAC) of South Africa, to Samora Machel's Frelimo - battling against

the Portuguese in Mozambique - and to Robert Mugabe's fledgling Zanu forces, which opposed colonial rule in the then Southern Rhodesia. He broke off relations with Britain, Tanzania's principal aid donor, after its failure to use force when Ian Smith declared UDI in 1965 - earning himself the description by Smith of the "evil genius" behind the ensuing guerrilla war.

The unusually principled way in which Nyerere looked upon international politics was again evident in his uncompromising stand against the brutal regime of Idi Amin in Uganda in the late 1970s. Despite almost universal condemnation of the dictator's excesses, it was left to Tanzania to intervene militarily and dislodge Amin. A brief invasion of Tanzania by Amin in late 1978 brought a swift response from Nyerere: Tanzanian troops, joined by Ugandan exiles, were mobilised to drive back the invaders. But they didn't stop at the border. Kampala fell in 1979, with its residents lining the streets chanting the name of the Tanzanian leader. It was the first time in African post-colonial history that one country had invaded another and captured its capital. It was a fundamental breach of the principles of the Organisation of African Unity. But Nyerere weathered the storm.

However, the campaign proved expensive, and while their leader devoted such resources, time and energy to foreign affairs, his critics in Tanzania argued that he overlooked domestic problems, and failed to apply the same observance of human rights abuses. He seldom flinched from using a Preventive Detention Act that allowed him to lock up his opponents virtually at will. Relations with Zanzibar, which had united with Tanganyika in 1964 to form the United Republic of Tanzania with Nyerere as president, were always strained. Tanzania became ever more dependent upon foreign aid, and decision-making was paralysed by a ponderous bureaucracy. Nyerere was to admit that mistakes had been made, while his devotees pointed to developments - such as the spread of literacy and primary healthcare. A practising Catholic in a predominantly Muslim country, Nyerere married Maria Magige in 1953, by whom he had five sons and two daughters. He maintained a passionate interest in Swahili, the language of East Africa, and translated Julius Caesar and The Merchant Of Venice. His political writings included Essays On Socialism (1969) and Freedom And Development (1973).

The idea that when he resigned as president, handing over to Hassan Ali Mwinyi, Nyerere would live quietly on his farm at Batiama, cultivating his interest in book-binding, was always improbable. And indeed he continued to influence government policy through his chairmanship of the single ruling party, Chama Cha Mapinduzi.

Whether or not he initiated the debate about an alternative political system in Tanzania is questionable, but he rapidly became a part of it. Although mwalmumu, or teacher, as he liked to be known, was to his own people one of them, he nonetheless became - like Senghor, of Senegal, and Sadat, of Egypt - an African leader who outgrew his country.

When he relinquished the party chairmanship in 1990, he was able to devote more time to campaigning for greater co-operation between developing countries, and, as chairman of the South Commission, a closing of the gap between rich and poor. He also took on the role of African elder statesman, working notably in conflict resolution, although his most recent efforts - trying to resolve Burundi's civil war - did not bear fruit.

Julius Nyerere belonged to a generation of African post-independence leaders, like Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah and Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda, who had an unshakeable belief in their mission to lead their countries to a better world through their chosen political ideologies, but who were unable to recognise their personal failings.

When he stepped down, Nyerere declared that "although socialism has failed in Tanzania, I will remain a socialist because I believe socialism is the best policy for poor countries like Tanzania". His successors decided otherwise, embracing capitalism and the free market, but with arguable benefits to the country.

His detractors would regard his stewardship of Tanzania to have been flawed by his single-minded adherence to a manifestly unworkable policy. Yet Nyerere is more likely to be remembered for having provided a moral leadership to Tanzania, and indeed Africa, when the continent was taking its first shaky steps after independence.

Julian Marshall

Ahmed Rajab, editor of Africa Analysis, writes: Julius Nyerere was "a great leader who made great mistakes," as one ruler once famously said of another. He unified his country, certainly, gave it a sense of purpose and, in the 1960s and 1970s, made Tanzanians feel proud of themselves.

As a pan-Africanist, he could not be faulted for putting his country in the forefront of the frontline states against white minority rule in Africa. He took a principled stand at a great cost to his country, but his people never really minded. Tanzania became a home for exiled freedom-fighters who are now the rulers in a number of southern African states.

Many a time, Nyerere confounded those of us who thought of ourselves as being to his left by appropriating our political lexicon and social agenda. He never quite became a Marxist, but the former shepherd boy, whom we used to deride as "a good boy of the west" and who was viewed with suspicion by the likes of Kwame Nkrumah, turned into a tactical ally when he started talking about class struggle and a classless society. But his African socialist philosophy of ujamaa only brought misery and economic degradation. Under the man who preached self-reliance, Tanzania depended on foreign aid more than any other African country. That was only one of his contradictions.

His vision of a united Africa did not stop him from recognising Biafra, the breakaway eastern Nigeria, in the early 1960s. A pious Catholic, who could not tolerate the excesses of Idi Amin, Nyerere nonetheless felt himself unable to move against another dictator much closer to home: the burly Sheikh Abeid Karume, Zanzibar's then president and Tanzania's first vice-president, who presided over a brutal dictatorship, detained people without trial, killed countless imagined or real enemies, and forced girls of Persian or Arab origin to marry elderly black Zanzibaris. Karume was assassinated in 1972 but, throughout the sheikh's eight-year rule, Nyerere never lifted a finger against his tragic histrionics.

Despite his failings, Nyerere was revered by progressive Africans. When they talked of Tanzania, they talked, in effect, of Nyerere - the simple, unassuming former schoolteacher, untainted by corruption or personal scandals and with a fondness for Mateus rosé. In the 1950s and 1960s, admirers would copy his hairstyle, his moustache, and later, when he started donning a kofia, the Swahili-Muslim cap, his fellow up-country Christians did likewise. In the mid-1960s he went to China, shook hands with Chairman Mao, and came back with a variant of the Mao suit, which became de rigueur among Tanzania's officials and aspiring politicians.

Had he not been a politician, Nyerere might have become a scholar of repute. He was a poet of modest pretensions and, although his

translation of Julius Caesar was not brilliant, he did, after all, dare to translate Shakespeare. He could be profound and esoteric to the intellectuals; streetwise to the masses. His speeches were electrifying. I remember spending the best part of two hours with him alone in a Nairobi hotel room in 1994, when he was out of office and Tanzania was about to embark on its first multi-party elections. Initially, he refused to discuss the prospective presidential candidates of his own party, the Chama Cha Mapinduzi. But once he had been assured that it was strictly off-the-record, he became candid, almost gossipy, about a number of party leaders.

Earlier in the day, when I offered to bring him tea during a conference break, he turned me down, saying: "Let me do it myself; it is at times like these that I can act as a normal human being."

The Independent

OBITUARY: JULIUS NYERERE

Julius Kambarage Nyerere, politician, born 1922; died October 14 1999

WITH THE death of Julius Nyerere, Africa mourns one of its last and greatest independence leaders. Mwalimu, or teacher, as Nyerere was known with respect and affection in Africa, was a statesman of principle, intelligence and charisma. Political philosopher, militant, idealist and devout Catholic, he was an innate democrat who was one of the few modern African leaders to take and maintain power through the ballot and to give it up willingly.

Nyerere will justly be remembered as the man who led his country peacefully to independence and to nationhood and provided Tanzania, not with prosperity, but with dignity and with long-lasting stability in a turbulent period of African history. After he retired from day-to-day politics in 1985, Nyerere became Africa's leading elder statesman, and provided a voice of reason and moderation in a continent rife with conflict and extremism. Born in Butiama, north-western Tanganyika, in 1922, soon after the British took over the administration of the colony from the defeated Germans, Nyerere was the son of the chief of the small Zanaki tribe. His precocious intelligence was spotted by the influential Roman Catholic order of White Fathers who helped him secure a place first at Makerere University in Uganda, where he was one of a circle of young African aristocrats who were to become leading political figures in East Africa, and later at Edinburgh University, where he studied history and politics and became the

second Tanganyikan to earn a university degree outside Africa.

Nyerere opted first for a teaching career, but his talents as an orator, political thinker and organiser soon singled him out as the obvious favourite for the leadership of Tanganyika's nascent independence movement which Nyerere himself formally launched with the creation in 1954 of the Tanganyika Africa National Union, Tanu. Moderate by nature - he once said that his philosophical heroes were Pope John XXIII and Teilhard de Chardin - Nyerere's first major achievement was to win independence without bloodshed. In this he was helped by the co-operative attitude of the last British governor, Sir Richard Turnbull. In elections in 1960, the same year as Harold Macmillan's "Winds of Change" speech, Tanu swept to victory and formal independence came in December 1961 with Nyerere himself, who became President in 1962, riding on the crest of enormous personal prestige and popularity.

The Cold War was at its height and the rivalry between the Soviet bloc and the West, particularly vicious in Africa, was hardly an auspicious background for the emergence of young African nations trying to build national unity and achieve economic development almost from scratch. Nyerere's Tanganyika became thoroughly enmeshed in Cold War politics following the successful Soviet-backed coup on the island of Zanzibar in 1964. It was followed by a coup attempt in Tanganyika itself which very nearly toppled Nyerere: he had to call up British military help to put an end to the mutiny.

These events encouraged Nyerere to enter negotiations with the coup leaders in Zanzibar on a political union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar. One of his aims was to neutralise the revolution in Zanzibar and its East-bloc backers. The upshot was the creation of the Republic of Tanzania in mid-1964 and the absorption of the Zanzibar Revolutionary Council into the union government which remained under Nyerere's control. Though not without many difficulties, the union has so far succeeded - one of the few successes of its kind in Africa.

In spite of his socialist ideals, Nyerere never allowed Tanzania to become a dependent of the Communist bloc. But in the Cold War atmosphere of the 1960s Nyerere's non-alignment, his socialist experiments and his surprisingly warm relations with China were all held in suspicion by the West. Cool relations with the United States and Britain further deteriorated as Nyerere became increasingly impatient with their tacit support for white ruled Rhodesia and South Africa. Throughout this period Nyerere, a passionate believer in the potential of the United Nations to

play a stabilising role in world affairs, was a persistent and consistent critic of "neo-colonialist" interventionism not only in Vietnam, Cuba and the Congo but also in Czechoslovakia. On a more concrete level Nyerere's Tanzania became, like Zambia under his friend Kenneth Kaunda, a foremost mobilisation point for freedom fighters in the struggle against the white minority strongholds of southern Africa.

It is sometimes argued that Nyerere's idealism was bad for Tanzania. Certainly by 1967 Tanzania, one of the world's poorest countries, was facing an acute economic crisis. The causes of this crisis - shrinking foreign aid, an increase in the foreign debt burden and a fall in the price of commodities - were largely outside Nyerere's control. Nyerere was however responsible for the radical socialist remedies he prescribed in his famous 1967 Arusha Declaration: wholesale nationalisation and agricultural collectivisation and villagisation. Tanzania's economy is still struggling to recover. Probably these economic programmes - later, when voluntary collectivisation met with resistance, peasants were forced into rural communes - were the biggest mistakes of Nyerere's career.

However these economic policies were part of a unique social experiment, devised by Nyerere himself, which as a whole did much to cement Tanzania's political stability, independence and national unity. Nyerere called it Ujamaa, roughly translated from Swahili as Familyhood. The idea was to harness the tribal ideals of co-operation with the underlying principles of Western socialism, and to extend the traditional values and responsibilities of kinship to the nation as a whole. In its implementation Ujamaa laid the groundwork for marked achievements in education and health albeit at the expense of the productive sectors. Furthermore it was through Ujamaa that Nyerere was able to address the issue of nationhood which was and remains - perhaps the key issue of post-independence African politics. The value of Ujamaa as a tool of nation building can be grasped by looking at the fate of those African states whose leaders either failed to address this issue, or deliberately fanned the flames of tribal antagonisms for short-term personal advantage. Nyerere was one of the key African players in the struggle for the end of white minority rule in southern Africa. But the main military adventure of his career was closer to home, against the regime of Idi Amin who took power in neighbouring Uganda in a coup d'etat in 1971. Amin violated just about everything Nyerere set most store by: constitutionality and the rule of law, tribal balance and national unity, racial harmony between Africans and Asians, respect for freedom and human rights.

Though no particular friend of Uganda's first president, Milton Obote, Nyerere offered him a refuge in Tanzania from which to launch repeated attempts to oust Amin. This led to several outbreaks of small-scale warfare between Uganda and Tanzania and eventually, in 1979, to a full-fledged 20,000-strong Tanzanian invasion which restored Obote to power. Condemned by the OAU, the invasion of Uganda showed Nyerere as a risk-taker who was prepared to put his humanistic principles above the slogan of "territorial integrity", behind which so many African dictators sought - and seek - to conceal the determined pursuit of their self-interest and self-preservation at the expense of their people.

Nyerere deliberately chose one-party rule for Tanzania on the grounds that multi-partyism was too divisive in a tribal society where decisions are traditionally reached through consensus rather than through adversarial politics. His reasoning was well borne out by the experience of other African nations and, though Tanzania opted for multi-partyism in 1995, one-party democracy has been adopted by some of the more enlightened of Africa's new generation of leaders.

If anything Tanzania achieved more democracy under a one party system than many African states did under a multi-party system. In the 1980 elections, when Nyerere announced that he was standing for the last time, about half of the members of the national assembly, including several ministers, lost their seats in what was seen as a protest vote against the government's economic mismanagement.

Nyerere retired from day-to-day politics in 1985, one of the few African leaders to do so voluntarily. But, as chairman of the party, he continued to exercise a benign influence both on Tanzanian and regional politics behind the scenes. Gradually, however, he retreated more and more from politics, emerging from his beloved farm in his native Butiama from time to time to guide this or that political initiative, most recently (in 1996) as chief regional mediator in the Burundi conflict which since 1973 has persistently threatened to spill over into western Tanzania.

Slight in build, somewhat austere in manner, Nyerere was neither vain nor arrogant. He set great store by honesty and sincerity. A family man devoted to his wife and children, he was extremely loyal to his friends - sometimes to a fault. He inspired among his people both devotion and respect and returned the compliment by complete dedication to his work on their behalf as head of state. He was ready to admit his mistakes, and to show flexibility and pragmatism, but never if this meant compromising his cherished Catholic, humanist and socialist ideals.

Nyerere's life and career are an inspiration to the many Africans who dismiss the notion current in elite African circles today that justice, dignity and freedom should be subordinated to the single-minded pursuit of prosperity through economic liberalisation and structural adjustment. Africa needs more leaders of Nyerere's quality, integrity and wisdom.

Tom Porteous

Julius Kambarage Nyerere, politician: born Butiama, Tanganyika 13 April 1922; President, Tanganyika African National Union 1954-77; Chief Minister of Tanganyika 1960-61, Prime Minister 1961-62, President 1962-64, President of Tanzania 1964-85; Chairman, Chama cha Mapinduzi 1977-90; Chairman, OAU 1984; married 1953 Maria Magige (five sons, two daughters); died London 14 October 1999.

16 October 1999
Panafrican News Agency**President Clinton Pays Tribute To Nyerere**

Washington, US (PANA) - US President Bill Clinton has paid tribute to former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, who died Thursday in a London hospital. He said "Nyerere's death is a huge loss for Tanzania, Africa and the international community as a whole." He recalled that Nyerere was a pioneer of freedom and self-government in Africa, and served as a guide to many African leaders. "Nyerere devoted his life to defending his deeply rooted vision and belief that peoples have the responsibility to protect those who cannot ensure their own protection," he added, stressing that "all his life, he made this ethics a personal issue."

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Nyerere To Be Laid To Rest At His Butiama Home**October 16, 1999***by Nicodemus Odhiambo*

Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania (PANA) - The Tanzanian government announced Friday night that former President Julius Kambarage Nyerere would be buried at his Butiama home, a village near the Lake Victoria shore town of Musoma.

The State House said that the body of Nyerere, 77, would be flown home from London, where he had died Thursday, Monday. Vice President Omar Ali Juma is leading a government delegation to London to accompany the body.

President Benjamin Mkapa will lead thousands of mourners, who are expected to throng the Dar Es Salaam International Airport, to receive the body, accompanied by a 21-gun salute.

A special military carriage will carry Nyerere's casket as the cortege winds through several parts of the city, to enable as many Tanzanians as possible to view it. Nyerere's body will then be laid in state overnight at his Msasani residence in the city.

On Tuesday, the body will be taken to the national stadium for public viewing. Foreign leaders will pay their respects to Nyerere Thursday during a special service. The body will then be flown to his home where residents of that region will pay their last respects for two days, before the burial Saturday.

Mkapa has designated Monday, Thursday and Saturday national holidays to enable Tanzanians mourn their founding president. Meanwhile, parliamentary sessions which were to begin 26 October have been postponed to 2 November.

The government has also suspended all graduation ceremonies in schools and colleges throughout the one-month long mourning period.

All sporting and social activities in the country have also been suspended till further notice. *Copyright (c) 1999 Panafrican News Agency. Distributed via Africa News Online (www.africanews.org). For information about the content or for permission to redistribute, publish or use for broadcast, contact the publisher.*

The Times of Zambia (Lusaka)
We've been robbed of great leader-- Chiluba*by Times Reporter*

Lusaka - President Chiluba yesterday described former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere as a great guide of Africa's political tour. Mr. Chiluba when he signed the book of condolences at the Tanzanian high commission in Lusaka for the late Dr Nyerere said Zambia felt robbed of its great friend and leader.

"Africa is orphaned as we pay our last respects to Mwalimu, the great guide of Africa political tour. "Although the death has claimed your life, we can say that it has rekindled fond memories of great exemplary leadership and great deeds to Tanzania, Zambia and the whole of Africa. Rest in peace," Mr. Chiluba said in his message.

Mr. Chiluba later told Tanzanian high commissioner Shani Lweno that he valued Dr Nyerere's fatherly advice and described their relationship as one which was close. Africa should soldier on the legacy left by the Tanzanian former leader and strive to be self-reliant. Meanwhile, United States of America (USA) President Bill Clinton and his secretary of state Madeleine Albright described Mr. Nyerere's death as a sad loss to the world.

Quoting the United States Information Agency (USIA) publication Washington Line for yesterday, Mr. Clinton said Dr Nyerere was a pioneering leader for freedom and self-government in Africa.

Ms Albright described "Mwalimu" as a giant on the world stage as well as an eloquent spokesman for the developing world. *Flags flew at half mast and radios played only funeral music or hymns yesterday as Tanzanians mourned the death of their founding father Nyerere, reports Zana/Reuters.

Most remembered Nyerere, who died in a London hospital on Thursday aged 77, as an honest leader who led them to independence and then broke down tribal divisions to make Tanzania one of Africa's most peaceful nations.

"Mwalimu was the beginning and end of all things. He was a great problem solver and very wise. I don't understand where we will go after this, Andrew Zachariah, a young man left crippled by polio," said after hearing of Nyerere's death.

And Tanzanians prepared for Nyerere's emotional final homecoming. Even street vendors of bootleg tapes, who usually blast out a chaotic mix of rock, rap, RB and Congolese Lingala music, turned instead to choral hymns and funeral music as a mark of respect for Nyerere.

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Financial Times

His lasting achievements include the creation of a post-independence Tanzania free of ethnic tension and unified by a common language, Swahili, while southern African states will always be indebted to him for his backing of their campaign against minority rule. But he also presided over one of Africa's most disastrous experiments in social engineering, enforced by an autocratic one-party state.

In an exercise that began in 1967 and continued until the mid-1970s, 14m peasants and their families were regrouped in communal villages under the banner of *ujamaa* (a Swahili word meaning "togetherness" or "family"). Voluntary at first, becoming compulsory in 1973, the villages were at the heart of Nyerere's socialist vision.

But the ill-planned move, implemented by the army, authoritarian bureaucrats and party officials, disrupted agriculture, created environmental problems, and set back an economy whose potential was as great as any in the region.

Born in Butiama, on the shores of Lake Victoria, in 1922, Julius Kambarage Nyerere was educated first at a government school and then at a mission, where he became a Catholic. After taking a teaching diploma at Makerere university college in Uganda in 1948, he won a scholarship to Edinburgh University, where he read history, philosophy, political economy and constitutional law.

From the time he launched the Tanganyika African National Union in 1954 (later renamed Chama Cha Mapinduzi), leading the campaign for independence from Britain, until his resignation as party chairman in 1990, he dominated the country's politics.

Even in retirement, he continued to play an influential behind-the-scenes role, although not standing in the way of reforms that ended the state's dominance of the economy.

He set out his political and economic credo in the 1967 Arusha declaration, in which he proclaimed socialism and self-reliance as the country's twin goals.

Initial gains in literacy, primary school enrolment and life expectancy in the early post-independence years seemed to validate Nyerere's approach. But by the mid-1970s, several signals were becoming clear: Tanzania was living beyond its means; aid projects were seldom self-sustaining; state-dominated agriculture was increasingly inefficient; and agricultural production, the mainstay of the economy, was falling.

It was supported by donors, who share at least some of the blame for its failure, as a World Bank report belatedly accepted in 1990. A confidential internal analysis acknowledged that Bank loans exceeding \$1bn over three decades since independence in 1962 helped "sustain a poorly thought out socialist experiment".

Between them, the World Bank and other donors provided more than \$15bn in aid during the first 30 years of independence.

History may judge Nyerere severely in other matters, too.

Tanzania's role in the overthrow of Uganda's Idi Amin proved costly for both countries, for the invading Tanzanian troops wrought great damage. To his credit, however, Nyerere was always his own sternest critic. "Ten years after the Arusha declaration, Tanzania is certainly neither socialist nor self-reliant. . . we have not reached our goal; it is not even in sight," he wrote in 1977.

Whatever the final verdict on his career, he will be remembered with respect and affection in a continent short of heroes.

End

Guardian

Idealism in a cynical world

Saturday October 16, 1999

Your obituary of Julius Nyerere (October 15) fails to do justice to the man or his achievements. At independence, Tanganyika was a country with virtually no infrastructure, and over 100 different tribal groups. The achievement of building a stable nation from such unpromising beginnings is highlighted by the conflicts that have engulfed its neighbours.

Ujamaa failed largely because it was often enforced, by officials who lacked the insight and the integrity of Nyerere. But the economic crisis of the 70s was to a considerable extent caused by falling commodity prices, rising oil prices, and the war to remove Amin, for which Tanzania bore the cost. Nyerere saw that the impact of IMF "structural adjustment" would be to destroy many of the great achievements in education and health care, and to worsen the plight of the poorest. He stood down rather than sign a deal - and he has been proved right.

Nyerere made mistakes; but on my visits to Tanzania I was struck by the extraordinary respect in which he was held by ordinary people. In a cynical world, Julius Nyerere was an idealist who showed power need not always corrupt.

Nigel West

Leeds

The Nation (Nairobi)

Mwalimu Nyerere's bequest to Mkapu a tall order

October 16, 1999

By Philip Ochieng

Nairobi - History, it is said, is the best teacher. And history teaches us that our enthusiasm for Benjamin Mkapu, when he was elected President of Tanzania four years ago, was misplaced. With the departure of Mwalimu Nyerere, this fact will become even more salient.

I knew Mr. Mkapu well in the early Seventies, when he and I worked for Mwalimu as editors of the Daily News in Dar es Salaam. I still

think he has not lost the moral purpose that always motivated him as the Managing Editor. Yet corruption has saturated Tanzania's entire body politic during his political stewardship. There are reports of gross mismanagement in all departments. Crime has gripped the Indian Ocean city and other big urban build-ups. Even more dismaying, strong signs are beginning to be seen of tribalism as the basis of socio-economic preferment, a virus which, if allowed to sprout, will divide the Tanzanians as surely and as irredeemably as it has divided Kenya.

How can these and a plethora of other social evils, which always concerned Mwalimu Nyerere deeply, be explained in the face of my conviction that Ben Mkapu is an ethically good helmsman? To answer that question, let us once again appeal to history.

Corruption and ineptitude were rampant even during Mwalimu's protracted tutelage. They were inevitable under a class of parvenus and nouveaux riches being forced to implement what purported to be a socialist programme. Mwalimu's reign differed from those of his successors only in that he always conducted himself in the most exemplary manner. Just as he was always slight in body, so he never grew fat in his pocket by dipping long fingers into the public coffers.

He always fought for clean government throughout, his struggle for socialism being subsumed under a general struggle against imperialism. Perhaps this was the cause of his spectacular economic failure. He beat imperialism with the left hand and yet beckoned it with the right.

Nevertheless, he was so loved by the masses and, therefore, so powerful that nobody dared grab anything as openly as has taken place in Kenya under both Mzee Kenyatta and President Moi. That was why Tanzania's corruption and ineptitude were never so salient.

Grabbing in daylight became an institution only under his own nominee as successor, President Hassan Mwinyi, under whom inefficiency also hit rock-bottom, production took a nosedive and ethnic favouritism began to rear its ugly head.

This last one particularly galled Nyerere. He had never appointed any official or allowed one to be appointed on any other basis than qualification, inclination and experience. This contributed a great deal to making Tanzania the most united country in Africa.

This unity and sharp national consciousness was contributed to by two other life-works of the Teacher. One was that he insisted on

uniform Kiswahili throughout the Republic. During the three years that I worked in Dar es Salaam I rarely heard any tribal language being spoken.

The other was what Mwalimu called Elimu yenye manufaa. This "functional education" was much more than what we in Kenya call elimu ya ngumbaru ("adult education"). Though beneficiaries specialised in a technique, education was always holistic. As a result, "poor" Tanzania has one of the highest literacy rates (almost 100) in the world, many times above that of Kenya.

Mwalimu Nyerere was so appalled by President Mwinyi's venal practices and miserable performance that he gathered courage on several occasions to warn him. He heaved a sigh of relief when his second term ended four years ago.

In insisting that Mr. Mkapa be the ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi's nominee, Mwalimu was recognising industriousness and integrity. Mkapa had served the country diligently and honestly for decades in the Press as well as in the diplomatic service.

Yet the Teacher would live to regret it. He frequently noted graft and inefficacy as they escalated nationally. What had gone wrong? Had Mkapa lost the moral fibre and intellectual greatness over which we had exuberated in 1995?

Observers affirm that he is still a very committed man. They report, however, that he has proved a much weaker President than his mentor. First, he does not enjoy as much popularity. Secondly, he lacks Mwalimu's charisma, with his pushy and yet caressing presence.

Insiders assert that this weakness by the President is being contributed to by an unfortunate subjective development, the seeds of which began to germinate only during his regime, namely, a struggle between the South - from which he hails - and the North.

Objectively, of course, the problem was as old as independence, having been a result of colonialism's disparate educational service to the various ethnic communities. Thus the Chagga, the Haya, the Nyamwezi and the Sukuma of the North were always favoured against the South.

Though Mwalimu is himself a northerner, he comes from small tribe, which colonialism never favoured, called Zanaki, closely related by blood, language and culture to Kenya's Kuria and (by blood only) to my own Suba people of the southern shores of Nyanza Gulf.

Yet, since independence, the Northerners have tended to dominate economic and other national affairs by sheer dint of their better education and experience. Mkapa, however, is a Ngoni, a small southern tribe closely related to the Zulu of South Africa, which also was not favoured.

Though his wife, Anna, is a northerner - a Chagga (a people who, because they are so enterprising, have been described as "the Kikuyu of Tanzania") - there is a struggle between the Ngoni and other southerners, on the one hand, and the Chagga and other northerners.

The southerners are demanding a levelling off of the national fortunes, an "equal" share in power. Being a politician, the President cannot afford to ignore these demands. His return to power in next year's General Election hinges vitally on how he responds. It is not, therefore, surprising that he is reportedly busy ingratiating his southerners almost deliberately. Many of the beneficiaries are not very clean or nationalistic individuals. This is what is spawning the twin evils I mention above.

It is the source of the deep and deepening corruption, with its clandestine activities in the body politic. It is also the source of something of which Tanzania has hitherto been relatively free - ethnic suspicions and even hostility.

As long as Nyerere was alive, his mere voice was enough to intimidate many people from such divisive activities and keep Tanzania united. Now that he is gone, nobody is sure any more.

After his death was announced on Thursday, many Tanzanians were heard to express fear that ethnic and class conflict might intensify and break into clashes similar to those which have beleaguered Kenya ever since the multi-party system was legislated in 1991.

Tanzania's opposition political parties are not as tribally based as Kenya's. Yet the paramount opposition voice - Augustine Mrema, founder of the NCCR- Mageuzi, which has since been depleted by Mrema's departure to form the Labour Party - is a Chagga.

The fear is both that opposition activities are going to be intensified and that, with his new-found freedom from Mwalimu's admonishing hand, President Mkapa is likely to respond by clamping down on opposition leaders, especially Mr. Mrema.

To do so, it will be necessary for him to clamp down also on the opposition press. Already he has become very thin-skinned about criticism

16 October 1999

30

of his government, responding with threats even to the most innocuous critics. These things do not augur well to our southern brothers and sisters. It can only be hoped that Mkapa will wake up to their extreme perilousness and act promptly to nip them in the bud. This would clearly be Nyerere's bequest.

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17 October 1999
The Monitor (Kampala)**Kwa heri, Mtukufu Rais Julius K. Nyerere****October 17, 1999***By Austin Ejiet*

Kampala - Three things sum up Mwalimu Julius Nyerere for me. Sometime in the mid sixties a Swiss bank wrote offering to keep his money in a secret coded account at extremely generous interest rates.

It was a prudent proposition seeing that African governments were at the time falling to military coups at the rate of about one every six months. But far from jumping at the offer, the president published the letter in the national newspapers with the memorable declaration that he had no money to hide and that the little that he had could only be banked in Tanzania where it belonged.

Whatever its propaganda merit, this action underscored the president faith in his country and spoke volumes about the extent of his sincerity.

Shortly after this a type of precious stone was unearthed in Tanzania. The country's parliament unanimously resolved to name this gem the "Nyeretrite" in recognition of his stature as a statesman locally as well as internationally. The president thanked his countrymen for their kind consideration but politely declined the honour. Instead he proposed that the stone be named the "Tanzanite". Tanzania, he argued, was more important than individuals.

Just one more. Mwalimu Julius Nyerere paid a visit to Ghana shortly after his retirement in 1985 and reportedly berated the leadership of that country for the shabby way in which the republic's founder, Kwame Nkrumah, had been treated.

"This man is one of the greatest Africans that has ever lived. If you in Ghana don't respect him the rest of us in Africa do. Independent Africa owes its liberty to this man. You overthrew him. The least you can do is to repatriate his remains from Guinea and give him a decent burial."

The point was well received. The Rawlings government set about constructing a magnificent mausoleum which would house not only Nkrumah's remains but also all memorabilia associated with Ghana's founder such as the numerous books he wrote, audio

tapes of the speeches he gave and television footage of every important occasion the former leader presided over. Not to mention the statues that were desecrated shortly after his overthrow in 1966. The project has been completed and with it has been ushered a sense of national nostalgia for the Nkrumah days. All over a sudden, Ghananians feel obliged to give credit where it belongs.

There you have it: a leader who refuses to open a foreign bank account, declines to pander to a personality cult, but is particular about honouring a great Pan African statesman, the latter's flaws notwithstanding. He was no saint. His twenty four years in power were also characterised by a certain authoritarian streak. He jailed political opponents such as Oscar Kambona and Bibi Titit. He perpetrated a one party regime for the entire duration of his rule. He clung to socialist economic policies even when it became apparent that Ujamaa wasn't delivering as efficiently as he had hoped. But he was honest enough to own up to his mistakes even if this acknowledgement sometimes came very late. When he realised eventually that his pet ideology had failed he was candid enough to say so. He had no qualms about advising his ruling party (CCM) to prepare to compete with other parties in a multi-party political arrangement.

His single-minded support of liberation movements in East, Central and Southern Africa speaks for itself. His other legacy which does not always spring to mind immediately is the fact that he created Africa's only nation. Africa has some 53 countries or states. But there is only one real nation: Tanzania. How he moulded this sprawling giant of 120 or more ethnic groups into one cohesive entity in which people see themselves first and foremost as Tanzania is, to say the least, remarkable. More homogenous societies such as Somalia where everybody looks the same, speaks the same language and follows the same religion are embroiled in nightmare.

The only fitting tribute that Tanzania can pay its founding father is to maintain its stability, unity and the union with Zanzibar and Pemba. The only tribute the rest of Africa can pay to this freedom fighter is to defend out freedom - what is left of it at any rate - and aspire towards the Pan African dream Nyerere so cherished. Kwa heri, Bwana.

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Panafrican News Agency

Tanzanians In UK Bid Farewell To Nyerere

by Desmond Davies

London, U.K. (PANA) - More than 1,000 Tanzanians and friends of Tanzania packed the Roman Catholic Westminster Cathedral in the British capital Saturday to bid farewell to former president Julius Nyerere who died in a London hospital Thursday.

After the service, mourners, some of them tearful, filed past the coffin, draped in the Tanzanian national flag, before the body was taken to the airport and flown home Saturday evening, accompanied by the widow, Maria. The requiem mass was a celebration of the life of the man who shaped Tanzania and who made his people proud.

This was not lost on those of the generation that was greatly influenced by Nyerere. They turned up in their numbers to pay tribute to Mwalimu.

Long before the mass began, they congregated outside the cathedral while a different service was going on inside. Britons and nationals of other African countries who held the late Tanzanian president in high esteem later joined them. The British Minister for the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Peter Hain, was present.

So were the wife of South African President Thabo Mbeki, Commonwealth secretary-general Emeka Anyaoku, the Dean of the Diplomatic Corps in the UK, George Kirya from Uganda and diplomats from Africa. The first reading, taken from Ecclesiastics, and offering praise to famous men, was by one of the late president's son, Charles. The second reading, from Saint Paul's letter to the Romans, was by his brother's daughter, Subira.

In his address, Monsignor George Stack said Nyerere "was indeed a teacher not just in word but by personal and public example." He said that Nyerere's philosophy of Ujamaa was similar to the Christian ideal of communal living.

"He touched the hearts and minds of people far beyond the borders of Tanzania," Monsignor Stack said.

"He was a famous man; a good man and a man who listened to the gospel of Jesus

Christ and put it into practice during his life," he added.

In a tribute, the Tanzanian High Commissioner to the UK, Abdul-Kader Shareef, said Nyerere served all human beings and recognised that "we are all neighbours."

He said that the late president embraced all Tanzanians, no matter their religious faith. Shareef said that Tanzanians would sorely miss Nyerere because he had "spent his entire adult life in our service."

He went on: "He was a leader who never questioned our dignity. He spoke to us, as a teacher who knew that it was easier to learn through laughter.

"His words were imbued with respect and laughter. He was the founding father of our nation and our unity."

The High Commissioner said Nyerere was human and "naturally he made mistakes. But as a great leader he was willing to listen to us and make changes."

But his mistakes paled into insignificance when compared with the legacy he had left Tanzania.

"He left us peace, unity and stability," Shareef said.

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World Leaders Continue To Send Condolences

By Nicodemus Odhiambo

Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania (PANA) - World leaders continue to convey their condolences following the death of Tanzania's first President, Julius Kambarage Nyerere, on Wednesday at the age of 77 years.

Among the first to send their condolences were the British Queen Elizabeth II and Prime Minister Tony Blair.

Uganda's President Yoweri Museveni also sent his condolences Wednesday. Other condolence messages have been received from the President of Finland, Martti Ahtisaari, who also conveyed similar messages from the European Union.

He said: "Tanzania has lost its founding father, a great leader and teacher, whose spiritual legacy will remain a uniting force and source of inspiration and stability in Tanzania."

Other messages were received from Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands and the country's Prime Minister Wim Kok.

They said: "Mr Nyerere will be remembered as one of the great presidents of Africa. For more than 30 years he guided his country with wisdom, and won the respect of his country and the international community.

"The world has suffered a great loss," they added.

The King of Norway, Harald V, said Nyerere would be remembered in that country as a friend.

"Africa has lost a great and respected statesman; and Tanzania her first president and an outstanding national leader," he said. President H. Narayanan of India also sent his condolences to Tanzania's President Benjamin Mkapa.

He said in the passing of Nyerere, the world had lost a statesman of international stature, whose contributions to the liberation and resurgence of Africa were matched by his work for the fashioning of a new and equitable world order.

"The appeal of his ideas transcended all boundaries of region and race and inspired the people of the developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America."

Narayanan recalled that India conferred upon Nyerere the first Gandhi Prize and the Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding.

President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa, President Frederick Chiluba of Zambia and Ethiopian Prime Minister Meles Zenawi have also sent their condolence messages.

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The Nation (Nairobi)

Mwalimu's rise to power

October 17, 1999

By Ali Mazrui

Nairobi - Almost exactly 50 fifty years ago, young Julius Kambarage Nyerere entered the gates of the University of Edinburgh as a student, following his education at Makerere University, Kampala. Edinburgh (as well as Makerere) prepared him for the title of Mwalimu. Young Nyerere entered Edinburgh in October 1949.

His Julius Kambarage Nyerere's radical thought was multifaceted. He began as an anti-colonial African nationalist on his return home, seeking the independence of Tanganyika, which was at the time a United Nations' trusteeship under British administration. In pursuit of self-government and independence, Nyerere helped to form the Tanganyika African National Union on July 7, 1954 (Saba Saba -- seventh day of seventh month). The movement had a three-prong strategy - to pressure the British government, to pressure the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations and to rally general African and international support for Tanganyika's independence. The country became independent on December 9, 1961, with him Julius Nyerere as Prime Minister. He Nyerere became President on December 9, 1962. Linked to Nyerere's nationalism from quite early was his Pan-Africanism, a commitment to the pursuit of African unity and the adoption of the principle of African solidarity whenever possible. Sometimes he put his Pan-Africanism ahead of his nationalism, as when in 1960 he offered to delay Tanganyika's independence if this would help achieve the creation of an East African federation of Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda. In the end there was not enough political will in the other two countries to achieve such a union. Nevertheless, Tanganyika played host to other major Pan-African activities. It became a frontline state for the liberation of Southern Africa from Portuguese rule and from white minority governments. Politically, the colony hosted for a while the Pan-African Freedom Movement for Eastern, Central and Southern Africa (Pafmecs). AFMECSA). Tanganyika subsequently established major training camps for Southern African Liberation fighters.

Nyerere's credentials as official host to liberation movements were put into question in 1964 when he was forced to invite British troops to put down a mutiny of his own army. The more radical African heads of state, like Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah, regarded Nyerere's use of British troops as "neo-colonial" and unworthy of an official host to liberation movements elsewhere. Nyerere defended himself and continued his liberation role, successfully most of the time. Domestically in Tanzania, he inaugurated three areas of reform - a political system based on the principle of the one-party state; an economic system based on an African approach to socialism (what he called

Ujamaa, or familyhood); a cultural system based on the Swahili language.

The cultural policy based on Kiswahili was the earliest and the most durable. Tanganyika (and later Tanzania) became one of the few African countries to use an indigenous language in Parliament as well as use it also has the primary language of national business. Kiswahili was promoted increasingly in politics, administration, education and the media. It became a major instrument of nation-building; and nation-building became the most lasting of Nyerere's legacies. The political experiment of the one-party state produced good political theory but bad political practice. The theory that the one-party state could be as democratic as the multi-party system and was more culturally suited to Africa was intellectually stimulating - but failed the test in practice. Tanzania became a multi-party state not long after Julius Nyerere left office. He himself accepted what seemed to be the inevitable.

The economic experiment of African socialism, or Ujamaa, which was launched dramatically by the Arusha Declaration on Socialism and Self-Reliance in 1967, captured the imagination of millions of reform-minded Africans all over the continent and elsewhere. It was also greatly admired by Western liberals, intellectuals and by governments like those of Sweden, Norway and Denmark. History gave the Arusha Declaration 20 years in which to deliver (1967-1987). By 1987 disenchantment was widespread and the end was near. Far from Tanzania being self-reliant, it was more dependent than ever. And Ujamaa had left the country poorer than it might otherwise have been. Liberalisation, privatisation and marketisation were not far behind.

Nyerere's regional East African legacy is also mixed. Although he was once committed to creating an East African Federation, his socialist ideals clashed with his East African ideals. As he struggled to create socialism in his own country, he had to create barriers against free movement of capital, labour and resources in and out of Kenya and Uganda. Socialist planning in one country proved to be incompatible with an open-door Pan-East-African policy.

On the other hand, Nyerere's Tanganyika did form a union with Zanzibar. This remains the only case in Africa of previously sovereign states uniting into a new country - and surviving as one entity for more than three decades. What used to be sovereign

Tanganyika and Zanzibar became the United Republic of Tanzania in 1964.

He strengthened the union when he united the ruling party of Zanzibar (the Afro-Shirazi Party) with the ruling party of Tanganyika (TANU) to form the new Chama cha Mapinduzi (Party of the Revolution).

Has Nyerere's political behaviour sometimes reflected his upbringing as a Roman Catholic? There is a school of thought which explains his recognition of the secessionist Biafra in 1969 as a form of solidarity with fellow Catholics against a Federal Nigeria which was potentially dominated by Muslims. This was in the middle of the Nigerian civil war. The Igbo of Biafra were overwhelmingly Roman Catholic. Less convincing is the assertion that Nyerere's military intervention in Uganda in 1979 was motivated by a sectarian calculation to defend a mainly Christian Uganda from the Muslim dictator Idi Amin. In reality, Nyerere might have been motivated by a wider sense of humanitarianism and universal ethics. He was also defending Tanzania from Idi Amin's territorial appetites.

Most Western judges of Julius Nyerere have concentrated on his economic policies and their failures. Ujamaa and villagisation have been seen as forces of economic retardation which kept Tanzania backward for at least another decade.

Not enough commentators have paid attention to Nyerere's achievements in nation-building. He gave Tanzanians a sense of national consciousness and a spirit of national purpose. One of the poorest countries in the world found itself one of the major actors on the world scene.

Nyerere's policies of making Kiswahili the national language of Tanzania deepened this sense of Tanzania's national consciousness and cultural pride. Parliament in Dar es Salaam debated exclusively in Kiswahili. More and more of government business was conducted in Kiswahili. The mass media turned more and more away from English and into Kiswahili. Newspapers had not only letters to the editor but also poems to the editor - in Kiswahili. And the educational system was experiencing the stresses and strains of the competing claims of English and Kiswahili.

Nyerere's translation of two of Shakespeare's plays into Kiswahili was done not because he "loved Shakespeare less, but because he loved Kiswahili more". He translated Shakespeare into Kiswahili partly to demonstrate that the Swahili language was

capable of carrying the complexities of a genius of another civilisation.

Above all, Nyerere as President was a combination of deep intellect and high integrity. Leopold Senghor's intellect was as deep as Nyerere's, but was Senghor's integrity as high as Nyerere's? Nelson Mandela's integrity was probably higher than Nyerere's, but was Mandela's intellect as deep as Nyerere's?

Among East African politicians Julius K. Nyerere was in a class by himself in the combination of ethical standards and intellectual power. In that combination, no other East African politician was in the same league. Some East African politicians might have been more intelligent than Nyerere. Others might have been more ethical than Nyerere. But none combined high thinking and high ethics in the way Nyerere did. He and I deeply disagreed on the merits of Ujamaa. He and I once disagreed on East African federation. I thought his socialist policies harmed East African integration. He and I disagreed on the Nigerian civil war. He and I disagreed on the issue of Zanzibar. I thought Zanzibar was forced into a marriage which was not of its own choosing.

And yet Julius Nyerere and I were committed to the proposition that patriotic Africans could disagree and still be equally patriotic. I saw him in Abuja in Nigeria, just before the inauguration of President Olusegun Obasanjo late in May 1999. Julius Nyerere and I gossiped in Kiswahili. He looked well - deceptively well, considering his illness. He and I were keynote speakers at a workshop to inaugurate Nigeria to a new era of democracy in 1999. We were voices from East Africa at a major West African event. We were voices of Pan-Africanism on the eve of the new millennium. Nyerere's voice was one of the most eloquent voices of the 20th twentieth Century. It was a privilege for me to stand side-by-side with such a person to mark a momentous event in no less a country than our beloved Nigeria.

Born: March 1922 in Butiama, Musoma District, Tanganyika. Educated: Mwisenge Primary School, Musome (1934-36). Tabora Government Secondary School (1937- 1942). Makerere University College, Kampala, Uganda (1943-1945). University of Edinburgh, Scotland (1949-1952).

Teaching Career: St Mary Roman Catholic College, Tabora (1946-1959). St. Francis' Roman Catholic College (1953-1955). This experience gave him the lifelong title of

Mwalimu (Teacher or Mentor) even when he was President and long after.

Political Career: Founder, Tanganyika African National Union (Tanu) July 7, 1954. Member, Legislative Council, Tanganyika (1958-1960). Chief Minister (1960- 1961). Prime Minister (1961-1962). President of Tanganyika (1962-1964). President of United Republic of Tanzania (1964-1985). President of Tanu (1954- 1977). Chairman of Chama cha Mapinduzi (1977-1990). Chairman, Frontline States (1975-1985). Chairman, Nonaligned Movement Commission (1986). Chairman, Organisation of African Unity (1984-1985). Leader of the South Commission.

Publications: Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism (Oxford, 1968). Freedom and Unity: Uhuru na Umoja (Oxford, 1969). Freedom and Socialism: Uhuru na Ujamaa (Oxford, 1969). Freedom and Development: Uhuru na Maendeleo (Oxford, 1973). Swahili translations of Shakespeare's Julius Caesar (1963) and The Merchant of Venice (1969). Family: Married with eight children and with siblings.

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Mwalimu's enduring legacy

By Anyang' Nyong'o

Nairobi - It is a painful truth, but it is a truth we all prefer to deny ourselves on a daily basis. That is, as Shakespeare said, from hour to hour we rot and rot as we all approach our graves. When the moment actually arrives, it is always painful, though somehow inevitable. It is always untimely, however old we may be. Mwalimu Julius Nyerere on Thursday reached that moment; not accidentally, but by the painful process of falling sick with one of the world's most deadliest diseases: leukemia. Julius Nyerere of Tanzania is now being eulogised as one of Africa's greatest statesmen. As the founding father of the Tanzanian nation, founding member of the Organisation of African Unity, driving force behind South-South Cooperation, and a voice of reason at all international forums where heads of state meet, Nyerere has always stood taller than his compatriots in reputation, performance and respect. Greatness is not found in possessions, power, position, or prestige. It is discovered in goodness, humility, service, and character. Moreover, a great man is one who can have

power and not abuse it. Was Nyerere, therefore, a great man?

When he was poised to take over as Prime Minister in newly independent Tanganyika in 1961, Nyerere chose to resign from government and spend one solid year building his party, the Tanzania African National Union (TANU).

His colleague, Rashidi Kawawa, took over the reigns of government while Nyerere travelled up and down all over Tanganyika building the party.

Nyerere did this after realising that only a strong nationalist party with a vision for Tanganyika the country would bring meaningful changes in the lives of the people after independence. The colonial state has had been set up to serve external interests and to preserve an ethnic and class divided society.

Left to itself, the state structure could easily seek to perpetuate power relations, which were inimical to the realisation of the hopes of the people after independence.

Across the border in Kenya, there were similar problems. The Kenya African National Union (Kanu), TANU's counterpart, was itself riddled with factionalism right from the beginning.

Attempts to give it the kind of social force that TANU enjoyed in Tanganyika were met with a rude shock when KANU's greatest architects, Tom Mboya, was gunned down by an assassin in the streets of Nairobi in July 1969. From then on, attempts to create one solid nation in Kenya were forever riddled with ethnic contradictions.

One of Nyerere's earliest achievements was this conscious effort to create a strong grass-roots party with a clear ideology on nationhood and clear principles on citizenship. Independence could not be meaningful without national unity. Not fake and propagandistic unity; but unity based on a shared political culture, social practice, equitable economic development and accountability of the governors to the governed.

TANU's structure was based on a pyramid whose base was found in the villages among ten household cells. This climbed to the top where the Central Committee of the party reigned supreme. The state was subordinate to the party, although party men actually ran the state. The party formulated policies that the state was meant to implement. In this regard, the party structure was meant to give voice to the people in policy formulation. In order to enhance equality among the new citizens of independent Tanganyika, TANU

addressed all citizens as *ndugu*, or brother.

To promote communication among the brothers, Swahili, the national language, was vigorously promoted. In fact, at the University of Dar es Salaam, a new Swahili Studies Centre was established, researching into the language and modernising it for use in government, scientific research and international discourse.

Within the first decade of independence, Tanganyika, later Tanzania, became one of Africa's most solid nations in the way in which the people identified themselves as citizens of a social republic and not tribesmen who only happened to share one common oppressor. This could not have been achieved without Nyerere's two other major concerns in building the new nation. These were his fervent quest for pan-Africanism and his unswerving belief in and commitment to *ujamaa*, or the Tanzanian version of socialism.

Soon after independence, the government of Tanganyika was shaken by an attempted military coup. Nyerere reacted by disbanding the whole colonial army and establishing a nationalist army closely integrated into the ruling party. He also founded the National Service into which every young person had to serve before graduating from school or university. These were attempts to reduce the distance between the armed forces and the people as well as demystifying defense as a purely "army thing."

Almost at that same time, the government in Zanzibar was also overthrown in a military coup. It became clear to Nyerere that an unstable Zanzibar could easily destabilise the mainland government. He took the initiative to bring together the Afro-Shirazi Party in Zanzibar and TANU, and to discuss the union of the two governments. Nyerere, unlike Nkrumah of Ghana, always believed that African Unity would eventually be brought about by states first coming together at the regional level.

The fusion between Tanganyika and Zanzibar in 1964 produced the United Republic of Tanzania with a structure of government that was reasonably loose to ensure the units did not lose their identities permanently, and reasonably strong to guarantee a lasting marriage. The person of Nyerere, however, remained a strong uniting factor. His departure may easily herald a stormy season for the pan-africanist marriage.

Nyerere always contended that "all human beings are equal and Africa is one" - *bina damu wote ni sawa na Afrika ni moja*. That,

indeed, was the corner stone of his other cardinal belief in socialism, the only viable ideology for development in Africa as far as Nyerere was concerned.

Socialism was based on the equality of all human beings, something that was to be found in African culture. People worked in order to live. Idlers were not tolerated. Mgeni siku moja, siku ya tatu mmpe jembe. The products of human labour were used, not for social domination but for social reproduction. Those who organised society to ensure division of labour, security and leisure were not political oppressors but politically responsible. When they became exploitative or oppressive the people either rebelled against them or they destroyed their own societies. Societies that were on the road to destruction were either abandoned by those who were sensible enough to leave--through migration--or were destroyed by internal wars and conflicts.

This view of African socialism being based on familyhood, mutual social responsibility, egalitarianism and democratic governance influenced and shaped Nyerere's ujamaa philosophy. He wrote extensively about it. He associated various aspects of development and governance to ujamaa. Thus Oxford University Press published his speeches and essays on democracy, socialism and unity under the titles, Freedom and Socialism, Freedom and Unity, Freedom and Development, Socialism and Rural Development and, the most memorable was the very well argued book on Ujamaa: the basis of African Socialism.

The highlight of Nyerere's attempts to build socialism in Tanzania was the Arusha Declaration in 1967. Known in Swahili as Azimio la Arusha, this was the document accepted by the National Executive Committee of TANU in Arusha on 29 January 1967. It made explicit Tanzania's socialist ideology. It begins with a declaration of the TANU creed; the party's commitment to building one united Tanzania based on the equality of citizenship. It confirms democracy as the viable system of government at the national and pan-African levels.

It then sets out the chief tenets of socialism as being absence of exploitation of man by man, social ownership and control of the means of production, self-reliance, hard work and good leadership. Although the role of the government in nationalising the commanding heights of the economy later came to be assumed as the centre-piece of the Arusha Declaration, there was no emphasis on this in

the original document. If anything, the emphasis was on the peasant and peasant agriculture as the basis of the socialist project. Hard work, intelligence, the land, the people, good policies and good leadership: these were the moral imperatives for the success of socialism in Tanzania. Their lack, perhaps their inadequate supply, became the major problems for the success of Ujamaa in Tanzania.

Issa Shivji observed as early as 1971, in his essay *The Silent Class Struggle in Tanzania*, that Ujamaa would suffer at the hands of state bureaucrats. Capitalising on the need to Africanise the economy, the bureaucrats would seek to use state power for self-enrichment. Very soon, they would find the economic distance between them and the peasants rather inimical to democratic politics, especially when they systematically bend the rules of the game to suit and support their rent seeking activities. They would serve their exploitative interests while giving lip service to socialism.

The contradiction between the governors and the governed became clearer during the implementation of the setting up of ujamaa villages. This was a program meant to bring peasants together into productive hamlets to which government would find it easier to provide social services and infrastructure. The end result would be increase in agricultural productivity as well as better standards of living for the peasant communities.

As things turned out, ujamaa villages became instruments of state control over peasant production and lives. Bureaucrats more often than not simply pocketed resources meant to provide social services in the villages. The end result was the ruination of peasant agriculture in Tanzania and the increase in the nation's external dependency not only on food but aid as well. Peasants cunningly disengaged from the villages, becoming recluses into independent subsistence agriculture, hence remaining generally "uncaptured" by the state. The story has been well told by Goran Hyden in his book entitled *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania*:

Underdevelopment and an Uncaptured Peasantry."

When Idi Amin overthrew Milton Obote's UPC government in Uganda in January 1971, Nyerere gave Obote and his team political asylum in Dar es Salaam. He started a long-drawn process of resisting military dictatorship in Uganda. The East African Community became a casualty, as Nyerere would not sit on the same table with Amin, a member of the

East African Authority comprising the Presidents of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. To some Kenyan officials, Nyerere was simply being stubborn and arrogant; they saw no principles in the statement Nyerere was making. To avoid further embarrassment, they simply moved in to fold up the Community in a rather untidy fashion. Nyerere was not amused.

Following the demise of the Community in 1977/78, Nyerere paid more attention to liberation movements in Africa, a subject he had been passionate towards all his life. First, this meant getting rid of the Amin regime closer at home. Obote had followed Nyerere's ideological footsteps, publishing the Common Man's Charter, Uganda's socialist blue print, just before his overthrow. The famous concern of the Charter in moving to the left towards socialism was to guide the misguided and inform the misinformed in Uganda about nationalism, socialism and pan-Africanism. In Uganda, Nyerere succeeded in 1979. By the early eighties, the focus was on Zimbabwe where Mugabe's ZANU assumed power by end of 1981. Further south, Namibia and South Africa remained under the menace of apartheid. The liberation movements rose to success after Nyerere left state office in 1985 but remained as head of the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), the new name of the TANU/Afro Shir-azi marriage.

Was Nyerere a great man? Yes he was. Nyerere was a great man. Always simply dressed and disarming in the manner in which he poked fun at himself and almost ridiculed his best qualities, Nyerere was the epitome of sharp wit and a razor-like mind. He suffered no fools but when he found himself foolish he was ready to accept his mistakes. That is why Nyerere, in the mid-eighties, as Tanzania's economy was limping towards disaster, apologised to his people and bowed out of office. He accepted the shortcomings of his ujamaa policies and exhorted Tanzanians to restructure the economy without throwing the baby away with the bath water.

Humility, courage, good leadership, respect for the intellect, love for communication, cultural universalism, support for the liberation of man and a deep belief in human dignity: these, I think, are the legacies of Nyerere to humanity as a whole. To Tanzania, he will be remembered as the father of the nation. In this regard, he has left a gap that Ben Mkapa will find difficult to fill. In this gap also lies potential instability for the United Republic of Tanzania. Will the Union survive Nyerere?

To living heads of states and governments in Africa we need to pose two questions. How do they compare with Nyerere? Can they accept their mistakes, apologise and bow out? These questions are posed with much concern for genuine answers in Harare, Windhoek and Nairobi.

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Independent on Sunday

17 October 1999

Fay Weldon

.... Last week, way out of the nursery class of wrong doing, President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania died and his obituaries read like hagiographies. Ruler of a one-party, undemocratic, revolutionary state, he impoverished his nation to prove a Marxist theory, and over a period of nine years forcibly resettled 13 million Africans into 8,000 co-operative farms, many of them nomads, to their great distress. But he did apologise even before apologies were fashionable, way back in 1985. "Nationalising little things like farms was a mistake." Just a little apology, but well done and we forgive him.

18 October 1999

Guardian

Julius Nyerere

Richard Gott writes:

Julius Nyerere (Obituary, October 15) was an extraordinarily benign and charismatic figure unequalled on the world stage, but he is not often remembered as a journalist. For a time in the early 1970s, as well as being president of Tanzania, he was also editor-in-chief of the state newspaper, the *Tanzanian Standard*. He had ordained that the newspaper, formerly owned by "Tiny" Rowlands of Lonrho, should be nationalised, and he appointed Frene Ginwala, now speaker of the South African parliament, to be its first "socialist" editor. With the aid of the late Ruth First, the assassinated wife of the South African Communist leader Joe Slovo, Frene recruited a strange assortment of British radicals to join her staff. Invited to Dar-es-Salaam, I found myself foreign editor of a state newspaper in a one-party state and was soon in trouble with the British high commission and the American embassy for rewriting Reuters news stories. In reports from Vietnam, we used to delete the words "Viet Cong" and replace them with "the South Vietnamese Liberation Front". Nyerere took a relaxed attitude towards his duties but urged us not to refrain from publishing stories of ministerial wrongdoing. On one occasion, he complained that his photograph appeared too often. Only once did he dramatically intervene: Frene asked me to write an editorial condemning the action of President Numeiri of Sudan, who had just executed several members of the Sudanese Communist party. Numeiri was one of Nyerere's few supporters in the campaign against Idi Amin in Uganda, and my outspoken editorial against Tanzania's current ally proved highly embarrassing. Frene was out of the country on the very first plane, and I left soon after. And quite right too. It was not really suitable for the state paper to be run by expatriates. The new editor was the excellent Ben Mkapa, who had been trained on the *Daily Mirror* with the assistance of Barbara Castle and her husband Ted, and later followed in Nyerere's footsteps again, as president of his country.

Simon Barley writes:

To work as a doctor in Julius Nyerere's Tanzania in the late 1960s was to share in a hopefulness for the future. One aspect of health and development that Nyerere encouraged was family planning, and in 1968 a deputation from the Tanzanian National Family Planning Association managed to secure a meeting with him. They put on their best clothes, including that rare sartorial extra in tropical Africa, the necktie, and, with some nervousness, were shown in. They were nervous because to limit family size was controversial in a comparatively underpopulated country whose politicians tended to see such limitation as a continuing instrument of colonialism. The deputation's spirits fell further when they saw Nyerere's unsmiling face and heard his opening words: "You're late, you know, too late." After a nicely timed pause, he burst out laughing and said: "Too late - I'm a Roman Catholic and I've got 12 children." Needless to say, the FPA got his support.

Ronald Segal writes:

In April 1960, after an adventurous journey from South Africa, Oliver Tambo, Yusuf Dadoo and I arrived in Dar-es-Salaam. Nyerere, then chief minister in a Tanganyika soon to become independent, was at the airport, with a smile and a hug that had the warmth of home. I have always been grateful to him for that, as for the particular help he gave to those of us who organised, in London in 1964, the International Conference on Economic Sanctions against South Africa. The debt the new South Africa owes him is immense. He was a rare national leader, who never confused the power of his position with himself.

Chandra Hardy writes:

formerly of the South Centre, Beginning in 1986, Julius Nyerere's work as chairman of the South Commission put his vision, unique capacities and political acumen in the service of third world development. The commission's landmark report, for which Mwalimu chose the title *The Challenge To The South*, comprised the first comprehensive analysis of development challenges "made in the south and by the south". The report argued that, if developing countries were to challenge effectively the continuing dominance of the north, in the international arena, they needed to be well prepared

intellectually and technically. Thus, one of the report's principal points was the need to establish permanent and adequate institutional support for collective action by the south.

In September 1995, the South Centre in Geneva became the first intergovernmental institution of the developing countries with a mandate to assist the joint efforts of developing countries in the international negotiating arena. Although officially retired, Mwalimu found the energy and enthusiasm to help put the centre on a solid institutional footing and on the international political map. Those left to continue the task will recall Mwalimu's oft repeated story, told him by the elders of his tribe, of the rabbit and the elephant. "Rabbit, where are you going? I am going to kill the elephant. Can you do it? Well, I'll try, and try again."

BBC

Nyerere begins his final journey

Hundreds of thousands of Tanzanians have packed the streets of the capital, Dar Es Salaam, to pay their last respects to their late former president, Julius Nyerere.

Huge crowds lined the road from the international airport to Dr Nyerere's home, wailing and ululating as his coffin was driven on a gun carriage, escorted by a military procession.

Earlier people had thronged the airport to see Dr Nyerere's coffin arrive on an aircraft from London.

Police were forced to hold back crowds as mourners surged towards the coffin which was decorated in the green, blue, black and yellow flag of Tanzania.

A guard of honour fired a 21-gun salute.

"I am here to see the man who is for me still my president," said one bystander.

Lying in state

Dr Nyerere, affectionately known as 'Mwalimu' - the teacher, died from cancer in a London hospital last week, aged 77.

He is still revered in Tanzania as the 'father of the nation' after leading the country to independence and serving as its first president from 1962 to 1985.

A funeral mass is to take place at St Joseph's cathedral in Dar Es Salaam on Tuesday and Dr Nyerere's body will then lie in state at the National Stadium.

On Thursday world leaders are expected to attend a state funeral before a final burial

ceremony at the former president's home village in Butiama.

The government has declared 30 days of mourning throughout the country.

Paying respects

On Sunday, a memorial service was held for Dr Nyerere in London's Roman Catholic Westminster Cathedral.

Nearly 2,000 mourners joined his wife, Maria and several of his children to pay their respects.

Several diplomats, including the Commonwealth secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku and the wife of the South African president Thabo Mbeki, attended the service.

The Tanzanian High Commissioner to London addressed the gathering, saying that all Tanzanians would have a sadness of heart over the loss of Dr Nyerere.

Email tributes

He was a man of the people. We will miss him a lot. His death has come at the time when we really wanted him. His contribution to Tanzania and the world at large is really appreciated. I personally received with great sorrow the news about his death. I will personally miss him. I feel very sorry for he left without living a word to his people at this time when we are facing many challenges. May god rest his sow in peace.

Simbo O, Tanzania

We will remember him for his exemplary leadership role in Africa, selflessness and above all love for his country. May his soul rest in perfect peace

H. K. Wemegah, Ghana

Africa has lost one of its greatest sons. May his admirable ideals continue to guide Africa to attain peace with itself. May his soul rest in Peace!

Wmolemogi, Botswana

Mwalimu's death is a great loss to Tanzania and to Africa as a whole but, perhaps more so, to the international community with a conscience as we continue to struggle relentlessly for a world that is free, just, secure and peaceful for future generations. We take the opportunity to reaffirm our unwavering resolve in this task.

Prof. Mwesiga Baregu, Tanzania

I am very sorry that we have lost a great father of continent, let god rest him in peace.

Minas Ghidei Hadgu, Eritrea

I once saw the man speak at Abuja during the conference on Africa and debt forgiveness. He spoke for hours without a prepared text and made more sense, provided more facts than all the other speakers put together. I am sorry to see him go, he was "the" true African.

Haruna Jalo-Waziri, Nigeria

He was a man of vision and understanding who will be missed for his wisdom not only in Tanzania but the world over.

Clifton Desouza, Tanzania

As a Tanzanian, I will live to remember him for his honesty, integrity and love for humanity. Tanzanians and Africa will miss him forever. What is the future for us without Nyerere?

Adam Simbeye, Geneva, Switzerland

we are saddened for the departure of our father of the nation, Tanzania Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere. We will never forget his efforts for the struggle he made to achieve independence at time when he shared with our elders while we were youths. We share our sorrows with all the Tanzanians at home and all over the world. Nothing can be given to him now except our prayers for his soul.

Ismail Mohammed Salim, United Arab Emirates

Let our tears be translated into thanks to the Almighty God who gave us the opportunity to live in the era of this Great Man of Africa. He taught us humility, honesty, compassion and the value of peace. He is the greatest gift of all that many generations will live to treasure.

Ana Tabu Mukami, Bangkok, Thailand

Africa today has lost a beloved son -one of the few presidents who relinquished power voluntarily and were not corrupted by it. May his soul rest in eternal peace.

Raj Patel, UK

Whatever Julius Kambarage Nyerere did in his lifetime, including his failures and successes, were done in good faith. There was no evidence of malicious intent on the part of JKN directed towards the people he served. Moreover, there has never been perfection in the history of mankind. Whatever will be said by anyone, anywhere, anytime, about JKN, he will remain one of the greatest statesman of all time, and champion of the oppressed, impoverished and the neglected people. May God rest his Soul in Eternal Peace. Amen.

Cuthbert L. Nahonyo, United Kingdom

Africa has lost a very renowned son. May his soul rest in perfect peace.

Hafsatu Garba, Nigeria.

I am originally from Kenya and have had the pleasure of meeting with the Late Nyerere. He was a formidable politician and statesman. Africa, and indeed the world at large will feel his absence. Our condolences to the People of Tanzania and his Family.

Hamel Galaiya, United Kingdom

we really have missed one of the great guides & teachers from whom we have gained a lot specially people of Tanzania. We all miss him a lot. May his soul rest in peace.

Anurag Bhargava, India

You were one the African heroes who brought light to the dark continent. It is hard to find a replacement. May Lord rest your soul in peace forever AMEN!

Emmanuel Ngallah, Tanzania

On behalf of staff of the Planning Commission, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania I send our most sincere condolences to the family of our beloved Father Of the Nation and all Tanzanians on the death of our Great Dr. Mwalimu Julius Nyerere. We shall always remember you for your selfless and dedication to the welfare and rights of Tanzanians, Africans and all peoples. Unlike most African leaders you gave a good example of a leader and refrained from amassing wealth stolen from wealth of Tanzania for personal aggrandisement.

Rodrick Kiwelu, Tanzania

Mwalimu, you gave us the freedom in Africa, you lead by example and your departure is difficult to accept but god has called you to eternal rest. May your soul rest in peace.

John Fisher Mupangwa, Zimbabwe

Dr Julius Nyerere, Dear, Father Founder of Tanzania, I got to know you well and admired you. It is difficult to think of Tanzania without you. May the Almighty God Rest Your Soul in Eternal Peace.

Dr Gabriel Rugalema, The Netherlands

We have lost the corner stone of our nation. We mourn, we mourn,...

Narsis A. L. Mtega, Tanzania

He made us Tanzanians studying abroad feel like from one family. That is was one of his greatest achievements. Thank you Mwalimu may God rest your soul in peace.

Dr. Peter Lawrence Msoffe, Denmark

Nyerere was a man nobody could buy. Mwalimu fare thee well.

Lawrence Wurah, Ghana

I'm,with great sadness, sending my condolences to the all people of the United Republic Of Tanzania!

Lay Lawrean, Russia

My condolences to the people of Tanzania. May the great teacher's soul rest in peace.

Paterson Sichelwe, Zambia

I learned with deep sorrow this morning of the death of one of Africa's great leaders, Mr Julius "Mwalimu" Nyerere, I therefore would like to send my deepest condolences to the family of Nyerere and may his soul rest in peace.

ARNOLD, Botswana

Africa needs more leaders like you. Keep a watch over us.

Brigitte, South Africa

We have learnt with deep shock of the death of Mwalimu Nyerere. The Chisiza family wish to convey our heartfelt condolences to the people of Tanzania and the entire Nyerere family. We leave you all in the hands of the Lord, the perfect

comforter during this hard time. May his soul rest in peace.

CHISIZA FAMILY, Zambia

Africa has for too many years had to contend with leaders who fended only for themselves and their private estates. The Mwalimu devoted his entire political life to fending for his country, Tanzania and Africa as a whole. We pray for his eternal rest. His mission here on earth was fully accomplished. The rest is left for us Africans to continue his good work.

Benson Uwatse, Nigeria

He was a great statesman and a pivotal person in the Burundi talks and Africa in general. Tanzania and Africa has lost a great son.

Dr Faustine Ndugulile, Tanzania

Mwalimu Nyerere was truly the Father of this nation, it is a dark day for Tanzania as we are left without our beloved father. But his spirit and his thoughts still live on in every Tanzania. May his spirit rest in peace.

Anand Acharya, Tanzania

Mwalimu will always live in the Hearts of the People of Tanzania. Deepest Sympathy to all Family Members and Specially to Mama Maria Nyerere

Bimal Gatha, Tanzania

We will miss you for ever. May god bless you. Managing Director & all staff of Scan Tanzania Limited

Scan Tanzania Limited, Tanzania

One of the great leaders of this century died. I hope he'll get a posthumous Nobel-prize for his dedication to peace on the African continent.

Barend Jasper, Europe

Mehdi Fallah Tafti, Iran

We're profoundly shocked by the sadden news of his demise. May his almighty rest his soul in peace. AMEN

Glaxowellcome(T) limited, Tanzania

You will be remembered as the hero of peace for ever.

Mehdi Fallah Tafti, Iran

May the Almighty God rest your soul in peace. You have been a great warrior of our country. Amen

Susan Mugurusi, Tanzania

As the Executive-Director of the Council for African affairs as well as a Nigerian and an Africanist who has been greatly influenced by Nyerere's dedication to Africa in particular, we are going to miss this great son of Africa. One remembers the greatness and the inspirations that pours from his ideas and his vision there is only one of such unique African leader alive now, Nelson Mandela and we have lost Nyerere as he joins others like him, Kwame Nkrumah and Senghor.

Dr Bamidele A Ojo, United States

The death of Mwalimu Nyerere is indeed a blow to Africa. He stands out as an example of what a people's leader should be. At a time that other African leaders were embezzling their country's wealth, Nyerere stood above all that and remained his people's teacher. His policy of Ujama may have had some shortcomings but his intention was altruistic. He ranks with people like Mandela in the annals of African history. It will be a good thing if present leaders of the continent would emulate these two great leaders.

Amandi Esonwanne, Nigerian in Canada

Nyerere, you were a source of hope to the Central African region. Nobody can replace you. MYSRP

Gift Sikaundi, Zambia

A great man has passed that we Africans are proud of I wish I could say the same for 95% of our African leaders, who without a doubt love their sweethearts more than they love their countries. God I pray you bring him back for we are running short of Prophets.

Kobina Harleston, Sierra Leone

It was such a big shock for us. I believe that this pain will be in our hearts for century. Loosing Mwalimu Nyerere is very big loss not only for Tanzania itself but this is a big loss of whole Africa. May God put his soul in peace. Amen

MSHENGABDY NASSEB, ZANZIBAR-TANZANIA.

It is with great sorrow that I have learned of the loss of one of the most outstanding African leaders. He was a great teacher and inspiration to many Africans including Eritreans on the principles of freedom, hard work and self-reliance. May his soul rest in peace.

Debesay Tesfagaber, Eritrea

Mwalimu is not dead and Mwalimu will never die. His influence on politics, African identity, pan-Africanism will live on for ages. A salute to you Mwalimu, your dream will carry. As you join Nkrumah, Lumumba, Biko, Sankara, Nasser, Kenyatta in the land of our ancestors, rejoice for we the children of Africa will carry on with NYEREREISM. Accept my regards for your very positive contribution to African linguistics. Sleep well Mwalimu, Lala Salama Mwalimu. Africa loves you Mwalimu. A true African son, statesman, philosopher.

Mungai Mutonya, Kenya

Dr. Nyerere is truly a big loss for the entire Africa. Africans need to see in him a highly political role model to follow, a model of love, service and compassion. May he repose in peace around The Almighty. I will pray for his soul.

Matthieu w. Yangambi., Democratic Congolese in USA

I never look at Nyerere as a president, but a great teacher. This is very sad to me, I hope that

Tanzanian leaders will follow his leadership. And I am sure God will rest his soul in greatest peace.

Allan Shoo TANZANIAN

Nyerere was as true pan African, a man who cared for all Africans and always tried to find ways and means to protect them. May his soul rest in peace.

Judithbusingye, Uganda

It is a pity that while Africa continues to lose the few heroes she has, the satanic military are the faces we see like recurring decimals on the African political scene. May his humble and gentle soul rest in Peace.

Dr. Victor A. Obajuluwa, Gary, Indiana, USA.

Tanzania has lost a great son; Africa, a great influential figure and the world a great human being. Sleep well my friend.

Althea Campbell, Jamaica

Dr. Nyerere was one of the greatest leaders Post Colonial Africa has ever produced. He will be remembered for his vision and determination. He was able to unite this nation, a task which we should all accomplish as respect for him.

Conrad Msoma, Tanzania

Dr. Julius Kambarage Nyerere means so much to me, Tanzanians as well as for all Africa. I can't find words to describe his character. He is truly 'the man of the people', and will remain the father of the nation. He was not only the leader of Tanzania but also, Africa in general. Though he left us, we are sure that one day we will be together with him. We Tanzanians promise to follow your foot steps forever, peace and unity will prevail. Amen

Kenneth Gibussa, Tanzania

Adieu! Nwalimu, the great African patriot.

O. Oduwole, Nigeria

A great pan-African giant has fallen! This is a loss not only to those who knew him, but to generations of Africans who continue to benefit from his legacies. As a co-founder of the OAU, as a champion for the entrenchment of democracy in Africa, for his efforts to free Africa from colonialism and apartheid, he has earned the title "father of Africa"! May God grant him eternal rest!

Beatrice A. Hamza, New York, USA

Credit for the current democracy, peace and stability in Tanzania goes to the late President Nyerere. Tanzania is one of the few African countries exercising democratic political process. We Africans have to learn from Nyerere's legacy. History is always a fair judge. Let him rest in peace.

Alemayehu Daba, United States

We have to believe that he is dead, but his spirit and his thoughts are still with us. May the great teacher's soul rest in peace.

Abdallah Liguu, Tanzania

Our dear "Mwalimu" is gone at 77 years and may his gentle soul rest in perfect peace. While there is a tendency to highlight the economic difficulties which his rule foisted on Tanzania, it is pertinent to point out that he pointed the country in the right direction in many other respects. Tanzania was spared the consumer society which characterised many post-independence African states thereby drastically reducing social problems. The simple and ascetic lifestyle of Mwalimu was always a reference point for Tanzanians. It is hoped that despite the embracing of market economics by the present rulers of Tanzania, they will not jettison all that is noble and edifying in the teachings of Mwalimu. While I wish our teacher, Nyerere, a peaceful rest, I also wish all Tanzanians and indeed all Africans and humanity a more positive and responsible social direction as envisaged by Mwalimu.

Efosa Aruede, Nigeria

A true humanist, a great communicator and unifier - an African of the highest intellect. He made mistakes, but who doesn't? I admire him.

Christian Sorensen, Denmark

We Africans are victims of many tragedies, most of them unfortunately self-inflicted. Dr Julius Nyerere, Mwalimu remained as a shining inspiration to many of us. An inspiration that reminded us that we can rid our continent of all these tragedies. He helped us defeat apartheid. He taught us integrity, he taught us to serve our fellow citizens, he taught to know that the measure of a leader is not how many Mercedes Benz cars he has or how many wives he has. He taught us that a leader can relinquish power and still remain influential. He taught to listen to one another. He brought respect to a continent that, more often than not, fails to respect the rights of its people. Mwalimu will be missed but not forgotten. Be at peace Mwalimu with yourself, you have done more than was expected of you for Africa.

Mziwakhe John Tsabedze, Swaziland

He was indeed a great man who set a very good but rare example of voluntarily stepping down to pave way for younger leaders. May his Soul Rest In eternal Peace

George Mwale, Malawi

It is difficult to believe that the father of our nation is dead. Left are the memories of the good things he did to his nation and the world at large during his life time. Tanzanians will always remember him. May God rest your soul in peace. Amen!

Frank Mathew, Tanzania

We will never forget what you did to our country and the rest of Africa. People of your type occur once in a century... Rest In Peace and help us from wherever you are now!

Primus Dias Nkwera, Tanzania

A great loss!! He had fully accomplished his mission and his spirit will forever live within Tanzanians and all other peace-keepers.

Betilda C Ngeleja, Tanzania

My condolences go out to all Tanzanians, both at home and away. For myself, having spent most of my formative years in Tanzania, I got to see the influence that Baba Taifa Nyerere had on everyone. His guidance was well respected and honoured by Tanzanians. He showed true leadership when he stepped down to make way for Ali Hassan Mwinyi. This was a single act of mature leadership and it is something rarely seen in many of the world's governments especially in Africa and Asia. I can say this much that his presence will be well missed and our prayers are with the family and nation at this time.

Hansel Ramathal, India/USA

Nyerere was one of the very few who worked for Africa to be self-dependent, there is a lot to be learned from him.

Ted Andemichael, USA

Mwalimu, you made Tanzania a great neighbour to Malawi. Your efforts to unite the turbulent continent of Africa will be greatly missed.

Joshua Lichakala, Malawi

It is a sad day for the world because a great statesman is gone and I therefore send my condolences to the people of Tanzania and the family of ex-president Nyerere.

Magnus Svensson, Sweden

In the desert wastelands of Botswana Mwalimu was an icon, a motivator and mentor Fairwell Mwalimu. Dusk has approached too soon

Bobana Badisang, Botswana

My heartfelt condolence to all Tanzanians and fellow Africans who mourn Nyerere. We lost a great son of Africa.

Ephrem Hunde, Ethiopia

I find it difficult to get the best words that explain him well. However as one of the most influential statesmen history has ever produced on the continent his name will live above all others. He remains a fallen hero of his generation.

Shekania Bisanda, United Kingdom

Tanzania will not be the same again. However the strong foundations of unity and love in Tanzania will live forever.

Ngahyoma, Tanzania

My sincerest condolences at the loss of our pillar. You will be remembered for your honesty, flexibility and good leadership. Rest in peace Mwalimu..

Denford Madenyika, Zimbabwe

The world has truly lost a true giant; the conscience of Africa.

Henry O, USA

There are many Norwegians here who are saddened by the news of the death of Mwalimu J.K.Nyerere. He was very respected and loved.

Bjorg Evjen Olsen, Norway

Nyerere our brave man, you won so many battles and you fought for so many, today we have not been able to fight for you on this single war, now you lay there helpless, nature has taken over beyond us, doctors have tried and failed, may almighty God rest your soul in peace, amen. May God retain the great wall of peace which you built for us, stone by stone.

James Mhagama, Tanzania

"Mwalimu" Julius Kambarage Nyerere has gone down this day as a true and admirable citizen of the world. If he erred, that was only because he was human -- not because he meant any harm to humanity. Yes, "mzee" was wise, honest and, I strongly believe, abhorred corruption. Did you come too early or too late for Africa? Where shall we get a replacement for this modern time Colossus? No we must create one out of his ideals. Is there any greater honour? To Tanzania "I mourn with you with all my heart". RIP Baba.

George Were, Sudan

The loss of Mwalimu Julius Nyerere goes beyond the borders of Tanzania. The story of today's freedom in the region cannot be complete without the mention of Nyerere. He set standards his contemporaries could not match, standards which the present generation of leaders is struggling to emulate. He deserves a peaceful rest

Gracian Tukula, Malawi

We as Africans have lost one of the best figures in the turn of the century. Let us be strong in this time of grief and sorrow. Be strong and follow his steps.

Michael Mbagu, USA

If tears are expression of extreme grief and sorrow, then let the tears flow in all corners of Africa for with the death of Mwalimu, Africa has lost its shining star.

I. O. Mensa-Bonsu, Switzerland

Mwalimu will be missed by all peace loving democrats in the world. He was a shining example of a leader. He prepared his political successors. Even in death he lingered on to prepare his people. The man has died but his good legacy begins to live. RIP Mwalimu.

Henry Kafwembe, Zambia

Africa will remember Dr Nyerere as a great statesman who lived up to his principles. African leaders should emulate the late Dr Nyerere's attributes.

Patrick Ruzinda, The Netherlands

He was a wonderful African statesman and his death is an irreparable loss to thousands of African people. May the Lord rest his soul in peace.

Phillip Maiyo, Kenya

As a teacher of social and political thought, I included his ujama ideology in my course syllabus to enrich our class discussions and provoke students to explore other ideologies.

Noel Servigon, Philippines

It is a sad moment for Africa. It would be a proper tribute to Nyerere if some of the African leaders who are clinging to power for so long by manipulating the political systems of their countries could borrow a page from Nyerere's life and opt for a smooth transition of power.

Gebre Gebremariam, USA/Ethiopia

Rest in Peace Julius Kambarage Nyerere. You did many good things to Tanzania and Africa. Your name and fame will last forever.

Shadrack E. Ndosi, Sweden

Man of dignity, courage and honesty, Nyerere was an example for Africa, especially for African Heads of States who stick to power, are afraid of Democracy and only care about themselves.

Sindou Diarrassouba, USA

Africa has lost a father. We thank you for the work you have done for us and the generations to come. The best tribute Africans and especially the leaders have to give Mwalimu is to emulate his example and to work hard for the African Unity. Then the work he began would be accomplished. May the Lord bless his soul and he rests in everlasting peace. Amen.

Evelyn Mukasa, Belgium

Africa and the free world will miss you Mwalimu. Humble, intelligent and always ready to fight for freedom of the black man. Rest in peace.

Sigombe Paul, Uganda

What a great lose to Africa as a whole. Mwalimu Nyerere must be remembered by all, and in fact the current African leaders need to complete the work started by him. They must now seek ways to bring peace in D R Congo and many other volatile countries.

Dr. J. K. Lonyangapuo, Kenya

There is no doubt that Dr. Julius Nyerere is one of the most influential leaders of this century. He was certainly the most respected in Africa. Many Africans see him as the advocate of democracy, decency and the rule of law in Africa. I wish to send my condolences to his family, friends and all Tanzanians and acknowledge that Dr. Nyerere will be remembered by many and emulated by many.

Zakariya Suleyman, Australia

The world is a poorer place today. My heart felt sympathy to the people of Tanzania and the family of Mwalimu. If only more world leaders would demonstrate his compassion, humility and the wisdom to admit when they get things wrong.

Joy Clancy, Netherlands

Mwalimu J.K.Nyerere it is hard to accept the truth that you are gone. You will always be remembered for your guidance honest dedication and wisdom.

Tanzania enjoyed peace, freedom of religion and national unity throughout because of you. Father may God Rest you in Peace.

O.Mongi & E.Mosha, Tanzania

May his soul rest in peace. In his greatness, he was humble. Africa will not forget him.

Aida Kiangi, Tanzania

Mwalimu will be greatly missed as a true world leader. His legacy is the unity and peace of Tanzania in a troubled continent.

Tony Janes, UK

To me Mwalimu was more than a father but also God's messenger of his days, I won't forget free education, free water supply services, electricity, and the like. I won't forget the peace we are enjoying this moment, unity among Tanzanians, sense of humility which was given to us through his wisdom, love and co-operation - all these are the result of his leadership.

Alex Maira, Tanzania

It is a big loss for Tanzania, Africa and the world that, Mwalimu has left us! His wisdom and contribution towards the liberation of Africa as a whole will be remembered for ever. With great sorrow I say "Kwaheri Mwalimu"! May God rest his soul in eternal peace!

Tobias Mufuruki, Tanzania

Mwalimu Nyerere was the most honest, dedicated, and charismatic African leader. I, and my family share Tanzania's grief, and send our condolences to his family.

Said H S Al Dhahry, Sultanate Of Oman

Hamba Kahle Julius Nyerere. A towering African philosopher and politician. A man of rare integrity, would that there were more like him.

Carole Andrew, South Africa

Rest in Peace. You led Tanzania with dignity, and when the time came you stepped down and gave way to others who had new ideas in the running of your country. I hope other leaders in Africa will emulate you, instead of holding on to the myth of life leadership. Africa needs more Nyereres. If there is magic on how to do this effectively on the other side please send us some. Africa badly needs it.

Esther Kasalu-Coffin, Cote D'Ivoire

Mwalimu your teachings and principles will remain in our hearts forever.

Hiten Pandya, United kingdom

Africa and Tanzania in particular has not only lost, a leader but a wise man whose efforts and love for humanity may take another century to come across May God the almighty rest his soul in eternal peace amen.

Leo Mazigo, Tanzania

We believe that you are the one that had led us where we are. You are the farther of our nation. For many, many years to come your name shall be

remembered, because you were "a god of small people"

Shedrack Mziray, Tanzania

He was a Great Philosopher. The Tanzanian government should consider establishing a Nyerere memorial centre in Tanzania to honour his greatness

Makundi Emmanuel, University of Bergen, Norway

Not only Tanzania has lost, Africa as a whole has lost. He has played a vital role in the liberalisation of the people of Africa and the world at large. May his soul rest in peace.

Ishmael lekwape, Botswana

Other East African leaders should take opportunity of his death, to reflect on their own popularity and performance. He was still popular 14 years since he left power, because he led by example, he preached Ujama and practised it, in other words "he preached water and drank water". He remains the most honest leader East Africa has ever produced. God bless Africa with another Nyerere, his type is all we ever needed.

Joshua Odeny, Kenya

A true statesman, our country will miss your outstanding wisdom!

George S. Kivaria, Tanzania.

This is the saddest moment in the history of Tanzania. Rest in Peace Mwalimu Julius Nyerere. Amen

Laurent Ndalichako, Tanzania

Mwalimu was a great man, ahead of his time, a visionary whose vision for Africa is accepted as the norm today, but whose vision of rural Africa was not right for the time. He had the confidence in his people and himself to hand over leadership to a new generation - something his brothers in most other African countries have never had. He was a great man, the father not only of Tanzania but of much of post-colonial Africa. He will be missed.

Mike Bess, UK

Almighty God, give us another person similar to Mwalimu J.K. Nyerere. In the name of Jesus we pray - AMEN

Wildard Lwiza, Tanzania

This is truly a patriot Africa has lost... His non corruption stand should server as a good example to many leaders...His is an honourable exit...

Abel, Kenya

When someone you've known all your life dies, it sure is a tragedy. Mwalimu Nyerere is as close to the people of Uganda as to the people of Tanzania. He has been one of the fathers of the liberation of our nation. Truly, he was a great man, and should be recognised by friend and foe, even as we go into the millennium.

Anne Lydia Sekandi, Uganda

I extend my heartfelt condolences to the people of Tanzania at the loss of this great man, Dr. Nyerere, the Teacher and the leader. I feel the loss is also shared by all Africans for Dr. Nyerere was one of the few early founders of Africa.

Habte Asfaha, USA

The death of "Mwalimu" Nyerere is indeed saddening especially to all of us who saw him as a man with a vision of a united and peaceful continent of Africa. We share this grief with our brothers and sisters in Tanzania and hope to build upon his vision in securing unity and peace in this region. May God rest his soul in eternal peace.

E. Kinyangi, Kenya

Africa has lost a great leader! A leader who left power without force. He will always be remembered as "The Father Of Africa" May Dr Nyerere rest in peace.

Yusufu-Shaft Kayima, Uganda - Sweden

Long live Mwalimu the great teacher. Your great works are your immortality. Thank you for teaching African leaders that there is life after power.

Ronald Goredema, Zimbabwe

May our memory of you live forever.

Razia Alibhai, Belgium

Our father of the nation has gone. Mwalimu Nyerere, you will be remembered by all of us for cultivating peace and solidarity among Tanzanians and African as a whole.

Charles Mhagama, Tanzania

Nyerere tributes continue

Friday, October 15, 1999 Published at 04:10 GMT 05:10 UK

The United Nations General Assembly has stood in silent tribute to the former Tanzanian president, Julius Nyerere, who died in London yesterday.

The show of respect at the UN was a reflection of feelings around the world about the death of a man who led his country to independence from Britain in 1961.

The UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, said that Mr Nyerere set a fine example by renouncing power voluntarily and handing it to his successor by constitutional means.

President Clinton said Mr Nyerere was a pioneering leader for freedom and self-government in Africa, from whom many African leaders sought guidance as they crafted their own new societies.

The Organisation of African Unity, which Mr Nyerere helped to found, said Africa had lost an ardent advocate of its unity, and the South African president, Thabo Mbeki, said his passing was a loss for the whole African continent.

From the newsroom of the BBC World Service

HYPE**The Meaning Of "Mwalimu"***By Yemi Toure*

One of the world's great leaders, Tanzania former President Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, has died. Julius Kambarage Nyerere tried to rid his government of colonial, racist, capitalist past, not just put an "African" cover on it. He tried to lead his nation into the future through development, self-reliance, political independence and economic justice.

He tried to show his people and the world that a nation, though poor, did not have to be exploited. That self-reliance, in a nation and in a people, was crucial.

He was impressive to me because he not only made the need for Afrikan socialism so plain and clear; but he tried to practice it, even in his personal example.

He worked hard to implement cooperatives among the people in the farms and in the towns, getting all to share together, in both the work and the rewards of work.

He decreased the economic gaps between individuals and groups. He recognized that some may make more money than others, but, as he said so plainly, is there any justice is one person making 100 times more than another? Is not the teacher's work just a valuable at the businessperson's? And if that teacher has 5 children and needs a library at home to prepare her lesson plans, should she live in a small hovel, while the businessperson has rooms in his house he has never used? Socialism is just another way of saying economic justice, and Mwalimu wanted it passionately for his people.

Mwalimu walked the walk. No big parades, no fancy uniforms, no huge entourage, no big palace, no Swiss bank account. He lived in a humble seaside home during his presidency - for why should a leader use up the nation's resources for show, when the people do without? For those who like to show off their riches while the people starve, Tanzania came up with a word for them - - wabenzi.

The word riffed off the insane love of Mercedes-Benzes that still infects the world today.

I was fortunate to have been in Tanzania during the Sixth Pan-African Congress in 1974 when Mwalimu was president. I heard him speak to the delegates.

A deeply meaningful event came while I was in Mwalimu's country. Next door to the South, Mozambique was fighting to liberate itself from Portugal's grip. Mwalimu allowed the

freedom fighters to set up a small clinic at the Congress, and I joined delegates from around the world in giving blood for the fighters. It is one of the great moments of my life.

Afrika loved Mwalimu. He was given the title "Mwalimu," which means "teacher," because of the lessons he imparted. But the term meant more. It was also a term of affection, a term of endearment, a show of love.

Mwalimu loved Afrika. Tanzania is one, if not the only, Afrikan nation that has an Afrikan language, Kiswahili, as a national language. Most Afrikan nations use only a European language.

Mwalimu was a strong and original and creative leader of his country, and equally, a strong and original and creative thinker.

Plain spoken, down to earth, powerful yet easily understandable ideas fill his works. I hope you will read and share "Crusade for Liberation,"

"Freedom and Development,"

"Freedom and Socialism,"

"Freedom and Unity,"

"Man and Development," and "Ujamaa."

When Afrika, in the future, is strong and united and socialist, and Black folk around the world have regained our proper place on the world stage as a world people, and the world as a whole is more at peace, Mwalimu will be remembered for his guidance and insight during these difficult days.

Mwalimu, Dear Ancestor: Thank you for your leadership. For your vision. Thank you for your sacrifice. Thank you for your example of what an Afrikan leader can be. For your humility. For your socialism and your Pan-Afrikanism. We will now, and down through the ages, continue to look to you for your wisdom. Continue to guide us, dear ancestor. Amen-Ra.

- - Yemi Toure has been an activist in the Black community since the Sixties. He edits HYPE, a web site that monitors the Black image in the media, at

<http://www.afrikan.net/hype>

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Panafrican News Agency**Half A Million Tanzanians Welcome Nyerere's Body**

By Nicodemus Odhiambo

Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania (PANA) - Some 500,000 people turned out Monday at the Dar es Salaam International Airport to receive the body of the founding president of Tanzania, Julius Kambarage Nyerere, who died in London Thursday, aged 77.

Leading the mourners was President Benjamin Mkapa. The plane carrying Nyerere's casket touched down at 9.00 a.m. (0600 GMT), greeted by a 21-gun salute. And in a massive outpouring of grief over the loss of Nyerere, thousands broke down and wept openly.

At least 100 people, mostly women, fainted as Nyerere's coffin, draped in the national flag, was lowered from the plane.

Thronged lined up the streets to watch the cortege pass by as it headed towards Nyerere's Msasani residence.

The casket was carried in a special military gun carriage while Nyerere's widow sat with President Mkapa in an open military jeep. Nyerere's children were similarly transported from the airport in a military jeep.

Everywhere, business was literally at a standstill.

Nyerere's body is to lay in state at his residence till Tuesday when a special service will be said in his memory.

The body will then be moved to the National Stadium where Tanzanians and foreign guests will pay their last respects through Wednesday night.

On Thursday, Nyerere's body will be flown to his Butiama home for burial Saturday. African leaders, representatives of the British monarchy as well as other countries of the Commonwealth continue to arrive to honour the fallen statesman.

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Museveni To Lead Delegation To Nyerere's Funeral

Kampala, Uganda (PANA) - President Yoweri Museveni will lead a high powered Ugandan delegation to the funeral of former Tanzanian President Mwalimu Julius Nyerere.

The names of the delegation were released in Kampala Monday by government spokesman and information minister Basoga Nsadhu. According to the programme for the burial, foreign delegations are expected to arrive in

Dar Es Salaam Wednesday. Basoga said in a news release that while each foreign delegation must strictly comprise of five, Uganda "has been allowed 10 dignitaries owing to the special relations between Uganda and Tanzania."

Museveni's delegation includes Chief Justice Wako Wambuzi, the speaker of Parliament, Francis Ayume, Emmanuel Cardinal Wamala of the Catholic Church, the National Political Commissar, James Wapakhabulo, foreign minister Eriya Kategaya and the vice chancellor of Makerere University and the head of the Uganda civil service.

Tanzanian authorities have arranged that foreign dignitaries' participation would end in Dar Es Salaam.

After viewing Nyerere's body at the Dar Es Salaam national stadium, each delegation will convey five minute verbal condolences to President Benjamin Mkapa.

In accordance with the wishes of Nyerere and his family, the burial ceremony in his home village of Butiama, will be entirely a family affair.

Basoga said that because of the intricate nature of this arrangement, another Ugandan delegation will in future visit Butiama to deliver condolences "to the family of the late Nyerere especially to Mama Maria Nyerere, the widow."

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19 October 1999

Guardian

Nyerere's return

Grieving Tanzanians flood streets as coffin comes home

Wambui Chege in Dar es Salaam, and Victoria Brittain

In life Julius Nyerere shunned greed and opulence. In death, the pomp of the week of formal state mourning was overshadowed yesterday by the outpouring of grief from his own closest - the Tanzanian poor whom the former president inspired.

"He was one of us," said Julius Malowe, a motor mechanic who queued from dawn to catch a glimpse of Nyerere's coffin at Dar es Salaam's international airport. "He may have been president but he was with the wananchi [common people]."

To Tanzanians of all walks of life, Nyerere was the man who gave them dignity, and who never deserved the criticism he received abroad for Tanzania's economic difficulties, caused by oil price rises and the war he launched to free Ugandans from Idi Amin's murderous rule.

It was not only his own people who came with their glowing tributes yesterday, however. The South African president, Thabo Mbeki, who as an exile spent part of his youth in Tanzania, acknowledged his country's enduring debt, saying how much Nyerere had helped to end apartheid.

The African National Congress's first military training camps were opened in Tanzania in the 1960s. Nyerere also helped guerrillas fighting apartheid's secret wars in Angola, Mozambique and the former Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe.

"Nyerere meant liberation, he meant attention for the needs of poor people, honesty in politics, personal integrity and a real commitment to all of Africa," Mr Mbeki said. Mr Mbeki has ordered flags to fly at half mast throughout South Africa. He will lead a high-level government delegation to Nyerere's state funeral in Dar es Salaam on Thursday. Nearly 1m people filled the streets of the capital yesterday to pay their last respects as Nyerere's body arrived from London, where he died of leukaemia last Thursday. Women wailed openly and men folded their arms on their heads in grief, chanting "

Mwalimu umetuacha " - "Teacher, you have abandoned us".

"He affected all of our lives and I will miss him like I miss my own father," said Charity Mutemu as she sat suckling her infant son. Huge crowds lined the 12-mile route from the airport to his home. Youths ran alongside the gun carriage on which the coffin was placed. Behind the carriage, looking sombre and shocked, rode the current president, Benjamin Mkapa, all his adult life close to Nyerere. Next to him sat Nyerere's widow.

Nyerere's body was taken to his home in Msasani, where it will spend the night, allowing relatives to pay their last respects. Once he had left the trappings of state house, Nyerere lived in a modest two-storey Indian Ocean beachfront home on the Msasani peninsula in Dar es Salaam.

A few blocks away lie miles of slums, from where he drew his biggest support.

"He was an inspiration, a symbol of unity, and now that he is gone it's difficult to cope," one of his sons, Makongoro, said.

Tanzanians will remember Nyerere as an honest leader who led them to independence and unified the country to make it one of Africa's most peaceful states

"He was a very good man, a very honest man with a lot of sense and a good sense of humour. Most of all, he built a nation of unity, a country so peaceful," Makongoro added.

Wambui Chege is a Reuters correspondent

The Times

Thousands flock to see Nyerere's coffin come home

HUNDREDS of thousands of Tanzanians filled the streets here yesterday to pay their last respects to Julius Nyerere, their former President and the founder of this East African nation.

Huge crowds lined the road from the airport to Nyerere's home, wailing and ululating as his coffin was driven past on the back of a gun-carriage and escorted by a military procession.

Nyerere died in London last week after a long battle against leukaemia. His body was returned to Tanzania yesterday morning aboard an Air Tanzania commercial jet.

Crowds had begun gathering from dawn to pay their respects to a man known throughout Tanzania simply as "Mwalimu" - Kiswahili for "teacher". First aid workers had to treat hundreds for heat exhaustion or emotional stress. Dozens of others were slightly hurt when trampled by crowds trying to glimpse the cortège.

"There are hundreds of thousands of people," a senior police official said. "It could be up to one million."

The crowd was generally peaceful and well behaved, a fitting tribute to a man who developed his own brand of African socialism in an attempt to unify this nation of more than 100 different tribes and languages or dialects.

Nyerere led what was then Tanganyika to independence from Britain in 1961 and became its first president the next year. He then united the country with Zanzibar to form Tanzania, ruling until 1985, when he became one of the first of what is only a handful of African leaders to leave power voluntarily.

His widow, Maria, and five sons and three daughters were at his home in the suburb of Msasani to receive the coffin.

Today it will be taken to the city's main Roman Catholic cathedral for a funeral service before lying in state at the national stadium until Thursday, when dozens of world leaders are expected to attend a state funeral. (*Reuters*)

New Vision (Kampala)

Nyerere Body Arrives In Dar

By Felix Osike and Agencies

Kampala - President Yoweri Museveni will lead a ten-man delegation to the burial ceremony of the late former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere. A statement issued yesterday by the Minister of Information, Basoga Nsadh, said the President will be accompanied by his wife Janet.

Nyerere who died in a London hospital last Thursday will be laid to rest Saturday at his birthplace in Butiama near Lake Tanganyika. In accordance with Nyerere and his family's wishes, the burial ceremony will be an entirely family affair. His body arrived in Dar es Salaam from London yesterday afternoon aboard Air Tanzania.

Tens of thousands of Tanzanians lined the streets to receive the body. Women wailed and ululated as a military procession bearing Nyerere's coffin left the country's main airport for the city.

According to the programme released by the Tanzanian government, each VIP foreign delegation will comprise of five dignitaries, "except Uganda, which has been allowed 10 dignitaries owing to the special relations between Uganda and Tanzania." Basoga said Museveni will be accompanied by the Chief Justice, Wako Wambuzi, the First Deputy Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Eriya

Kategaya and the National Political Commissar, Mr. James Wapakhabulo. Other members of the delegation are the Speaker of Parliament, Francis Ayume, the UPDF representative, Brig Steven Hashaka, Makerere University Vice chancellor, Prof. John Ssebuwufu and the Head of the Civil service, Mrs. Florence Mugasha. The team was selected after a meeting yesterday of the Nyerere funeral coordinating committee chaired by Prof. Mondo Kagonyera. The committee agreed that another delegation will in future visit Butiama to deliver condolences to the family. According to the programme, VIP delegations will arrive in Dar es Salaam on Wednesday, October 20. Nyerere's body will this week lie in state in Dar es Salaam to pay their respects.

Foreign dignitaries will pay their last respects on Thursday at the National Stadium of Dar es Salaam. It has been arranged that the foreign VIPs role and participation will end in Dar es Salaam. After the Dar es Salaam stadium ceremonies, each VIP delegation will convey five-minute verbal condolences to President Benjamin Mkapa and sign the condolence book.

Ordinary Tanzanians began arriving at the airport at dawn and dozens fainted under the scorching sun before the Air Tanzania Boeing 737 carrying the coffin touched down shortly after 9:00a.m.

When it arrived, the crowd surged forward on the runway apron and dozens of people were trampled underfoot, but no serious injuries were reported.

Nyerere's coffin was carried from the plane by an honour guard made up of servicemen in the Tanzania armed forces. The former president was given a 21-gun salute and a military band played "Nkosi Sikelele Afrika" (God Bless Africa), the anthem of the African liberation movements.

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The Times of Zambia (Lusaka)

Chiluba declares four-day national mourning

by Times Reporter

Lusaka - President Chiluba has declared a four-day national mourning period for former

Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere who died in London last week.

The period of national mourning will run from today until Friday in honour of the African and Tanzanian statesman. Chief Government spokesman Newstead Zimba said in Lusaka yesterday that during the mourning period all flags would fly at half-mast.

Meanwhile, former republican president Dr Kenneth Kaunda has described the death of Mr. Nyerere as a great blow to peace in Africa. Speaking after he signed the book of condolences at the Tanzanian high commission in Lusaka yesterday, Dr Kaunda said the death was a great loss not only to Africa but also to the entire world.

And United States President Bill Clinton will be represented at the funeral of Dr Nyerere by secretary of state Madeleine Albright who is scheduled to visit six African countries. Dr Kaunda said the demise of one of Africa's founding fathers would create a vacuum in the Burundi peace initiative and appealed to leaders in the region to find a suitable replacement.

Asked if he would be willing to continue from where Dr Nyerere left, Dr Kaunda said he was ever ready to help resolve conflicts in Africa. The UNIP leader who will travel to Tanzania to attend the burial of Dr Nyerere, dedicated a poem in the book of condolences to his long time friend.

Julius. How could you my dear brother, "Kazi ya Africa ni mkubwa sana" a Swahili term meaning, a lot still needs to be done in Africa. How could you my dear brother: I thought you knew you were in success in Burundi.

I am sure you knew of all those successes in Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe. I am sure you knew of all those successes in Namibia and finally in South Africa.

Why then Julius do you leave Burundi unfinished? Oh God my God. I am inviting Nkrumah, Nasser, Neto, Machel.

Oliver Tambo to meet their dear brother at the first gate. Thank you dear Lord.

He is safe in your hands Lord, the poem read. And World Bank president James Wolfensohn said Dr Nyerere was one of the founding fathers of modern Africa and one of the few world leaders whose high ideals, moral integrity and personal modesty inspired people.

Ms Albright will be in Tanzania on Thursday to attend the funeral of Dr Nyerere. The purpose of her visit and funeral attendance is to highlight the partnership the US has weaved with Africa, the Washington Line says.

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20 October 1999

Independent

Tanzania weeps for father of the nation

By Alex Duval Smith in Dar es Salaam
20 October 1999

In the biggest outpouring of collective grief that southern Africa has ever seen, Tanzania yesterday threw itself into a 48-hour non-stop orgy of tears for Baba wa Taifa – the father of the nation – Julius Nyerere, who died from leukemia last Thursday in London.

Tomorrow, the Princess Royal and dignitaries from all over the world, including the US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, will arrive for the state funeral in Dar es Salaam. But for now, this is very much a family affair – 30 million people grieving as one for Mwalimu – the teacher. President Benjamin Mkapa attended a Roman Catholic funeral Mass yesterday which spilled outside St Joseph's cathedral. Thousands of people were able to watch proceedings on giant video screens. Cardinal Polycarp Oponga praised former president Nyerere for his honesty and integrity on a continent where so many leaders are known for their corruption.

Mama Graça – Nelson Mandela's wife, Graça Machel – is here, always by the side of Mama Maria, widow of the late former president. On the television, a tearful little girl sings "you did more in your life than all the water in the sea".

At the national stadium, where the body was taken yesterday after it was flown back from London, nothing is pompous but everything is meticulously arranged.

There were two weeks of prayers by all religions for former president Nyerere, who lay dying in Saint Thomas's Hospital, and the country was prepared.

The body of the man who ruled Tanzania from 1962 until 1985, when he stepped down, will remain in the stadium for viewing, night and day, until Thursday.

Yesterday, thousands upon thousands of people filed through the specially constructed glass house where the former president Nyerere lies in state beneath an enlarged photograph of him in an open-necked shirt, smiling. From time to time, a choir sang or the band struck up Nkosi Sikelel'i Afrika, the national anthem.

Lucas Kizigha, a clerk, 25, who had come to pay his last respects said: "He was our father. He united us. He knew evil and crushed it, like Idi Amin, and he knew what was good. All the

southern African liberation movements – Zimbabwe, South Africa and Mozambique – have his vision to thank for their success. When he died, he was trying to bring peace to Burundi."

Outside, the streets were mostly deserted. Dar es Salaam, which means "haven of peace" is a city of 1.5 million people which usually bustles with the activity of hawkers proclaiming "hii katalogi kabisa garantii oringino" (from the latest catalogue, guaranteed original) which everyone knows to mean the opposite. Yesterday, as one man said outside the stadium, "even the pickpockets are paying tribute to Baba".

Former president Nyerere, who died aged 77, had his faults. His ujamaa, Maoist farms, introduced after a peaceful transition to independence from Britain in 1961, ran the economy into the ground. In 1979, Tanzania had more political prisoners than South Africa. But in the crowd yesterday mourners insisted that his legacy was of good. Generally, they did not believe the prophets of doom who have predicted that, in the absence of former president Nyerere as an éminence grise, President Mkapa's ruling party could split ahead of next years elections and that Muslim-dominated Zanzibar – the island off Dar es Salaam which was brought into the fold in 1964 – might secede.

Winnie Naali, a market trader in her forties, who was among hundreds wearing black and wrapped in a kanga (cloth) featuring Nyerere's image said: "He was not very clever at economics and this was not good for the wealth of this country, but when he realised this, he said sorry and resigned. He wanted Tanzania to be one big village, a family for us all, and for all of us to take part."

After the state funeral – at which several European royal families will be represented, as well as all of Tanzania's neighbours and high-ranking officials from allies such as China and the Nordic countries – former president Nyerere's death will return to being a family affair.

His body will be taken to his village, Butiama, by Lake Victoria, for burial alongside the remains of his father. Far from the nearest airstrip and prying camera crews, Mama Maria and Mama Graça will reclaim the family occasion.

BBC

World leaders arrive to honour Nyerere

A long wait to say goodbye

World leaders are arriving in Tanzania for the state funeral on Thursday of the country's former president, Julius Nyerere.

It will be the largest international delegation ever to visit Tanzania. Heads of state from 14 countries are expected to attend, including South African President Thabo Mbeki and Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe. US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright will fly to Tanzania from Nigeria and the Princess Royal is to represent Britain's royal family. The state funeral is set to begin on Thursday morning at the national stadium in Dar Es Salaam and will last about four hours. The eulogy will be read by the current president Benjamin Mkapa, and several other foreign dignitaries are also expected to speak. After the ceremony, the body will be flown to Butiama, Dr Nyerere's birthplace. It will lie in state for a further two days before being buried on Saturday.

Mourners weep openly

In the past two days, tens of thousands of Tanzanians have been filing past the body of Dr Nyerere at the national stadium. Many have travelled great distances to pay their last respects to the man many knew simply as 'Mwalimu' - the teacher. An enormous queue stretched for miles outside the stadium and many people wept openly or gasped as they passed the body, lying on a bed of satin. "This is the shock of the century for Tanzanians. Nyerere was so much loved by everyone," said one observer. Dr Nyerere died from cancer in a London hospital last week, aged 77. He is still revered in Tanzania as the 'father of the nation' after leading the country to independence and serving as its first president from 1964 to 1985. The government has declared 30 days of mourning throughout the country.

Julius Nyerere: Political messiah or false prophet?

Wednesday, October 20, 1999 Published at 17:09 GMT 18:09 UK

Mr Nyerere's views on African development were an unmitigated disaster and turned his country into a pauper for decades (and probably decades to come).

Rath Andor, USA

I longed to be like him, and some of what I am today comes from the Nyerere's African Socialism. I love it. He was a great leader. The world has lost an outstanding personality and a leader.

Nathan Duwah Juniusu, United States of America

Just two of the comments Talking Point has received so far. Take part below.

The Background:

Dr Julius Nyerere, who died last week aged 77, was much more than Tanzania's first president and founding father. He was also one of those rare political philosophers who was actually able to test out his theories on an entire nation.

In 1967 he released the Arusha Declaration (named after the northern Tanzanian town where it was announced) which outlined his plans to turn Tanzania into a socialist and self-supporting state. He then quickly set about applying his ideas.

However Nyerere's 'African socialism' proved disastrous in the rural areas where his policy of "ujama", community-based farming collectives, met with resistance from farmers and led to a subsequent decline in production. Ten years later, taking stock, President Nyerere issued a remarkably honest booklet which gave as much prominence to the failures as well as the successes.

"There is a time for planting and a time for harvesting", he wrote. "For us it is still a time for planting".

Nyerere's supporters say he is not to blame for the failure of ujamaa and are adamant that his principles of African socialism are now more relevant than ever.

Critics claim that Nyerere was a false prophet who failed to think through the effects of his left-wing policies on ordinary people and that African socialism is a confused philosophy which should be confined to the dust bin of history.

What do you think? Was Nyerere a political messiah or false prophet? Are his ideas important or dangerous (given the failure of ujamaa)? Should his African socialism be taught to future generations or forgotten about? Have your say.

Your Reaction:

It is a great loss not only to our country but to the whole world. He was a great leader whose wisdom and leadership was surely to be admired. Being a youth, he is a role model for me and the world to follow.

Mustafa B. Dinani, Tanzania

I was amazed by all the negative criticism, the late Mwalimu Nyerere received upon his untimely death. I am an Ethiopian by origin, who had the chance to live in Tanzania for four years, from 1990 to 1994. I went to high school there, and learned Nyerere's Ujaama in Siasa (politics) class, although I don't agree

with everything Ujaama stands for, I admire the basic fundamentals, which are free education and health service for all, and in order to reach these goals you have to form a community, some call it, villagization.

The other most amazing thing is, when the rest of Africa is engaged in meaningless wars, including my country, Ethiopia; Tanzanians were enjoying peace and harmony. Yes, even though, they were poor, they did not become stooges for westerners or Russia, and kill their brothers and sisters. Because, Mwalimu has taught them that, the solution for African problem does not come from the west or Russia, it comes from us, the Africans. Little knowledge is very dangerous, so please study the issues before jumping to conclusions, and see things from all aspects, economical, social and political. Mwalimu rest in peace.

Yoseph Mekonnen, USA

I am amazed by the snide comments about Nyere mostly from Westerners: yet there is a country in the West that prides itself on its probity and democratic ideals, but politicians are elected depending on how much money they can muster. As for Human Rights, Convicts, including children are kept waiting for years on Death Row before they are executed in revolting ways.

Janet, UK

To me, Mwalimu Nyerere is Africa's greatest man of our time. He was a righteous man who tried to the best of his human ability to do good, not for himself but for mankind in his country, for Africa and the international community as a whole. I thank God (for him) now that he is going to be buried in the soil of a TOTALLY FREE AFRICA, which was one of his missions! It is enough to say that Mwalimu was a selfless GOOD MAN, an example I can not easily sight anywhere in Africa.

Emmanuel Malaba, Tanzania

Tanzania, and indeed Africa will never be the same again after the loss of an illustrious son, and a towering figure, Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere. Nyerere was not only the architect of Tanzanian nationalism, but a champion of the struggle against the forces of oppression, colonialism and man's inhumanity to man in continental Africa. He lived and died fighting the good fight to uphold the ideals of human rights and dignity, and to foster an egalitarian society across all Africa. Nyerere walked the walk and talked the talk with utmost selflessness, humility and equanimity. Nyerere was a man of character and vision. The peace, tranquillity and sense of national pride that prevail in Tanzania today is only a

part of his enduring legacy. Africa will sorely miss Dr Nyerere.

Nwora Onwuzulu, Nigeria

False prophet? Nyerere was not a prophet, he was just a realist who with good intentions tried to show that Africa can go on its own way without blindly following western ideologies. Those who claim that he failed say so because they measure success with material development. Those who see success as peace and unity will not fail to see that Nyerere excelled in these. His achievements will remain in Tanzania and Africa for many years to come!

Peter, UK/Tanzania

Nyerere is often credited with the far-reaching achievements of Tanzania's health and education systems. Yet they were paid for by Western taxpayers, who kept these programmes alive on artificial life support. Between them Sweden, Norway, Finland, Holland and Canada provided around £2.7 billion every year; in 1983-84 British aid amounted to £26 million. By the mid 1980s Tanzania was the highest per capita recipient of foreign aid in Africa.

Nyerere's own policies of socialist collectivisation had reduced Tanzania to one of the world's poorest countries by 1985, burdened by debt and with inflation running between 30 and 40 percent, industry at only 30 percent of capacity, and crippled by a lack of foreign exchange to import raw materials and spare parts. Nearly half of the 330 firms nationalised by the government had gone into liquidation and a third of those that survived lost money. Tanzania had become dependent upon imports of cereals and had to introduce rationing; peasants in Shinyanga province faced starvation through lack of maize.

If this is kind of late ex-President held up as a shining example of African leadership, then maybe Africa needs no more "great leaders".

Henry Case, UK

It is interesting to note that most of the negative comments about Nyerere so far have predominantly been from the US, from people like Rath Andor. Nyerere's self-reliance policies obviously turned out to be impractical for many reasons, a lot of which had to do with the ideological acrimony at the international level between the super powers. His ideas were well meaning, and could probably still be applied today with the will of the people.

Nevertheless, the important issue is that Nyerere admitted to the failure of the program himself. Moreover, Nyerere will be remembered for a whole lot of other ideas and

deeds some of which include the total decolonization of Africa, and the dismantling of all the brutal racist regimes in southern Africa. It is absurd to suggest that Tanzanians were better off during colonial rule.

Colonialism as a global arrangement was evil and untenable. Whatever mirage(s) of "better conditions" under colonialism anywhere in Africa were just that, illusions. Where they existed, they were for the few who constitute the present sentimental colonialists and their offspring who long for the return of that by-gone era. Nyerere was and is ours. His mistakes are ours because we claim them. His achievements brought us light, and for that Africa will forever be thankful. As for Mr. Rath Andor and the like, I wonder what they have to say on behalf of the likes of Mobutus and Bandas. I bet they are their heroes.

Moses Warotua Haimbodi, Namibia/USA

Julius Nyerere proved to be one of the Greatest African and World Leaders. He enjoyed respect not only in Tanzania but through out the world. Among other aspects that gained him popularity was his voluntary act to step down as the president of Tanzanian and leader of the ruling party. He showed a very good example to the other World Dictators and, those leaders who want to die in office that all people can, and should have a chance to lead.

Mwalimu Nyerere's leadership went through the "Learning Circle" consisting of four basic stages: 1- What happened during the period? (Reflection), 2- Why did it happen?, 3- What lessons were learned?, 4- What can be done to improve the situation?.

Michael Mondli Lopidia, Southern Sudanese in UK

Julius Nyere was yet another socialist leader who got it all wrong, but, as per his fellow socialist leaders would never admit it. As far as turning his Country into a Socialist paradise he failed miserably. When I was in Tanzania in the early 1980's you could not even find such basic essentials as toothpaste or soap, crime was rampant and security non-existent.

As far as Ujama went, the system brought the country almost to the brink of famine. However, let us not condemn only Julius Nyere for there were many others of similar ideals equally as guilty of the kind short-sightedness and stubbornness which are the inevitable result of practising and preaching an ideal which is totally unpopular and which simply does not work.

Neil Ashurst, UK Expat in Ghana

It is our African culture that lets the dead rest in peace, let us do that for President Nyerere. Sure he might have made mistakes during his rule, we should have learned something out of that so we wouldn't repeat those same mistakes, but the man that unseated Mr Nyerere and labelled him a dictator turn out to be a disaster for Africa.

Chiluba is no better than any African dictator, in fact he jailed Nyerere and it was Messiah Mandela who convinced Chiluba to free Nyerere. Don't blame the dead, look at the living they might as well join the dead it would do Africa a much better good. Look Nigeria, had Abacha not been dead do you think the little progress that is taking place would be? Nyerere had some sense of conscience and handed power, that is unheard of in Africa. Mwalimou Nyerere, rest in peace.

M, USA

Rath Andor should well rethink h/her impression of the late Mwalimu Nyerere's ideas and practice of ujamaa. His claimed "fiery anti-western rhetoric" obfuscates Nyerere's moral appeal to capitalism without a human face, consumerism to a society in need of the basic living requirements. Rath Andor must be a frustrated Thatcherite!!

Ed Edet, USA(Nigerian)

He was a great leader, a great humanist. As a human being he had his own share of mistakes (who doesn't) but he was sincere and devoted to his people and to the cause of peace and justice throughout the world..

Nizar Visram, Tanzania

Though some may deem "Ujamaa" as an example of failure in African socialism, it is a classic example of triumph over colonial oriented and non-realistic thought. Mwalimu Nyerere instilled in us Africans the pride to look for initiatives to solve Africa's problems. It is very sad to realise that in this post independence era Africa is still fighting to make policies tailored for foreign systems and political scenarios work in Africa. Africa has indeed lost a bold, simple and great son,

Stephen Njoloma, USA

there is no single leadership style which is perfect. Nyerere was the right person to our nation for that particular time to particular followers was Mwalimu. He was the 20th century leader with no doubt. Mwalimu is among the best model of leadership style which he practically demonstrated in Tanganyika before "Uhuru" and after it. Many fruits of "uhuru" came including one Nation a strong one and peaceful Tanzania. He accomplished his mission in a very glorious

way. Kwaheri goodbye the father of our nation.

Maria Mashingo, USA

He was neither a false prophet nor a political messiah but was just a mere intellectual who tried to forecast all that would be best for his people. That is why in all the time of his leadership he tried to implement his ideas. He was a kind of a person who was ready to learn even from his mistakes and this is why he admitted failures of some of his theories. All in all Nyerere was a man of integrity whose delight was the good of his people. A unique person among the very few people in the world. The problem of his ujamaa theory is not about him but the problem with people who were to implement it. He has done a lot for his people and it is only god who can reward him.

Sturmius Bwire, Tanzania

When part of the British Empire, Tanzania was a highly productive and self-sufficient nation. As with all the former colonies, bad and corrupt leadership brought the country to its knees. The people were far better off under the benign and honest British administration. Nyerere was not a good man.

John Atkins, UK

Mwalimu was a bright leader who would always be remembered for his honesty and integrity in a continent where many of its leaders (past and present) lacked both.

Yasin Jabir, USA/Ethiopia

Nyerere at least sought to do what he thought was best for his people, which unfortunately was a disaster. But he tried to help his people and was not a thief like all the other African leaders who shamelessly use their positions to steal and enrich themselves at the expense of their people and countries. Nyerere was a good and honest man.

Winnie Onwuanyi, Nigeria/USA

Julius Nyerere may have been wrong about African Socialism but at least he was wrong for all the right reasons he wasn't an evil cynic but a true African patriot a man who was inspired by decency and goodwill, there aren't that many African leaders past or present of which this is true. He was a great man, may he rest in peace.

Samuel Lando, Kenya

I shall never use the word "political messiah" or false prophet" to characterise Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, "the man of honour principled", who never fringed in the face of "Western Imperialism". (After all no thinker who speculates on the future can escape the charge of having withdrawn into fantasy construction) But, Julius Nyerere's humanistic views will survive.

Tajudeen Isiaka, Nigeria

In the long run socialism always fails and ruins the economy of the nation experimenting with it. Nyerere destroyed the economy of his nation and the people there will suffer for years to come because of this.

Richard T. Ketchum, USA

Throughout the history of mankind, we have had Kings, rulers, scientists and philosophers who have had different impacts and influences on technological development and human civilisation. Mwalimu Nyerere, the founding father of the United Republic of Tanzania must go down in history as one of the greatest leaders of all times whose teachings and unique leadership style have influenced the whole world community. We must admit that Africa has produced this great thinker whose teachings have had great impacts; not only to the lives of Tanzanians and Africans but the entire world community's civilisation. The principles of his Ujamaa Philosophy will guide the 21-century global development scenarios of community empowerment, democratisation and governance through consensus, all of which are in Mwalimu Nyerere's Ujamaa. His simple life style, honesty, integrity and commitment to the needy are his most important strong points that even the most powerful governments on earth have something to learn from.

Asukile RK Mwandemele, TANZANIA

Simple fact: not all dictators had a pleasure of having plus 30 world leaders attending their funerals. We like it or not, Mwalimu was among the greatest sons Africa ever had. It takes an African to understand Africa, and that is why we will forever remember him.

Deo Kikudo, Hungary

Mwalimu Julius Nyerere was one of Africa's and the world's greatest leaders. He was genuinely concerned about his people, and did the best he could. Mwalimu Julius Nyerere is a shining example of a true leader not only in Africa but also the rest of the world. May his soul rest in eternal peace.

Humphrey, Malawi

Socialist idea practically is dead system. So, what ever Nyerere has written about Socialism is also a dead issue. But let us remember Nyerere as the founder of OAU. Intelligent, outstanding, and a very well respected leader. He was one of the most notable leaders in the 20th Century. What a loss!

Haregeweyn Demoz, U.S.A

Nyerere, Nkrumah... you name them... I see them as leaders who at least dared to try

something new - who dared to reject western formulae and try something different. False prophets, I don't totally agree with that. Within the context of a post-independent Africa, where the fuel for the struggle was nationalism, they needed ideologies to hold on to, which is something that leaders of today lack. I would rather have leaders who will attempt to lead us into unexplored political domains than those who sit and blindly worship the status-quo.

Santrofi, Ghana

A man's achievements are not judged on how much he has earned, they are judged on how many hearts he has touched. Every leader has negative and positive sides. Nyerere's Ujama Theory didn't work but that is not a point of criticism towards him. Let us not blind ourselves, take a look at Africa and name a country that hasn't experienced tribal wars. I guess by now you see Tanzania. Do you think this came as a miracle? Of course not, isn't this a successfully thing that Nyerere has done. All African countries are poor because of western imperialism, and for this to change it means history has to change (Will it Ever Happen?) PEACE AND UNITY IS THE BIGGEST PRESENT NYERERE GAVE US AND FOR THAT HE IS OUR HERO.

Zinga Banzi, Canada

On my point of view he had good intentions to his people but the execution by his assistants was bad.

Mfumwa Mmbaga, Tanzania

African Socialism? More guff from people who should know better. When ruled by the Empire these countries had good records of production. Under socialism they got plundered. Enough said.

Pod, Scotland

Nyerere, the Mwalimu, the teacher is unique among leaders. He was selfless and honest. I met him on several occasions and he was inspirational. He never took advantage of his position and amassed wealth. His idea about Ujamaa is and was the way because ultimately we cannot have the 6 billion people even dream of the corrupted life style of the west. This life style is not possible for the majority of 6 billion people. It is a lifestyle which is wasteful, all consuming and destructive for the world.

There can be few people who will enjoy that life style at the expense of others. Even in USA there are 50 million people in poverty. Mwalimu never intended to be a prophet so the question whether he was a false prophet is derogatory. The man was great and that is a fact.

Dr Bhogal MD, Tanzania/UK

Indeed, the leaders of post 1957 Africa were hailed as Messiahs, But they all ended up as "False prophets". And that includes Nyerere. Like the Old Testament Jewish Kings who were judged by their relationship with God, and how they advanced the ideas and ideals of God, I grade the modern African rulers by how much they helped to introduce political institutions (Democracy), that encourages freedom.

In this respect, not only Nyerere, but Nkrumah, Kenyatta, and Sekou Toure all failed miserably. They were all tin pot dictators, who felt somehow that they alone were imbued with a "divine Right" to rule. That they alone possessed the Wisdom to decide our fate, independent of our wishes and concerns. The tragedy is that they could have successfully won any elections due to their initial popularity. But they decided to become tyrants, and thus became wholly abhorred by the majority of the people. Nyerere's decision to cling on to a moribund economic system, while dealing out utopian political snippets, does not outlive him. His prophesy was not fulfilled. He was thus a false prophet!!!

Kofi Ellison, USA via Asuonwun, Ghana.

He is just another Hitler who doesn't kill people using guns but destroys people's life using bad ideologies

Vipi Mshikaji, Kenya

It is important not to let sentiment, caused by Mr. Nyerere's recent death, to blind ourselves to the truth. Mr. Nyerere's views on African development were an unmitigated disaster and turned his country into a pauper for decades (and probably decades to come.) While his fiery anti-Western rhetoric may have impressed many African nationalists and "well-meaning" idiots in the West, Mr. Nyerere made his people dependent on those whom he regularly excoriated. Of course, there is also Tanzania's human rights record to consider...

Rath Andor, USA

Julius Nyerere was an Ivy League intellectual who discovered the hard way that the lofty ideas that sounded so good in the halls of Oxford and Cambridge do not work so well in actual application. It is a testament to this man's foresight and intelligence that he came to realise this and admit to it publicly, when so many other African demagogues clung to it blindly, to the resulting ruin of their countries.

Tom Byrne, USA

Panafrican News Agency
Nyerere's Daughter Denied Holy Communion

By Nicodemus Odhiambo

Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania (PANA) - One of the daughters of the late former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere was Tuesday denied 'holy communion' during a requiem mass for her father.

Anna Nyerere had gone to receive communion kneeling in characteristic 'Fr Felician Nkwera's' style, while Tanzanian Catholics receive communion standing. It is said she is a firm follower of Fr Nkwera, an ostracised priest since May.

The mass was attended by President Benjamin Mkapa and was led by the Archbishop of Dar Es Salaam, Polycarp Cardinal Pengo, who has issued stern directives that Nkwera's followers be evicted from Catholic churches the moment they are spotted.

The widow of Nyerere, Maria, who is also an ardent Nkwera follower, however, received the communion standing. Her efforts to have Fr Nkwera sent to Britain to pray for Nyerere when the former leader was hospitalised were thwarted and criticised by the Catholic church. But Maria had her way Monday when she insisted that Nkwera be called to say prayers at her home after Nyerere's body was flown in from London.

When Cardinal Pengo went to condole Nyerere's family, Anna is said to have walked out.

Nkwera was excommunicated for exorcising demons without permission from bishops and "going contrary to church teachings," including what the church described as disobeying superiors. He has been ordered to repent before he can be allowed back together with his flock.

But Fr. Nkwera has petitioned the Pope to intervene.

In his booklet: Open Letter To His Holiness Pope John Paul II and President Mkapa, he says he has been a victim of molestation by Cardinal Pengo.

He has accused the cardinal of convincing other priests and religions to reject his Marian Faith Healing Ministry and even trying to convince the government to ban it.

But in an apparent move to advise Nyerere's family, Cardinal Pengo used the opportunity at the requiem mass Tuesday to warn the congregation not to let Fr. Nkwera split their families.

Nyerere was a firm Catholic and Cardinal Pengo said it was improper to involve him with the ways of Fr Nkwera now that he is dead. *Copyright (c) 1999 Panafrican News Agency. Distributed via Africa News Online (www.africanews.org). For information about the content or for permission to redistribute, publish or use for broadcast, contact the publisher.*

Wrangle Over Nyerere's Final Resting Place Solved

By Nicodemus Odhiambo

Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania (PANA) Grave-diggers Tuesday began excavating the earth at the spot where the late former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere will be buried after an initial clan dispute. A member of a committee charged with the late statesman's burial said a dispute on where to bury him had been resolved.

"Family members and elders of Nyerere's Zanaki tribe are now finally agreed at the spot at which Nyerere will be buried," the labour and youth development minister, Paul Kimiti, was quoted as saying.

Nyerere's clan members were divided on where to bury him, with one of his sons, Emily, opposing that he be buried near his parents' graves.

But Emily later relented, Kimiti said, and the family agreed to locate the grave at a site called Mwitongo, where Nyerere had once expressed a desire to be buried at.

Meanwhile, Zanaki elders have demanded that Nyerere's body be handed to them for traditional rites when it arrives in Butiama, his village, Thursday.

Led by clan leader Japhet Wanzagi, the elders said Nyerere's body will be received by youths from the tribe, brandishing traditional shields.

A traditional dance will then be performed at the chief's compound ahead of the state burial Saturday.

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18 Heads Of State To Pay Respects To Nyerere

By Nicodemus Odhiambo

Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania (PANA) - At least 18 Heads of State from Africa and Europe are

coming to mourn the late former President of Tanzania Julius Kambarage Nyerere.

They will view Nyerere's body who died of leukaemia aged 77 in Britain last week during a special mass Thursday at the National Stadium.

Nyerere's body has been laying in state at the stadium for public viewing since Tuesday. The Heads of State are Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, South Africa's Thabo Mbeki, Uganda's Yoweri Museveni, Ghana's Jerry Rawlings and Mozambique's Joaquim Chissano.

Rwanda's Pasteur Bizimungu, Pierre Buyoya of Burundi, Namibia's Sam Nujoma, Marti Ahtisaari of Finland and Hosni Mubarak of Egypt are also to attend.

Others are Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, King Mswati of Swaziland, Bakili Muluzi of Malawi, Libya's Moammar Kadhafi and Kenya's Daniel arap Moi.

Botswana's Festus Mogae and the country's former President, Sir Ketumile Masire, will also attend. Eritrea's Isayas Afeworki has also confirmed to participate.

Sweden will be represented by its Deputy Prime Minister, Seychelles by its Vice President James Michael while the United States will be represented by its Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright.

The East African Co-operation Secretariat will be represented by its Executive Secretary, Francis Muthaura, while the OAU will be represented by its Secretary General Salim Ahmed Salim, a Tanzanian national himself and a former premier under Nyerere.

Former US President and close friend of Nyerere, Jimmy Carter, is also to attend.

The Netherlands will be represented by Crown Prince Willem Alexander, accompanied by Foreign Affairs Minister Jozias van Aartsen.

In total, about 56 countries will be represented during the requiem mass at which Nyerere's eulogy will also be read.

Soon after the mass, Nyerere's body will be flown to Musoma and transported by road to his Butiama home for burial.

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The Monitor (Kampala)

Dreams that never died

Kampala - In the late 1960s Mwalimu Nyerere, who was to become Africa's most respected elder statesperson (apart from Nelson Mandela) became a magnet for Africans in the Diaspora among them Ikaweba Bunting, currently Oxfam's Communications Officer for East Africa who has lived in Tanzania for over 30 years.

In December 1998 they sat down at his home in Butiama, Tanzania, and reflected on his role over the past 50 years as an activist. Nyerere died Oct. 14, 1999.

**Ikaweba Bunting: What was the anti-colonial movement's greatest contribution to humanity?*

**Mwalimu Julius Nyerere: The first is that the suffering of a whole chunk of human beings through the actions of others was halted. The arrogance of one group of people in lording it over the human race and exploiting the poorer peoples was challenged and discredited. Second, the liberation movement was very moral. It was not simply liberation in a vacuum. Gandhi argued a moral case and so did I.*

Liberation freed white people also. Take South Africa: there, the anti-apartheid victory freed whites as well as black people.

**When did you first encounter the idea of liberation from colonialism?*

I cannot say I encountered the idea of liberation like a flash of light, like Paul on the road to Damascus. It was a process. We were born under colonialism. What many of us went through was simply a desire to be accepted by the white man. At first this is what it was - a kind of inert dissatisfaction that we were not accepted as equals.

World War Two and what it was fought for - democracy and freedom - started the process for many people, especially those who were in the Army.

At Makerere in 1943 I started something called the Tanganyika African Welfare Association. We wanted to improve the lives of Africans. Inside us something was happening.

I wrote an essay in 1944 called The Freedom of Women.

My father had 22 wives and I knew what they went through as women. Here in this essay I was moving towards the idea of freedom theoretically.

I went to Tabora to start teaching.

Then came Indian Independence. When Gandhi succeeded I think it made the British lose the will to cling to the empire.

When Kwame Nkrumah was released from prison it produced a transformation. I was in Britain and oh you could see it in the Ghanaians! They became different human beings, different from all the rest of us! This thing of freedom began growing inside all of us. First India in 1947, then Ghana in 1949.

*Does the Arusha Declaration still stand today?

I still travel around with it. I read it over and over to see what I would change. Maybe I would improve on the Kiswahili that was used but the Declaration is still valid: I would not change a thing. Tanzania had been independent for a short time before we began to see a growing gap between the haves and the have-nots in our country. 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 the Government to enrich themselves. This kind of development would alienate the leadership from the people. So we articulated a new national objective: we stressed that development is about all our people and not just a small and privileged minority.

The Arusha Declaration and our democratic single-party system, together with our national language, Kiswahili, and a highly politicized and disciplined national army, transformed more than 126 different tribes into a cohesive and stable nation.

However, despite this achievement, they say we failed in Tanzania, that we floundered. But did we? We must say no. We can't deny everything we accomplished. There are some of my friends who we did not allow to get rich; now they are getting rich and they say 'See, we are getting rich now, so you were wrong'. But what kind of answer is that?

The floundering of socialism has been global.

*After independence you pursued an African socialism while in Kenya Jomo Kenyatta embraced a more conservative nationalism. The two of you came to symbolize opposing visions of development. Were you conscious at

the time of the need to chart a different course that might inspire other new African nations? Anti-colonialism was a nationalist movement. For me liberation and unity were the most important things. I have always said that I was African first and socialist second. I would rather see a free and united Africa before a

fragmented socialist Africa. I made this distinction deliberately so as not to divide the country. The majority in the anti-colonial struggle were nationalist. There was a minority who argued that class was the central issue, they wanted to approach liberation in purely Marxist terms. However, it was more than class and I saw that.

I never saw the contradictions that would prevent Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania from working together. I was naive, I guess. Even now for me freedom and unity are paramount. I respected Jomo (Kenyatta) immensely. It has probably never happened before in history. Two heads of state, Milton Obote [Uganda's leader] and I, went to Jomo and said to him: "let's unite our countries and you be our head of state". He said no. I think he said no because it would have put him out of his element as a Kikuyu elder.

*In 1990 you were quoted as saying that you thought the absence of an opposition party had contributed to the Tanzanian ruling party's abandonment of its commitments. Do you think it was a mistake for so many new African nations to opt for a one-party state? I did this for Tanzania because of our circumstances then. In 1990 the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) abandoned the one-party state for a multi-party system. But we do not have an opposition. The point I was making when I made the statement was that any party that stays in power too long becomes corrupt. The Communist Party in the Soviet Union, the CCM of Tanzania and the Conservative Party of

Britain all stayed in power too long and became corrupt. This is especially so if the opposition is too weak or non-existent.

*What were your main mistakes as Tanzanian leader? What should you have done differently?

There are things that I would have done more firmly or not at all.

For example, I would not nationalize the sisal plantations. This was a mistake. I did not realize how difficult it would be for the state to manage agriculture. Agriculture is difficult to socialize.

*Why did your attempt to find a new way founder on the rocks?

I was in Washington last year. At the World Bank the first question they asked me was "how did you fail?"

I responded that we took over a country with 85 per cent of its adult population illiterate. The British ruled us for 43 years. When they left, there were 2 trained engineers and 12 doctors. This is the country we inherited.

When I stepped down there was 91-per-cent literacy and nearly every child was in school. We trained thousands of engineers and doctors and teachers.

In 1988 Tanzania's per-capita income was US \$280. Now, in 1998, it is US \$140.

So I asked the World Bank people what went wrong. Because for the last ten years Tanzania has been signing on the dotted line and doing everything the IMF and the World Bank wanted. Enrolment in school has plummeted to 63percent and conditions in health and other social services have deteriorated. I asked them again: "what went wrong?" These people just sat there looking at me. Then they asked what could they do? I told them have some humility. Humility - they are so arrogant!

*Do you think Third World independence actually suited the industrialized world, leaving it with the economic power but without the political responsibility?

It seems that independence of the former colonies has suited the interests of the industrial world for bigger profits at less cost. Independence made it cheaper for them to exploit us. We have too much debt now. It is a heavy burden, a trap. It is immoral.

Let us create a new liberation movement to free us from immoral debt and neo-colonialism. The other way is through Pan-African unity.

*Should African resistance movements have embraced Pan-Africanism more readily? Do you think we should be working now towards a federal United States of Africa?

Kwame Nkrumah and I were committed to the idea of unity. African leaders and heads of state did not take Kwame seriously. I did not believe in these small little nations. I do not today. I tell our people to look at the European Union, at these people who ruled us who are now uniting.

I tried to get East Africa to unite before independence.

When we failed in this I was wary about Kwame's continental approach.

After independence the wider African community became clear to me. I was concerned about education; the work of Booker T Washington resonated with me.

There were skills we needed and black people outside Africa had them.

I gave our US ambassador the specific job of recruiting skilled Africans from the US Diaspora. A few came, like you. Some stayed; others left.

We should look to our brothers and sisters in the West. We should build the broader Pan-

Africanism. There is still the room - and the need.

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21 October 1999

BBC

World leaders honour Nyerere

Thursday, October 21, 1999 Published at 11:42 GMT 12:42 UK

The state funeral has taken place in Tanzania of the country's former President, Julius Nyerere.

Representatives of more than 70 countries made up the largest international delegation ever to visit the country.

South African President Thabo Mbeki and Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe were among 16 African heads of state.

US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright arrived in Tanzania from Nigeria and the Princess Royal represented Britain's royal family.

They rubbed shoulders with former revolutionaries who plotted their campaigns from Dar es Salaam during the 1960s and 1970s, when independence was sweeping through the continent.

Thousands of ordinary Tanzanians also flocked to the capital to pay their last respects, among them Muslims, Christians, tribal chiefs, beggars and businessmen.

Many lined the route taken by the gun carriage bearing the body of the late president en route to the airport.

The eulogy was read by the current Tanzanian President, Benjamin Mkapa. Many of the visiting dignitaries also paid lavish tributes.

Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi said: "He was one of the greatest sons of Africa. The passing of Mwalimu Nyerere represents the passing of an era in Africa... he was rightly called the conscience of Africa."

Mrs Albright said there was no question that Mr Nyerere was one of the great leaders of our time. She said he had bequeathed Tanzania a proud tradition of unity and tradition.

The body is being flown to Butiama, Dr Nyerere's birthplace. It will lie in state for a further two days before being buried on Saturday.

More than three million mourners filed through a temporary mausoleum built at the national stadium after the body was laid in state on Tuesday.

Mourners weep openly

Many travelled great distances to pay their last respects to the man many knew simply as "Mwalimu" - the teacher.

An enormous queue stretched for miles outside the stadium and many people wept openly or gasped as they passed the body, lying on a bed of satin.

"This is the shock of the century for Tanzanians. Nyerere was so much loved by everyone," said one observer.

Dr Nyerere died from cancer in a London hospital last week, aged 77.

He is still revered in Tanzania as the "father of the nation" after leading the country to independence and serving as its first president from 1964 to 1985.

The government has declared 30 days of mourning throughout the country.

Panafrican News Agency

Academician Revisits Nyerere's Development Vision

October 21, 1999

By Peter Masebu

Dakar, Senegal (PANA) - As Tanzanians prepare to bury former President Julius Kambarage Nyerere Saturday, a Dakar-based intellectual, Dr Sibry J.M. Tapsoba, has suggested a fresh look at the fallen leader's vision could help push the continent's development forward.

"Beyond the fact that he was one of the first African presidents to voluntarily leave power, he was a person of science who was knowledgeable about the African situation. This has been confirmed by his continued participation in support of peace and development in Africa after leaving office," Tapsoba told PANA.

Tapsoba, who hails from Burkina Faso, is Regional Director of the Dakar-based West and Central Africa Regional Office of the International Development Research Centre. He said in an interview that Nyerere will be remembered for championing the African liberation struggle and particularly for being "one of the few to look for an indigenous approach to development."

"We remember back in the 1970s Tanzania was the type of model that could have served to lift African development. Unfortunately due to some other internal conditions we do not know, what he had in mind was not implemented," said the former economics lecturer.

He was responding to perception within intellectual and donor circles that Nyerere's

policy of collectivised "Ujamaa" villages had pulled back Tanzania's development by at least a decade.

"Besides these setbacks, I would continue to think that he had a vision and that vision needs to be implemented. Sooner or later we have to go back to these types of visions for Africa to get on its own feet," he added. Asked whether it was possible for any African state to conceive an "indigenous" development model in this era of structural adjustment programmes and globalisation, Tapsoba said that in spite of the changed situation, "Africa will still have to make serious (development) choices." He said it will be up to Africans to decide "the vision of development we want installed in Africa. I think we are still lagging behind because the great debate that everybody is expecting in order to move Africa forward is not taking place and the democratic process is still monopolised by a few."

Tapsoba lauded Nyerere for laying the ground for a culture of top leadership transition in Tanzania, in a continent known for coup d'etats and its long-serving presidents. Nyerere witnessed two other presidents coming into power after he stepped down in 1985.

According to him, changing presidents is still a problem in many other African states due to "the combination between modern approach to leadership and the traditional approach of being a chief, which made it difficult for leaders in certain countries to understand that you can lead for some period and leave room for others to come."

"But, I also think that the way former presidents were treated discourages other incumbent presidents from leaving power because, even taking the example of Nyerere, the way he was treated after leaving power was not conducive to anybody else wanting to leave power.

"So, I believe there is definitely a need to start looking at the status of former presidents, which does not exist in many African countries."

According to the IDRC official, clear decisions are required to assure incumbent leaders on the type of treatment they would get after leaving power.

"It does not mean that people have to steal and we leave them; but it means that once he is president, he can continue to live with dignity after relinquishing power."

According to Tapsoba, the lack of alternance also prevails within most African opposition parties as well.

"Of all the opposition leaders I know, they have been there for the past 15- 50 years. You don't expect them to become presidents but they never leave the leadership even after successive electoral defeats."

To instil the culture of leadership change in Africa, Tapsoba suggested that genuine election processes should be introduced in primary schools to enable pupils elect their monitors.

"We need to start with transparent election within the classrooms so that pupils know what elections are all about and accept the results and the fact that they must leave the elective seat after a certain period." In the absence of this culture, Africa will continue to witness the rise of "life presidents" who re-invent themselves by manipulating their countries' constitutions, for the sake of perpetuating themselves in the driving seat. *Copyright (c) 1999 Panafrican News Agency. Distributed via Africa News Online (www.africanews.org). For information about the content or for permission to redistribute, publish or use for broadcast, contact the publisher.*

Rwandan TV Airs Nyerere's Funeral Ceremony Live

Kigali, Rwanda (PANA) - Rwandan TV began at 0600 GMT Thursday to broadcast live the late former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere's funeral ceremony, an unusual step for a station which normally begins airing its programmes in the afternoon.

Rwanda declared a 10-day mourning following Nyerere's death in London 14 October.

It plans to have its own memorial service Saturday, the day Nyerere will be buried, at Kigali's St. Michael's Cathedral, official sources said.

The national radio, which has stopped airing its regular programmes during the mourning period, continued to broadcast solemn music throughout the day in honour of "Rwanda's friend."

Rwandan President Pasteur Bizimungu was among world leaders to pay their last respects to Nyerere Thursday in Dar Es Salaam.

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22 October 1999

Guardian

The world turns out to honour Nyerere

Red velvet on the coffin gun carriage is a rare touch of pomp for the Tanzanian leader who spurned opulence

David Gough in Dar es Salaam

Friday October 22, 1999

Representatives from almost every government in the world gathered at Tanzania's national stadium in the capital Dar es Salaam yesterday to pay their formal last respects at the state funeral of Julius Nyerere, the country's first president, who died last week in London.

Presidents, royalty and religious leaders filed solemnly through the glass mausoleum where Nyerere's body lay in state, and paid tribute to a man universally described as one of Africa's greatest sons and the father of the Tanzanian nation.

He influenced many of the African rulers who attended the funeral, Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, Sam Nujoma of Namibia, Thabo Mbeki of South Africa and Uganda's Yoweri Museveni.

Princess Anne attended on behalf of the Queen, while Peter Hain, minister of state for Africa, represented the British government. Thousands of Tanzanians thronged the terraced steps of the stadium to hear the tributes to the man commonly known in his homeland as Mwalimu, teacher.

Outside the stadium thousands more, unable to squeeze inside, thronged the sides of the street to catch a glimpse of the body before it was flown to Nyerere's home village of Butiama, where he will be buried tomorrow. The US secretary of state, Madeleine Albright, described Nyerere as "one of the great leaders of our time", praising his commitment to humanitarian principles and peace.

Nyerere died at the age of 77 after a long battle against leukaemia. His wife Maria, other family members and the Tanzanian president, Benjamin Mkapa, sat next to the body as the dignitaries offered condolences.

A British colony until 1961, Tanzania was the first east African country to win independence, and Nyerere its first president. He held the post for 23 years in a one-party state until stepping down in 1985.

Committed to social development, he advocated his own brand of African socialism which united Tanzanians across tribal and religious lines but left the country in economic ruins.

He urged Tanzania to become independent of the developed world, yet under his leadership it became one of the most aid-dependent countries. But his greatest legacy was his commitment to nationality and unity in Tanzania and Africa as a whole.

In his tribute, President Joachim Chissano of Mozambique spoke of the "enormous" role Nyerere played in Mozambique's fight for independence, while President Daniel arap Moi of Kenya called him a "true pan-Africanist".

The green-jacketed troops of the Tanzanian armed forces that 20 years ago marched on Nyerere's orders across the border to overthrow the dictator of Uganda, Idi Amin, yesterday marched across the sports field as schoolchildren sang the Tanzanian anthem. Women sat quietly on the stadium's concrete tiers wearing shawls printed with pictures of Nyerere and bearing the slogan Buriani baba wa taifa - Goodbye father of the nation. Flags fluttered at half mast in a gentle breeze that did little to relieve the fierce mid-day heat of this charming but decrepit Indian ocean city. At the time of his death Nyerere, through the auspices of his Nyerere Foundation, was the chief facilitator in peace talks aimed at ending the six-year civil war in neighbouring Burundi that has left as many as 200,000 people dead. President Mkapa said of his predecessor: "He leaves us a legacy of peace and unity which is admired throughout the world. It is not a legacy we can allow to be squandered."

Nyerere's death is a huge blow to the Burundi peace talks, but an official involved insisted that there was a "universal commitment among the delegates to honour Nyerere's memory by continuing to work for peace".

Nyerere's body had been brought to the stadium in a gun carriage bedecked in red velvet, one of the few touches of pomp in a funeral befitting a man who spurned the opulence favoured by many African leaders, past and present.

But yesterday belonged as much to the people of Tanzania as it did to the dignitaries crowding the stadium's presidential box.

There has been a genuine and widespread feeling of enormous loss since news of the death reached home, and Tanzanians are deeply saddened.

"I just can't explain my feelings today," said a Tanzanian army officer. "He was our beloved father and now he is gone, God rest his soul." The irony would not have escaped Nyerere that many of the African leaders sitting side by side at the ceremony yesterday are at war with each other. President Isias Aferwerki of Eritrea and President Meles Zenawi of Ethiopia, whose countries have been fighting for 18 months, filed past Nyerere's coffin one after the other.

"You see", said Sadruddin Kassam, a volunteer distributing bottles of water to the audience, "even in death Mwalimu is trying to make peace."

Independent

Nyerere, flawed fighter of colonialism, buried as hero

By Alex Duval Smith, Dar es Salaam
22 October 1999

Tanzania's late president, Julius Nyerere, was yesterday hailed as one of the century's great freedom fighters by the US Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright. She told thousands at his state funeral in the national stadium that Nyerere enshrined the same values which inspired her country's independence leaders.

But the official celebration for Nyerere, who died aged 77 in London last week, was filled with contradictions. The man known as Mwalimu (the teacher) was praised for setting an example to African leaders by stepping down voluntarily. Next to the podium, the Princess Royal sat between two of Africa's longest-serving and most unrepentant presidents, Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe and Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya. Between them, they have been in power for 40 years, and brought little benefit to their people. Mrs Albright said: "The United States and Tanzania are far apart in many ways but we are bound together by our belief in human liberty. Mwalimu was every inch a builder who insisted on complete freedom and peace. He set a standard for humanitarianism in the world by offering a haven for refugees. He had faith in the power of liberty." Nyerere, who died from lymphocytic leukaemia, ruled Tanzania from 1962 until 1985, after independence from Britain. He was a visionary, and overthrew Idi Amin in Uganda. He believed in African co-operation and backed the Zimbabwean, South African and Mozambican independence struggles. But at home he suppressed liberty, ordered forced removals to collective farms and imprisoned thousands of opponents of his strict Maoist regime.

Yesterday's funeral, after hundreds of thousands of Tanzanians filed past his body in a glass structure at the 40,000-seat stadium, was that of a hero. The stadium, decorated with green and black drapes, the Tanzanian flag at half-mast, choirs in cassocks and military bands was packed with Tanzanians, many in tears. President Moi said Nyerere was one of the "African political leaders of my generation who fought the coloniser and worked together for the independence and liberty of the continent". President Mugabe, now infamous for his regular outbursts against Britain, shifted uneasily from his neighbour, the Princess Royal. They spoke only to greet each other.

Further back, two countries at war were alphabetically close: the Eritrean President, Isayas Afewerki, was seated in front of Ethiopia's Meles Zenawi. They did not speak.

The former Zambian president, Kenneth Kaunda, a friend of Nyerere, was seated among the ambassadors, far from the official party of the country's present leader, Frederick Chiluba, who would like to see him stripped of his nationality. After the speeches, the coffin was taken on a gun carriage then flown to Nyerere's home village, Butiama, by Lake Victoria. There, on Saturday, he will be laid to rest, alongside his father.

The Times

Leaders pay their respects to Nyerere

October 22 1999

AFRICA

BY ROBIN LODGE

WORLD leaders joined thousands of Tanzanians at the National Stadium in Dar es Salaam yesterday to pay their last respects to Julius Nyerere, former Tanzanian President and one of Africa's most prominent statesmen.

Among those filing past the open casket was the Princess Royal, representing the Queen, and Presidents Mbeki of South Africa, Mugabe of Zimbabwe, Moi of Kenya and Museveni of Uganda. Madeleine Albright, the American Secretary of State, currently on a tour of Africa, attended, along with representatives of most of the world's governments. There were also senior figures from the World Bank, the United Nations and other international organisations.

In her tribute to the man known as Mwalimu, the Swahili word for teacher, Ms Albright described Nyerere as "a builder and in every sense a great world leader".

The funeral service, on a blisteringly hot, cloudless day, began just after 9am, but many of those who packed the 35,000-capacity stadium had been queuing since before dawn to be sure of a place.

More than three million Tanzanians had filed past the body, which had been lying in state since Tuesday.

After the service, Nyerere's body was flown to his home village of Butiama, near Lake Victoria, for a private burial.

New Vision (Kampala)

World Pays Last Respects To Mwalimu Nyerere

October 22, 1999

Dar Es Salaam, Thursday - The words freedom, unity, peace and, most of all, Mwalimu, the Swahili for teacher, echoed across Tanzania again and again Thursday at the state funeral of former president Julius Nyerere.

Sixteen heads of state and government -- two of them currently at war with each other -- a princess, two princes, dozens of plenipotentiaries from across the globe and even a rebel leader or two joined thousands of Tanzanians for the ceremony in the capital's national stadium, also broadcast nationwide. It was in the same stadium that some of the most notable events in Nyerere's life took place: the formal declaration of independence under his leadership from Britain in 1961, the union with Zanzibar and Pemba islands to form the Republic of Tanzania in 1964 and his stepping down from power -- almost unheard of in an African leader -- in 1985.

Nyerere, who died in London on October 14 after a battle with leukaemia, owes his sobriquet not only to his modest pre-politics profession but also to his reputation as the man who founded modern Tanzania, for better or for worse, and became mentor to its citizens and millions more across Africa.

"We thank God for peace, love and unity in this country. All this did not come by itself. Mwalimu was behind this," eulogised Parliamentary Speaker Pius Msekwa, summing up Nyerere's legacy.

Earlier, as a military band played, world leaders filed past Nyerere's body lying in state in an air-conditioned glass construction in front of the grandstand, an open casket giving them a final view of his face.

The guests of honour were: Princess Anne, representing Great Britain, Prince Aga Khan, Presidents Daniel arap Moi of Kenya, Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, Joachim Chissano of Mozambique, Yoweri Museveni, Jerry Rawlings of Ghana, Martti Ahtisaari of Finland representing the European Union, Frederick Chiluba of Zambia, Sam Nujoma of Namibia,

Bakili Muluzi of Malawi, Pasteur Bizimungu of Rwanda, Issaias Afeworki of Eritrea, Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, Pierre Buyoya of Burundi and Col Assoumani Azali of the Comoros.

Ethiopia, which has been at war with its neighbour Eritrea since May 1998, was represented by Prime Minister Meles Zenawi, who walked directly behind Afeworki in the procession.

Secretary of State Madeleine Albright represented the United States.

"There is no question that Julius Nyerere was one of the great leaders of our time," she said in her speech. "He bequeathed to Tanzania a proud tradition of unity and tolerance," she added.

Dozens of other delegates from around the world also came to pay their respects, including Salim Ahmed Salim, the Tanzanian secretary general of the Organisation of African Unity, a body Nyerere helped to found, and a representative of the United Nations. Rebel leaders from the Democratic Republic of Congo, such as Wamba dia Wamba, were present.

Tanzanian President Benjamin Mkapa described his predecessor's funeral as "the darkest hour for the nation because Tanzanians loved and revered Mwalimu. "If he was still with us today, he would ask us to take over his crusade against poverty, exploitation and discrimination." Moi described Nyerere as "one of the greatest sons of Africa truly committed to African freedom and unity."

"(He) caught the imagination not just of African people but of the whole world," he added.

Ahtisaari said Nyerere's death would "sadden everyone in the world who stands for peace, humility and humane development."

"He dedicated the whole of his life to promoting equality among all people and respect for human dignity," added the Finnish president, who was once posted as ambassador to Tanzania during the 1970s. Nyerere "spent tireless years on the forefront of the liberation of Africa," said Rawlings, a reference to Mwalimu's support of freedom struggles not only in his own country but also in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

After the service, as the body left the stadium, which tens of thousands of people had visited this week, many onlookers wept as the coffin was driven slowly to the airport.

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Museveni Joins World In Mourning Nyerere

October 22, 1999

By Vision reporter

Kampala - President Yoweri Museveni yesterday paid condolences to President Benjamin Mkapa of Tanzania on the death of his friend and comrade in arms Julius Nyerere.

The President also had separate meetings with the US Secretary of State, Mrs Madeleine Albright and the French Minister for Development Co-operation, Mr. Charles Josselin.

Museveni and his wife Janet were among many leaders who converged at the National Stadium in Dar-es-Salaam for the state funeral.

They each placed a wreath at the casket, a statement issued by the President's Press Secretary, Hope Kivengere said.

After President Mkapa had placed a wreath on the coffin, he and his wife Anna joined Mrs. Maria Nyerere and her children at the mausoleum to receive leaders' condolences as they paid their last respects.

Other leaders included Presidents Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, Daniel arap Moi (Kenya), Joachim Chissano (Mozambique), Thabo Mbeki (South Africa), Issaias Afewerki (Eritrea), Frederick Chiluba (Zambia), Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo (Nigeria), Pasteur Bizimungu (Rwanda), and Pierre Buyoya (Burundi).

Others are Marti Ahtissari (Finland), Sam Nujoma (Namibia), Jerry Rawlings (Ghana), Bakili Muluzi (Malawi), Meles Zenawi (Ethiopia), former presidents Ketumile Masire of Botswana, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, the Vice President of the Seychelles James Alix Michel and His Highness the Aga Khan. The British Princess Royal Anne, the Crown Prince of the Netherlands Prince William Alexander, the Vice President of India Krishna Kant, the OAU Secretary general Salim Ahmed Salim and the President of the 54th UN General assembly Mr. Theo Ben Gurirab. Other delegations were led by ministers or government officials.

In a moving address to the nation, President Mkapa referred to Nyerere as a man who was well loved and highly respected by the people of Tanzania and Africa as a whole.

He said Mwalimu taught Tanzanians that all people are created equal and they all equally aspire to freedom and dignity. He said Mwalimu dedicated his entire life to serve others.

The Speaker of Tanzanian National Assembly Mr. Pius Msekwa gave the eulogy and said Mwalimu led the people into forging one nation.

President Moi spoke on behalf of the east African leaders and referred to Mwalimu as a great pan-Africanist whose passing away signified the end of an era in African and world history.

President Ahtissari, who spoke on behalf of the European Union, said the world had lost a leader and a statesman who dedicated his whole life to promoting equality and human dignity among all people.

President Chissano, chairman of the Southern African Development Community, said Nyerere is synonymous with the long history of the liberation of the people of southern Africa. He said Mwalimu showed the people of Southern Africa the way to freedom.

President Rawlings said Mwalimu was a servant of his people and a revered son of Africa. Other leaders who spoke were Gen Obasanjo, Mr. Krishna Kant and Mrs. Madelaine Albright.

From the stadium, the body was moved slowly on a red carriage as it started on a journey to Musoma airport where it will be received by Mara region residents.

At Butiama, the body will in the evening be taken to Chief Wancagi's residence for the traditional rituals before proceeding to Mwalimu's residence nearby.

Chief Japhet Wancagi Nyerere is the chief of the Zanaki tribe, the tribe of the late Mwalimu. Musoma residents and others from neighbouring areas will pay their last respects today before burial on Saturday.

Meanwhile, a funeral service will be held at Rubaga cathedral today at 11.00 am, a statement from the President's Office said, yesterday. It said the Government is making arrangements to send a delegation to attend the private burial at Butiama, Musoma in Tanzania on Saturday.

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The Monitor (Kampala)
Big farewell for Nyerere
October 22, 1999
By Murray Oliver

Dar Es-Salaam - With a blast of trumpets and a flurry of speeches, Africa said 'goodbye' yesterday to Mwalimu Julius Nyerere.

The event sometimes seemed as much a welcome-home as an occasion of last rites.

Troops in full dress uniforms marched past the viewing stands while their comrades played martial music on brass instruments and children dressed in colourful costumes sang together in a choir.

More than 3/4 of Africa's leaders --including Uganda's Yoweri Museveni-- came to Tanzania's National Stadium to pay their final respects to the man American Secretary of State Madeline Albright called, "one of the great leaders of our time."

Since many of the Heads of State of Africa owe their jobs to Nyerere's life-time support of anti-colonial liberation movements, it wasn't surprising to hear the tone of gratitude in their speech-making.

Jerry Rawlings of Ghana called Mwalimu, "one of Africa's greatest sons."

Nigeria's Obusanjo said Nyerere had become "an icon at home, a patriarch at home, and a patriot in Africa."

Others used the opportunity of remembering Nyerere to issue a challenge to their presidential colleagues. The president of Mozambique noted that, for Nyerere, "independence meant more than the flying of flags over our countries. Mwalimu's dream of liberation went much further."

And in the main eulogy, Kenya's president Daniel arap Moi called on those attending the service to complete Mwalimu's dream of uniting East Africa.

In a sad irony, some of the leaders sitting together in the VIP stand were men Nyerere had been unable to bring together while he was still alive. The heads of state of Ethiopia and Eritrea both attended the ceremony, despite the bitter war raging between their two countries.

The representatives from the Democratic Republic of Congo sat nearby the representatives of the Congolese Rally for Democracy (DRC), including the heads of both the Goma and Kisangani factions.

In an informal discussion before the service, Kisangani leader Prof. Wamba dia Wamba claimed Nyerere had actually expressed support for the Kisangani faction's policies

and principles, even advising them on how to win and maintain the support of the Congolese people.

Although Nyerere's body won't be buried until Saturday, this occasion marked the official state funeral service for the father of Tanzanian independence.

An elaborate glass house close to the center of the stadium enclosed the casket containing Mwalimu's remains. Nyerere's face was plainly visible through a plexi-glass opening on the lid.

For 24 hours prior to the official service, ordinary Tanzanians had been given the opportunity to enter the glass structure and see Nyerere one final time.

Almost a million people took the opportunity, creating a touching scene as long lines weaved through the dark stadium and out into the parking lot.

People formed impromptu choirs, singing happily as lines stretched well down the highway, and into the far-off darkness. Men, women and children all dressed in their best clothing. As they passed Mwalimu's casket, some would drop flowers or other tokens of appreciation. Others would speak a final few words to the still figure, while still others would salute, cross themselves, or kneel briefly in silent prayer.

Mobile tent-hospitals had been set up to care for the many who were overcome by exhaustion or emotion. One room was set aside solely for the distraught cries of men and women who could not bear seeing the face of their dead leader.

All the while, Nyerere's speeches played in Swahili over the loud-speakers, his benign image hanging everywhere.

By daylight, most ordinary Tanzanians had left the stadium so that the dignitaries could have their ceremony. Empty seats were available throughout the stadium as most Tanzanians chose to watch this official gathering on television.

Television in South Africa also broadcast the event live.

Mwalimu's body will be laid to rest in his remote home village of Butiama. His body will lie near to those of his parents, although a large area has been left where a commemorative statue can be erected in the future.

The ceremony is not being called private, although most Tanzanians are respecting the rumoured wishes of Nyerere's family to restrict the number of people coming to the burial.

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Business Day (Johannesburg)

Tanzania And The World Say Their Farewells To Nyerere

October 22, 1999

By Stephen Laufer

Dar Es Salaam - The presence of democratically elected presidents from SA, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe at Julius Nyerere's funeral was testimony to the former Tanzanian head of state's commitment to the cause of African liberation, Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo said yesterday. Speaking at Tanzania's National Stadium, where the country said its public farewell to its founding president, Obasanjo praised Nyerere's support for the liberation struggles which ended colonial rule in Africa and apartheid.

He was joined in his tribute by speakers from the US, Mozambique, Kenya, Ghana, India and Finland, as well as Tanzanian President Benjamin Mkandawire, who spoke entirely in Swahili in an apparent attempt to reach out to a nation suffering a genuine sense of loss and grief.

Speaking on behalf of the European Union, Finnish President Martti Ahtisaari, said Nyerere had been "a great freedom fighter" who dedicated his life to equality and human dignity.

Nyerere had "thought globally", focusing on peace, stability and humane development in Africa and beyond, he said.

In a particularly personal speech, partly in Swahili which he learned while he was in exile in Tanzania, Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano said his country had lost a father too.

He said that, under the leadership of Nyerere, all of Tanzania's citizens had made sacrifices so that Mozambique could be liberated.

Tanzania's economy could have been stronger today without those sacrifices.

Nyerere's slogans on freedom and unity had been "transmitted deep into the hearts of all Tanzanians and Mozambicans", he said.

US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright said the world owed him an immense debt. His bequest was a faith in the power of freedom

and the ability of nations to achieve sustainable development. minister Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma and a large African National Congress delegation, Mbeki was accompanied by several Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) leaders including party leader Stanley Mogoba

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The Times of Zambia (Lusaka)

Nyerere was a great African statesman - Chiluba

October 22, 1999

by Times Reporter

Lusaka - President Chiluba has said that the funeral accorded to the late former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere was that befitting the great African statesman. Speaking on arrival from the Tanzanian yesterday, where he attended the funeral, Mr. Chiluba said the multitudes present signified the status of the late Dr Nyerere.

He said Dr Nyerere led a very simple life despite his achievements as one of Tanzania's first graduates, first president of Tanganyika and first president of the United Republic of Tanzania. Mr. Chiluba said Dr Nyerere did not only play the role of peace mediator in the Burundi conflict after his retirement but was also greatly involved in the Democratic Republic of Congo peace process.

"Dr Nyerere thought Tanzania owed him nothing. He believed he owed the people of Tanzania and Africa something." In Kitwe, the Zambia Congress of Trade Union (ZCTU) conveyed its condolences to the Tanzanian Federation of Trade Union (TFTU) on the death of Dr Nyerere.

ZCTU deputy general secretary Alfred Mudenda said that his union received the death of Dr Nyerere with great shock. He said ZCTU would remember Dr Nyerere for his tireless efforts towards strengthening the labour movement in Tanzania.

Dr Nyerere also contributed greatly to the establishment of the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU) through the OAU. "As you put the great son of Africa to rest, the workers of Zambia shall be with you in spirit," he said.

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Panafrican News Agency

Tanzanians Pay Homage To Nyerere On Eve Of Burial

October 22, 1999

By Nicodemus Odhiambo

Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania (PANA) -

Tanzanians in their thousands are Friday paying their last respect to their founding president, Julius Nyerere, on the eve of his burial in Butiama, his home village, Saturday. Nyerere's body was flown to the area Thursday after a tear-jerking state funeral at the national stadium in Dar Es salaam, attended by 16 heads of state from Africa and Europe.

Those given the chance to eulogise Nyerere were Presidents Daniel arap Moi of Kenya, Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, Martti Ahtisaari of Finland, Joachim Chissano of Mozambique and Jerry Rawlings of Ghana and US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and India's Vice President Krishan Kant. Albright described Nyerere as the driving force behind the Southern African Development Community, and the man who stood up to the tyranny of former Ugandan President Idi Amin.

"There can be no question that Julius Nyerere was every inch a builder and one of the great leaders of our time," she said.

She recalled that Nyerere was a man of great faith in the power of freedom and faith in the liberty of the people of Tanzania and East Africa to achieve progress.

"This was his vision for Tanzania and for Africa. As we take comfort ourselves with the certainty that his spirit will forever soar with us, let us by the example of his life renew our strength, and our faith in the future of this region, and of humanity," she said.

Moi said the passing of Nyerere represented the passing of an era for Tanzania, East Africa and indeed the African continent.

"We in East Africa have now the challenge to continue the unity Mwalimu has left behind," he said, adding that "Mwalimu's efforts in ending the Burundi conflict should not come to nought."

Ahtisaari said Nyerere was a great freedom fighter, who will be remembered for "his

struggle against all oppression and his support for African liberation movements." "He worked tirelessly to make Africa independent and self-sufficient," he added. "May his thinking and ideals inspire all countries and peoples in their efforts to resolve crisis and strengthen peace and stability."

Chissano recalled Nyerere's simplicity, promising: "We will try to follow Nyerere's examples under the banner of freedom and unity."

Rawlings said Nyerere commanded deep respect from his contemporaries in Africa and the world because of his passion and clarity with which he presented his ideas.

Obasanjo said Nyerere would always be remembered for the good work he did at home and for the world.

India's Vice President Kant described Nyerere as "one of the world's most influential statesman," who articulated concern for the developing world.

Nyerere died at the age of 77 of chronic leukaemia 14 October at St. Thomas Hospital in London.

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Nyerere Provided Haven For Late Banda's Opponents

October 22, 1999

By Raphael Tenthani

Blantyre, Malawi (PANA) - President Bakili Muluzi has said Malawians will never forget late former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere's role in sheltering opponents of the former dictatorial regime in Malawi.

In a moving eulogy on his return Thursday night from the Nyerere's funeral in Dar es Salaam, he said Nyerere saved a lot of Malawians from persecution.

"Nyerere played host to hundreds of Malawi political refugees who ran away from the one-party dictatorship" of the late President Kamuzu Banda, he added.

During the early 70s, members of the Jehovah Witness, a radical religious sect, fell out with Banda with their apolitical stance.

The sect refused to participate in any political duties, including paying taxes or buying party membership cards. The Banda regime seized

property belonging to members of the sect and banished them from Malawi. Some of them fled into Mozambique, Europe and America while others took shelter in Tanzania where Nyerere risked Banda's wrath by accepting them.

"So it was important that I personally go (to his funeral) and say 'thank you'," Muluzi said. It was not only members of the Jehovah's Witnesses whom Nyerere provided shelter. Fugitive member of Banda's cabinet, who fell out with him in the first cabinet crisis in 1964, notably the education minister, William Murray Kanyama Chiume, sought asylum in the Tanzania.

Human rights activist Vera and her late husband, Orton Chirwa, also have a lot to thank Nyerere for.

When Banda accused them of plotting to militarily take over government "he actually gave us a house," she said in her eulogy.

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Downpour, Wind, Mark Arrival Of Nyerere's Body

October 22, 1999

Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania (PANA) - A heavy downpour and strong gales of wind Thursday afternoon marked the arrival of the body of former Tanzanian leader Julius Nyerere at his ancestral home of Butiama, a 32 km off the shores of Lake Victoria.

The cortege entered the village at 7:08 p.m. (1608 GMT) to the wails of mourners who had braced both the wind and rain, in massive numbers. The casket containing Nyerere's body was later taken to the home of a clan elder, chief Japhet Wanzagi, for tribal rites. Tension ran high with tens of mourners collapsing as thousands wailed uncontrollably. The body had been transported by road from Musoma, where it arrived by air from Dar Es Salaam, accompanied by Prime Minister Frederick Sumaye, Nyerere's widow, Maria, and other family members.

Hundreds of people had burst out into mourning the moment the plane touched down at the Musoma airstrip.

And as the cortege headed for Butiama, thousands came out of the villages to mourn their founding father, who will be buried Saturday.

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23 October 1999
Economist**Julius Nyerere**

INDEX TERMS **[obituary;Obituaries]Nyerere, Julius; DATE 23-Oct-99 WORDS 828**

Julius Kambarage Nyerere, former president of Tanzania, died on October 14th, aged 77
Julius Nyerere

HE BORE the title of *mwaliimu* or teacher. But perhaps the clearest lesson of his life was that of unintended consequences. A deeply principled man, Julius Nyerere was that rare—and not always fortunate—sort of idealist who had a chance to put his ideals into practice. His philosophy was a mix of Fabian socialism and Catholic social teaching.

He was a preacher as much as a politician.

On Tanganyika's independence from Britain in 1961, Mr Nyerere became prime minister and was later president. In 1964 the new nation absorbed Zanzibar to become Tanzania. He ruled until 1985.

No one questioned his sincerity, and his integrity was widely admired. Unlike many African leaders of his generation he lived simply and was not corrupt. He gave Tanzania stability and unity.

Under his one-party rule it was politically peaceful and it was spared civil war.

His social experiments, on the other hand, drove the country towards economic ruin. Though honest himself, his moral example was not enough to prevent the widespread theft of foreign aid. A believer in justice, he nonetheless had political opponents and people accused of "economic" crimes held without trial, some of them for many years.

He was born in 1922, one of 26 children of a poor chief from a small community near Lake Victoria. He went to school, barefoot and wearing an old piece of cloth. He won a place at the country's only secondary school and was the first person from Tanganyika to go to a British university.

On return, he took to teaching but was soon caught up in the nationalist ferment sweeping Africa.

Independence for Tanganyika, a former German colony mandated to Britain after the first world war, came without struggle. Mr Nyerere's Tanganyika African National Union was the only nationalist movement and the British encouraged independence. Mr Nyerere was their man. (He even offered delay in the hope that Tanganyika might join a federation with Uganda and Kenya.) When two years later he fled a threatened coup, British soldiers arrived to restore him to power.

Surprising to the last

Tanzania is a huge, empty country with a vibrant trading tradition on the coast and a poor interior. The south-west has potentially good farmland but is cursed by drought. As keen on equality as on economic growth, Mr Nyerere felt that, if Tanzanians were to be poor, they should at least be poor together. He was against handouts. Yet national self-reliance had a puzzling consequence: aid donors so admired it that Tanzanians were soon getting more aid per head than any other Africans. As elsewhere, much of it was wasted or stolen.

Mr Nyerere did not want socialism from above on the Soviet model. Instead he tried to foster a spirit of local community—*ujamaa* in Kiswahili, meaning family togetherness. People were encouraged to move into villages where schools and medicine were more available and where they could work together on communal fields.

He kept the Soviet Union at arms length but took help from Mao's China. In practice, a mixture of *ujamaa* and top-down socialism was imposed.

Land was nationalised and huge state institutions controlled the economy from factories to shops.

An army of petty officials bullied people into communal villages.

Tanzanians were loth to share land. Villages were often in bad places. What's more, this social engineering coincided with the 1970s rise in oil prices, when prices for Tanzania's own commodities were low. Nor did the neighbourhood sit still: in 1979 Mr Nyerere sent his army into Uganda to remove Idi Amin, a well-meaning venture that did Uganda little good in the end and finally bankrupted Tanzania.

Compared to some of his neighbours, Mr Nyerere was an angel. But Tanzania was a one-party state from 1965 until 1992. In theory, openness was encouraged. In practice those who spoke out were locked up under draconian presidential powers.

Although late in life Mr Nyerere did acknowledge that his socialist experiments had failed, his idealism never left him. In retirement, he even tried to reform the ruling party. Finding it inert and ineradicably corrupt, he changed his mind about one-party rule.

Admirers will say that Julius Nyerere was too idealistic for this world and that bad implementation does not negate his dream of equality. To critics, his moral approach to politics masked an arrogance and a refusal to listen to those with shrewder views of what was best for his country.

Tanzanians abandoned *ujamaa* as soon as they could. Yet Mr Nyerere himself remained extraordinarily popular. His policies had failed, but people admired his sincerity and his ascetic life. His warm and engaging style—in conversation and from a platform—was irresistible. Few could

remain immune to the burst of laughter which preceded his musings—for example, on whether poor Tanzanian peasants needed electric toothbrushes. He was a magnificent teacher: articulate, questioning, stimulating, caring. He should never have been given charge of an economy.

Guardian

Tanzania's unity weakens without Nyerere

**Rotimi Sankore in Zanzibar
Saturday October 23, 1999**

The death of Tanzania's first president has already begun to accelerate the restructuring of the United Republic of Tanzania, made up of mainland Tanganyika and the Arab and Muslim island of Zanzibar.

Officials in Dar es Salaam and Zanzibar say that this is inevitable, as the late Julius Nyerere was the "superglue" that held the union together, despite strong challenges from both the mainland and Zanzibar in the past decade.

Zanzibaris increasingly identify with their trading partners in the Gulf states and resent the control of the mainland, while mainlanders have no interest in the fractious politics of Zanzibar and its sister island, Pemba. Earlier this year the government of Zanzibar initiated a six-month consultation which stopped just short of an official referendum. Although the ensuing white paper is yet to be released, it is widely believed that most people favour establishing separate governments for the mainland and Zanzibar, and a federal government.

The late president had on several occasions criticised those advocating a tripod federal structure, insisting that it would undermine the union.

The call for three governments is the one issue on which the ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) party and the opposition Zanzibar Civic United Front (CUF) may agree. The CUF favours a more radical approach to the restructuring, which has left it denying accusations of separatism; the CCM is more cautious.

Tanganyika, as the mainland was formerly known, merged with Zanzibar on April 26 1964, three months after the Zanzibar revolution that produced the Revolutionary

Government of Zanzibar, as it is still known today.

The union faced one of its strongest tests in 1993, when Zanzibar, which is predominantly Muslim, joined the Organisation of Islamic Countries, but later withdrew following protests from the union parliament.

Panafrican News Agency

The Road Ends For One Of Africa's Greatest Sons

October 23, 1999

by Nicodemus Odhiambo

Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania (PANA) - Dr Julius Nyerere, the first President of Tanzania, was interred Saturday at his home village of Butiama in northern Tanzania amid solemn pomp and ceremony.

The casket containing his body was lowered in the grave at exactly 0935 GMT accompanied by full military honours, including a final 21-gun salute.

The burial was preceded by a requiem mass at the 400-seat Catholic church which the late leader helped build in the village just 100 metres from his home.

The casket was then transported to the burial site at Mwitongo, 30 metres away from the late Nyerere's newly-built residence.

He is buried 20 metres from where his father, Chief Burito Nyerere, and mother Christina Mgaya Nyang'ombe, were laid to rest.

His funeral was witnessed by Presidents Benjamin Mkapa of Tanzania, and Salim Amour of Zanzibar.

Uganda's President Yoweri Museveni, who once gave Nyerere a few heads of Ankole cattle to rear on his farm, was also present, and so was former Zambian leader Kenneth Kaunda, a long-time ally in the liberation struggles of southern Africa.

Wife of former South African President, Graca Machel, was at the funeral flanked by Nyerere's widow.

Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi was represented at the occasion by his Foreign Affairs Minister Bonaya Godana.

The OAU Secretary General, Salim Ahmed Salim, represented the continental organisation of which Nyerere was a founding president.

Nyerere died 14 September at St. Thomas Hospital in London of chronic lymphocytic leukaemia.

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Dr Nyerere is still revered in Tanzania as the "father of the nation" after leading the country to independence. The government has declared 30 days of mourning throughout the country.

BBC

Nyerere laid to rest

Thousands lined up to see Dr Nyerere's body
Tanzania's founding father Julius Nyerere has been buried near the humble house where he was born 77 years ago.

Nearly 500,000 people from the surrounding area packed into Butiama, 1,400km (875 miles) north-west of the capital Dar es Salaam, for Saturday's ceremony.

Mourners wailed and several fainted as the former president's coffin was lowered into a roughly-dug grave.

Dr Nyerere ruled Tanzania from 1962 until 1985, when he voluntarily stepped down in. He died of leukaemia in London last week, and his state funeral was held on Thursday in Dar es Salaam.

As six army generals lowered the coffin, a trumpet played the Last Retreat. President Benjamin Mkapa joined Dr Nyerere's family and close friends in tossing fistfuls of soil onto the coffin.

After soldiers had sealed the grave, Dr Nyerere's widow, Maria Magie, knelt and laid her hand on the concrete slab on which she then placed a floral wreath.

The burial was broadcast live on radio and television.

30 days of mourning

The ceremony combined tribal and Roman Catholic traditions.

Dr Nyerere was buried next to the graves of his parents. He was laid on his side, facing east.

His younger brother, Jackton Nyambereka Nyerere, said after the funeral: "The place where we bury him will now be his city.

"We decided to bury him facing east according to our custom. Unlike our father Burito, who was buried sitting down according to tradition, he wanted to be buried like a normal person."

In a grave-side eulogy, Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni urged Tanzanians to do everything to preserve the peace and unity that "did not come out of the blue, but were products of Nyerere's hard work".

24 October 1999

The Monitor - Kampala

Mandela to visit Nyerere's grave

October 24, 1999

By Murray Oliver

Kampala - At exactly 12 o'clock noon on Saturday, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere's body was gently lowered into the ground by an honour guard of Tanzanian soldiers, closing an era which first began more than forty years ago with Nyerere's early struggles for Tanganyika independence.

The moment also capped six dramatic days of mourning by Tanzanians, beginning last Monday with the arrival of Nyerere's body in Dar es Salaam. Nyerere died of leukaemia in London on October 14.

Saturday's burial service was held in Mwalimu's remote village of Butiama. Nyerere had requested his body to be buried near his parents, although some insisted that the tomb of the Father of the Nation should lie closer to Tanzania's largest city. Butiama is located in northern Tanzania, almost one hour's drive down an unpaved road from the nearest airstrip.

Tanzania's four television broadcasters joined forces and carried the event live by satellite. Yet despite the long distances, hundreds of thousands attended Saturday's services. If possible, these mourners were even more passionate than those at other ceremonies around the nation. Stretchers travelled in a constant stream ferrying overwrought men and women away from the funeral site.

Butiama's modest Roman Catholic Church was filled to overflowing, while many thousands more waited silently outdoors. Tanzania's Cardinal Polycarp Pengo conducted the ceremony in front of Nyerere's coffin draped in the Tanzanian flag.

Mwalimu's body was afterward carried to its nearby resting-place by a military honour guard.

As hatless soldiers placed Mwalimu's coffin into a concrete sarcophagus, an army band played "The Last Post" and a 21-gun salute roared from nearby cannon-- a tribute by the Tanzanian armed forces to their first Commander-in-Chief. Tanzanian president Benjamin William Mkapa tossed a ceremonial handful of dirt onto the coffin, and then an enormous concrete lid was placed over top of the tomb. A tender moment followed with

Mwalimu's widow Maria delicately placing a small flower upon the top of the tomb, then nearly collapsing in grief. Other dignitaries then proceeded to the graveside to lay their own wreaths and pay their final respects. Unlike the official state funeral, this ceremony was relatively simple. Few African leaders attended, although Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni and his wife Janet were there, placing a wreath on the grave with their own hands. Museveni delivered a tribute for Mwalimu following the funeral. He praised Nyerere's accomplishments as an anti-colonialist, and as a leader of his country. Some noted the absence of South Africa's former president Nelson Mandela, who many feel to be alongside Nyerere as one of the greatest African statesmen of the 20th century. Saturday's ceremony was attended by Mandela's wife, Graca Machel. She told journalist that her husband was exhausted and in fragile health. Mandela had indicated to her that he would die of shock if he saw the face of Mwalimu in a coffin. Mandela has promised to visit the grave as soon as he feels emotionally able.

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Nyerere's not so sweet side

October 24, 1999

By Siraje Lubwama

Kampala - Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere who died on October 14 in London, was buried at his Butiama village yesterday, finally closing one of the most high profile political careers in Africa.

President Yoweri Museveni led a delegation to Tanzania to join millions of people to see off the great African statesman.

The little man, called Mwalimu or teacher is highly regarded as one of the architects of closer East Afrucab co-operation, and has been praised all over for relinquishing power in 1985.

But it's doubtful whether former Ugandan dictator Idi Amin shed a single tear or eulogised Nyerere. The former Ugandan president will forever be remembered for telling the Tanzanian that, "I would marry you if you were a woman," during one of their 70s meetings.

Tensions between the two neighbours came to a head in October 1978 when one of

Amin's notorious commanders Lt. Col. Juma Ali alias Butabika sent his brother-in-law into Tanzania on a spying mission.

The spy was nabbed by Tanzanian security, and Amin ordered troops to cross into Tanzania in retaliation.

Nyerere's invasion of Uganda with rebels (including Museveni's FRONASA) was a direct result of this border clash.

When Amin was about to fall in 1979, Ugandans in exile gathered at Moshi and formed the Uganda National Liberation Front (UNLF) and they elected Prof. Yusuf Kironde Lule.

After only 68 days, Nyerere ordered his armed forces still in Uganda to assist the pro-Obote elements in cabinet and in UNLA oust Lule. The TPDF detained him in State House at Entebbe and kept him there incommunicado until he was deported to Tanzania from where he found his way to London where he lived until his death.

Nyerere was now bent on using his troops to reinstate Obote to power.

According to Henry Kyemba's book: A State of Blood, when Obote was toppled by Amin in 1971 while in Singapore, his delegation which passed through Kenya aboard an East African Airways DC-9 got vehicles with the Ugandan presidential flag and received in Dar es Salaam by Rashid Kawawa and taken directly to Nyerere's official residence.

Godfrey Lukongwa Binaisa replaced Lule, in a cabinet where Museveni, was minister of state for Defence. Museveni had been one of those who had been instrumental deposing Lule and bringing in Binaisa.

In his book The agony of Uganda, Francis Bwengye says that while at a Church of Uganda gathering at Mitooma, Bushenyi, in November 1980, Museveni revealed that it was him and some few anti-Lule elements in the UNLA who had persuaded Binaisa to become the new president.

Surprisingly again, when Binaisa fell in May 1980, the same Museveni publicly castigated him about being unfit to be head of state and accused him of being a political joker, who had turned State House into a business clearing house where businessmen and women took their foreign exchange applications forms for him to sign.

Nyerere seemed to believe that Binaisa was just warming State House chair for Obote. To the surprise of Obote, and his mentor Nyerere, Binaisa was very much his own man who even decided to organise elections under the UNLF Umbrella. To Nyerere, this was unforgivable. It didn't help that Binaisa wanted

demote Museveni and the all powerful Brig. David Oyite-Ojok (RIP). That was Binaisa's end.

Internal Affairs minister Paulo Muwanga (RIP) seized power as chairman of Military Commission. He was deputised by Museveni in a country where insecurity was getting out of hand. Sometime in June 1980, Dr Paul Ssemogerere, then interim chairman of the DP, called members of the interim committee to strategise for the December elections. The meeting took place at Evaristo Nyanzi's home at Lubaga.

It was resolved that a DP delegation comprising Ssemogerere, Francis Bwengye, DP's Secretary General, Nyanzi, Benjamin Obonyo, John Kabaireho and Henry Ssewanyana-Ssemo's private secretary, should meet Nyerere about the elections. Paulo Muwanga provided them with a presidential jet.

The DP demanded for their ministers in Muwanga's cabinet increased from three to seven, that Tanzanian troops should take over security of both Kampala and Entebbe claiming UNLA was both pro-Obote/Muwanga.

But the DP was divided over whether to believe that Nyerere was genuine or not. Previously, Obote's elements in the Military Commission had not only given the key and important ministries to the UPC supporters, but also monopolised Radio Uganda, UTV, The Uganda Times, as part of their propaganda machines.

The DP (through Francis Bwengye and its national organiser Zachary Olum) agreed with Museveni's UPM (through Jaber Bindandi Ssali, then minister of local government, Matia Kasajja and Kirunda Kivejinja) to demand for some minimum standards from the Military Commission, or else they boycott the elections.

At this point, Muwanga began lobbying Nyerere who was believed to be the ultimate authority in Ugandan at the time. He offered a small jet, the King Air to take a delegation comprising Ssemogerere, the author Dom Baruku, Alex Waibale, Dr. Benjamin Obonyo and Joseph Byamugisha, to Dar es Salaam. It is reported that after Waibale had put his case on the role of the NCC among others, Bwengye stressed the need for Muwalimu to ensure a free and fair election.

It was further reported that as Nyerere was still recalling Bwengye's name, he condemned him for threatening civil resistance and incitement of DP followers.

Nyerere then condemned Museveni in the bitterest terms:

"Ka Museveni kanafikiri ni kanaani? Kama kanaleeta kifuwa tutakasagaaga, [who does Museveni think he is? If he brings force, we shall thrash him]," Nyerere said. He told the Uganda delegation that aside from the joint threat to boycott the elections, Museveni had written to him that Tanzania should assure him that if he decided to take over power from Muwanga, the TPDF would not intervene. Muwalimu said that if they boycotted the registration exercise they would be encouraging Obote's UPC to take power unchallenged and that he would order his troops to protect the government.

He also condemned Lule and called him all sorts of names according to one of those who attended.

As the polling date drew near, the DP delegation on November 14, 1980 travelled to Dar to meet Nyerere over their conditions. Ssemogerere was afraid of travelling with a radical so he selected moderates like Dr. Joseph Byamugisha, Henry Ssewanyana, Dr. Benjamin Obonyo, Cyepiano Isiko, Bwengye and Prof. Fred Ssempebwa. Paul Muwanga's team which had David Oyite Ojok, Dr. Moses Apiriga and Picho Owiny was already in Dar es Salaam.

Muwanga's team returned to Uganda that evening and the Military Commission chairman said he and Ssemogerere had agreed that there would be four ballot boxes instead of one (a box for each of DP, UPC, UPM and CP) provided there were safeguards.

When Ssemogerere and his team met pressmen at Entebbe they didn't say anything, which went a long way to confirm Muwanga's allegations.

At DP rally at Zana, Ssemogerere supporters were eager to hear him deny the Muwanga talk of four ballot boxes. But his team only said "we shall go to State House."

Of course come December 10, 1980, they didn't. Many people think Nyerere helped Obote to a massive but rigged electoral victory.

So as we mourn Mwalimu Nyerere we should remember that his "other side" which made a few of these revolutionaries.

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The Nation.

Remembering a great son of Africa [Analysis]

October 24, 1999

By Ciugu Mwangi

Nairobi - I think continually of those who were truly great; the names of those who in their lives fought for life; who wore at their hearts the fire's centre... - Stephen Spender (American writer). As the rivulets born of the torrents of tears that have flowed from the eyes of Tanzanians for the last 10 days turned into raging rivers during yesterday's funeral of the man they revered as the Father of the Nation, the world practically stood still.

I marvelled as I recalled the luck I had had to have met - less than a year ago - the man referred to by Zambian President Frederick Chiluba as "one of Africa's most brilliant and illustrious sons, a champion and a great leader." Indeed, I marvelled in retrospect at the electrifying aura of one of the denizens of the African - nay world - political scene in recent history.

Meeting Mwalimu, shaking hands and having a quick chat with him was a memorable experience. Learning later that during that brief meeting his slight frame was being quietly ravaged by leukaemia diagnosed a year before was devastating.

But what really touched me was the knowledge - again in retrospect - that despite Mwalimu's awareness of the fatal nature of the disease that he probably knew would sooner or later fell him, he continued to defy both fate and the advice of his doctors, who must have insisted that he urgently go for treatment.

But then such courage was the mark of a man who tirelessly focused on a matter at hand as if it was the last thing he would ever do. When I met him, he was directing all his energies to the Burundi peace negotiations, which have been going on for nearly two years in the northern Tanzanian town of Arusha.

Meeting the man, working for the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation and being able to observe his efforts at reconciling the Burundians also allowed me to pore into his personality and begin to see truly the grit that he was made of. Among Mwalimu's most outstanding features was his tiny frame contrasted starkly with the greatness of the man in both political and intellectual terms. If Tanzanians have in recent times felt orphaned, it is probably because Nyerere united them and gave them national pride,

while at the same time hardly asking for any reward and maintaining a sometimes irritatingly self-effacing demeanour. Watching him go about his paces during the Burundi negotiations, I was often touched by the way he would humbly chat with ordinary people, eschew intricate personal security details and generally appear extremely down to earth, going even to the extent of sharing public toilets with delegates to the talks and his own ordinary workers, including this writer. A man I heard publicly stating that he never gets angry, Mwalimu would also go out of his way to ensure the comfort of those around him, whatever their station in life. During that brief encounter with him, he wondered why an American colleague called John Ellis and myself had not been offered some tea. This was despite the fact that Mwalimu himself had not been offered any either! Talking later to those who had known him for a long time, I was to learn about Mwalimu's gregarious nature, as well as the generous spirit that those around him always noted when he passed around his cigarettes (he gave up smoking in later years), as well as the bottles of Ndovu beer, a few of which he liked to sip from time to time. It is no wonder that those who had the privilege to savour Mwalimu's humanity, amongst them the villagers in Butiama with whom he would regularly play the traditional game of bao, should so violently be wracked by the pain of imagining Tanzania without him. As a former Tanzanian university don put it - expressing a view shared by many Tanzanians uncertain about the future of their country - Mwalimu was virtually an institution that Tanzania could hardly do without during these tempestuous times. "He is a man that Tanzania needs badly," said the don just days before Mwalimu's death. "He has always acted as a restraining force, instituting checks and balances that have kept Tanzania's political class aware that they had to avoid any excesses that could be to the detriment of the country." Unfortunately, the indomitable Mwalimu, who had bravely and stubbornly dared and for a whole year apparently ignored the terminal disease that he probably knew would eventually kill him, had to eventually accept that the end was nigh, and that the great beyond was beckoning, even as the tears and tribulations of wary Tanzanians praying for his life seemed to, alas, be unable to rend off the hand of fate. But during Mwalimu's funeral yesterday, the Tanzanians were not weeping alone, for as

the bugles sounded for the late Julius Kambarage Nyerere, millions watching his final send-off on television screens all over the world must have brought out their hankies as they mourned a man who was not only an icon in his own country, but had become a legend in his own lifetime and won the respect and admiration of all those who value human dignity and justice, which the man adoringly known as mwalimu (The Teacher) dedicated his life to.

However much Nyerere might have eschewed pomp and pageantry despite his elevated station in life, opting instead for the humility and self-effacement that became his trademark, his burial at Butiama, the village of his birth on the Western shores of Lake Victoria yesterday, riveted world attention on that remote part of the world.

The same kind of global attention had been focused on London's Westminster Cathedral when a service for the departed great son of Africa was held on Friday last week. It was probably lost to many that, had Nyerere been a Briton, his remains would have been laid to rest with full honours amongst the departed heroes of the land at the nearby Westminster Abbey.

But, alas, Nyerere was neither a Briton nor was he given to aspiring for the unnecessarily ceremonial, and had expressed his wish to be buried at Butiama close to the peasants amongst whom he spent the later years of his life, rather than in a grandiose mausoleum far away from the graves of his ancestors. Now those who had gathered to pay their last respects to Julius Caesar in the Shakespearean play of the same title, which the literary Nyerere had translated into Kiswahili as Juliasi Kaisari, alongside Mabepari wa Venisi (The Merchants of Venice), were reminded that they had come to bury their departed Emperor, not to praise him.

But, as it turned out yesterday during his final send-off at Butiama, those gathered there had turned up to praise him rather than to bury him. Ironically, the torrents of praise poured out for Mwalimu from around the world would probably have thoroughly embarrassed the man known for his extraordinarily humble demeanour, as would have the glory, laud and honour that marked his solemn funeral. But - to borrow the words of the old poet - death shall certainly have no dominion over a man widely eulogised as a giant among men and an outstanding philosopher king the memory of whose deeds will definitely assure his immortality.

If Tanzanians, Africans, in general, and people of goodwill around the world wept hopelessly for Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere, the departed great son of Africa, they should have been doing so for themselves and not for the legendary icon of the African and world political stage whose humanity, valour, courage and selflessness have no doubt earned him a secure place in the hereafter.

And who can gainsay the fact that that is a just reward for one of those most rare of men who in their lives fought for life, wore as their hearts the fire's centre, and were therefore incontrovertibly truly great?

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Canto for hope

October 24, 1999

By Jared Angira

Nairobi - Julius Kambarage Nyerere At the orangery dawn When many feared To tread the cold waters Of East and West The chisel stones Of lies and hate And roaring rivers of damnation You built the Slender Bridge Between the Lumpen at the cesspool And the beparis up the tower Clothed the descamisados From the tincans of Magomeni To the waters of Kigamboni creek Julius Kambarage Nyerere You gave them a face Shiny in the noonday sun Perpendicular to a future And gave them the voice To sing in tandem Along the Palm Beach Road Julius Kambarage Nyerere From Mtwara in the Makonde trails To Arusha on Kilimanjaro laps You gave them hope A pedestal in realm Paradigm near the alcove The silver clouds Melting into a future The convergence Of the lavender waters And the green fields The twain for tomorrow Julius Kambarage Nyerere You nurtured the courage And armed Agostinho Neto And Samora Machel Yoweri Museveni And Sam Nujoma Robert Mugabe And Thabo Mbeki And Julius Kambarage Nyerere The bullets Began to flower Ushering in A new dawn And paradigm shift Julius Kambarage Nyerere The scarlet dawn Brother took on brother Daggers at the throats Darkening the skies And you set on trots South to North East to west And we lost the centre The dignity of man The pride of Africa The mellow of the lily Began to wither And

Julius Kambarage Nyerere Slowly the heather began to wither

Julius Kambarage Nyerere When the wick finally died At St Thomas in London A new bud has opened Into a funnel of hope The lighthouse flicker Beyond Forodhani A voice in the willows Will rise and say with courage Venceremos Venceremos Venceremos

*Jared Angira is a Kenyan writer who has published seven volumes of poems.

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Panafrican News Agency

The Road Ends For One Of Africa's Greatest Sons

October 24, 1999

by Nicodemus Odhiambo

Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania (PANA) - Dr Julius Nyerere, the first President of Tanzania, was interred Saturday at his home village of Butiama in northern Tanzania amid solemn pomp and ceremony.

The casket containing his body was lowered in the grave at exactly 0935 GMT accompanied by full military honours, including a final 21-gun salute.

The burial was preceded by a requiem mass at the 400-seat Catholic church which the late leader helped build in the village just 100 metres from his home.

The casket was then transported to the burial site at Mwitongo, 30 metres away from the late Nyerere's newly-built residence.

He is buried 20 metres from where his father, Chief Burito Nyerere, and mother Christina Mgaya Nyang'ombe, were laid to rest.

His funeral was witnessed by Presidents Benjamin Mkapa of Tanzania, and Salmin Amour of Zanzibar.

Uganda's President Yoweri Museveni, who once gave Nyerere a few heads of Ankole cattle to rear on his farm, was also present, and so was former Zambian leader Kenneth Kaunda, a long-time ally in the liberation struggles of southern Africa.

Wife of former South African President, Graca Machel, was at the funeral flanked by Nyerere's widow.

Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi was represented at the occasion by his Foreign Affairs Minister Bonaya Godana.

The OAU Secretary General, Salim Ahmed Salim, represented the continental

24 October 1999

80

organisation of which Nyerere was a founding president.

Nyerere died 14 September at St. Thomas Hospital in London of chronic lymphocytic leukaemia.

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The East African

As 'Kingmaker' Dies, Whither Tanzania Politics and Society

October 26, 1999

Dar-es-Salaam - With The death of Mwalimu Nyerere and an election looming next year, Tanzania is likely to undergo some radical political changes in the next few years. A kingmaker and a peacemaker, Mwalimu was a colossus bestriding just about every sphere of Tanzanian life, overseeing peaceful changes in leadership since his retirement and providing discreet counselling to his two successors, Ali Hassan Mwinyi and Benjamin Mkapa.

When Mwalimu retired in 1985, he retained chairmanship of the ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) for two more years, effectively ruling the country alongside Mwinyi.

When Mwalimu relinquished the CCM chairmanship, Mwinyi took over both government and ruling-party leadership. With Mwalimu's tacit support, he proceeded to bury Ujamaa in the 1992 Zanzibar Declaration which ushered in a free-market economy. In his second five-year term of presidency - 1990-1995 Mr. Mwinyi pursued liberalisation, flinging open the doors to trade and investment, freeing the foreign-exchange regime and the media, introducing multi-party politics and corruption. He quickly earned himself the nickname 'Mzee Rukhsa' Old man Laizez faire.

Although he was the author of the one-party political system, it was Mwalimu's tacit approval that allowed Tanzania to adopt multi-party system.

Now that Mwalimu is gone, five years after multi-party politics came into practice, one can only assume that it will continue. However, much will depend on the confidence of the incumbent president and external pressure from the donor community, which has been sponsoring Tanzania's democratisation process.

Without Mwalimu around, next year's general election, expected around October, could be in jeopardy given his crucial peacemaking role within the CCM.

In his absence, it is even possible that the CCM could break up into splinter parties. Only last year, before President Mkapa appointed

Edward Lowasa and Iddi Simba ministers in his cabinet, there was talk of a group of people planning to form a CCM-2; apparently the only solution was to "bring them into the fold."

Party officials deny this allegation, but observers say a group of CCM leaders is planning to register a new party, ahead of next year's election.

Mwalimu once said, "effective opposition leaders will come from CCM." One such leader is the vocal Augustine Mrema, a staunch CCM member who rose to the rank of Minister for Home Affairs and Deputy Prime Minister, before crossing over to the opposition.

Whether Mkapa will tolerate splinters in CCM remains to be seen, but it seems unlikely. Alternatively, it could be foolhardy to tempt Mr. Mkapa, a man whose claws have never been tested, left to fend for himself by his departed mentor, unlike during the four years he has been in power, he could 'tear' some wayward and truant politicians to pieces without fear of reprimand, to safeguard his position.

Mr. Mkapa's tolerance for political opposition has never been fully known by Tanzanians but the partial show of his dislike for the fiery Mrema is indicative that he may not take too kindly any hullabaloo from the Opposition.

The government is accused of having effectively barred Mrema from contesting political seats in Dar-es-Salaam by using government influence to make people file suits barring him from conducting political activities in their areas. A few months ago, Mrema was refused the right to contest a Dar by-election he was billed to win outright. Mkapa is said to be ready and willing to run for a second and final five-year term next year but some CCM leaders are quietly saying they would also like to be considered for nomination. Some women leaders, such as Gertrude Mongela, have spoken out on the right of every member to submit forms for nomination. That may not go down well with Mkapa, who will be seeking full CCM endorsement of his nomination.

The very state of the Union of Tanzania also stands at the crossroads after Mwalimu's departure. Nyerere was once quoted as saying nobody "really knew the secrets of the Union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar," except himself and the late Amri Abeid Karume, both of whom hastily united the two countries in 1964 to create Tanzania.

Both sides have in due course complained that the Union articles have outlived their

usefulness and need changing. But change has been slow to come and some leaders in both Zanzibar and the mainland are increasingly claiming the Union gives their side a raw deal.

Mwalimu had always advocated a two-government Union, while a sizeable section of the population on both sides favour a federal system with three governments - one each for Tanganyika and Zanzibar, and the Union.

Mwalimu's response to this proposal was: "Over my dead body." He insisted there was nothing wrong with the two-government set up, emphasising that all that was needed was a mechanism to address irky differences that annoy people, but never to create three authorities. Proponents of the status quo argue that three governments would be expensive to maintain and found nothing wrong in the two-government arrangement. Mwalimu's death comes just when President Mkapa needed his views on the White Paper on the Union issue, dominated by Zanzibar's demands for greater autonomy.

When Mwalimu ruled for nearly 35 years, he managed to unite people of all religions and denominations - Christians, Muslims, Hindus and others. He nationalised schools owned by religious institutions to allow admission of children of all religions. He applied the same balancing act in his cabinet appointments, creating a tribal and religious mix that unified Tanzanians.

That religious harmony is already at risk after last month's clashes between muslim activists and police in Bugurumi, Dar-es-Salaam.

The Burundi peace talks which Mwalimu had been facilitating have definitely been set back by his death. A new facilitator acceptable to the warring Hutu and Tutsi sides must be found if the talks are to progress. It's a pity since the talks were coming to the final stages ahead of the signing of a peace accord.

Without Mwalimu it could drag along unless Buyoya's recent alleged reports materialise that his government was seeking to interest South Africa president Thabo Mbeki to take over Mwalimu's role as facilitator. However, that claim has been denied by Major Buyoya. During his closing remarks at the last round of the talks in Arusha on July 17, Mwalimu expressed anger, sadness and frustration that the year-long negotiations had not yielded peace.

The death of Mwalimu could also have implications for the future of Salim Ahmed Salim, Secretary General of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), who has always been seen as a "Nyerere man". It is believed that it

is only because of Mwalimu's support that he has stayed at the helm of the OAU. His chances of nomination to higher office, even becoming president after 2005, would be better if Mwalimu were alive to persuade Zanzibaris to support him.

If Salim cultivates the same sort of relationship with Mkapa, he stands a chance of winning the latter's backing for the Tanzania presidency in 2005. Internationally respected, he served the Union government as Prime Minister and Minister of Defence and as Tanzania's ambassador to Egypt and the UN in New York.

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Ever the Idealist, Nyerere's Legacy is Everlasting

October 26, 1999

By Gitau Warigi

Dar-es-Salaam - Founding father of Tanzania, pioneer African nationalist, Pan-Africanist, advocate of non-alignment and disarmament, anti-imperialist and arch-champion of the liberation struggle in southern Africa, Julius Nyerere has left a rich and varied legacy. Initially, Nyerere was perceived as the most moderate of the East African troika that included Jomo Kenyatta and Milton Obote, even though subsequently he ended up very much to the left of the other two ideologically. Unlike Kenyatta, who terrified the Kenyan white settlers and whom the colonial government jailed for subversion, the colonial authorities in Tanganyika concluded early that it was in their best interests to work with Nyerere.

Scholarly in approach and not given to demagoguery, Nyerere had made an excellent impression before the UN Trusteeship Council, which theoretically oversaw the British mandate in Tanganyika after Germany lost the territory in 1945. In effect, Nyerere told the Council: "If Britain cannot get along with me, who can she get along with?" Besides, the special exigencies of trusteeship meant Britain could not be too overbearing on nationalism in Tanganyika like she could be in her colonies.

Concluded Tanganyika Governor Edward Twining: "Nyerere's personal position is more important than we perhaps like to admit and therefore it is very strongly in our interests

that we should try and gather him into the fold, although this might mean making some concessions."

What everyone failed to reckon with was the fact that Nyerere, virtually alone among his African peers, was willing to hold his ambitions in check for the benefit of wider regional integration.

As early as July 1960, Nyerere had come out in favour of an East African federation and offered to delay Tanzania's independence to allow time for the other two territories to catch up, arguing that it would be far more difficult to persuade a state to abandon its privileges at the UN, once it began to enjoy them.

On 5 June 5, 1963, the leaders of the three East African countries signed in Nairobi a formal declaration of intent to federate. But it was not to be. Uganda, for one, subsequently expressed reservations on certain specifics of citizenship and external affairs which it felt would be inappropriate to cede to federal jurisdiction. Ugandan monarchists, especially in Buganda, were not keen on the idea either. According to Kenyan Governor Malcolm MacDonald, there appeared to be a quiet consensus that Kenyatta would be the first federal president. Nyerere would be Vice-President in charge of internal affairs, which would probably have been fine with him. But Kenyans were pushing their luck; they already seemed to assume Tom Mboya would become the federal foreign minister, a post the Ugandans wanted.

Federation began to look a tall tough order when the explosive and highly divided nature of the Kenyan political fabric was considered. Torn as Kenyan politicians were, between the nationalists in Kanu, majimboists in the opposition Kadu, and recalcitrant European settlers who dreamed of an early version of Rhodesia's UDI, their situation was not one they could mesh with their Tanganyika and Uganda counterparts in a workable federation. Another bad omen, little noticed at the time, was the hostile position taken by Kwame Nkurumah, who clearly dreamed of developing sufficient leverage from his West African corner to make himself President of a unified Africa. "Regional groupings of any kind are a serious threat to the unity of Africa", he declared. "Only by fomenting regional and sectional political groupings in Africa can the imperialists and ex-colonial powers be sure of retaining their rapidly waning influence in Africa."

Ironically, the idealistic Nyerere demonstrated his pragmatic bent during the debates surrounding the OAU's formation when he

expressed reservations about the unified continental government advocated by Nkurumah and Guinea's Sekou Toure. Nkurumah's sweeping vision was deemed impractical, and it was the gradualist, step-by-step strategy of cohesion advocated by Nyerere and others that carried the day. Nyerere's belief in self-reliance probably grew out of a growing disenchantment with Western policy and a desire to disentangle his country from the intrigues of the Cold War. This led him to the Arusha Declaration and Ujamaa socialism. In the end, this policy was deemed to have been a disaster economically, and Nyerere himself admitted as much. Still, as Ali Mazrui has stressed, Nyerere's intentions were all along noble.

The experiment however had its successes. Literacy levels and primary health care access in Tanzania surpassed anything most African countries had achieved. Adulrahman Babu, a prominent Zanzibari critic of Nyerere's, has written that the policy of nationalisation foundered because Tanzania lacked the managerial resources and institutional infrastructure to carry on the enterprises that the state absorbed. Babu, who was also of a leftist persuasion, had by then fallen out with Nyerere and gone into exile in Britain, as had Oscar Kambona, another prominent critic of Nyerere who had served as Foreign Minister. The other cause Nyerere lent his voice to for was the crippling Third World debt burden and the unequal international economic order. Thus, his decision to open talks in 1980 with the IMF - which he used to ridicule as the International Ministry of Finance - was met with considerable astonishment. But the fact of the matter is that Tanzania had run its economy into the aground and exhausted its hard currency reserves.

Though to a degree the talks heralded a capitulation of Nyerere. IMF too was desperate for a truce with Tanzania as the Nyerere's highly articulate assaults at the Fund had registered an unusually strong impact internationally.

An undeniable feature of Nyerere's Tanzania was the diplomatic weight and prestige she carried on the continent, even beyond. This influence was way out of proportion to the country's strength. Like Britain liked to say about herself, Tanzania was used to punching above her weight.

The talks with the IMF eventually broke down over demands for massive devaluation of the Tanzanian shilling. Indeed, many observers believe that Nyerere's decision to step down from office was because he did not want to be

the humiliation of being arm-twisted into economic actions he had long resisted. Nyerere's relations with his economically powerful northern neighbour, Kenya, were always complicated. After an initial post-independence honeymoon, when the idea of federation was being mooted, relations cooled as Tanzania veered to the left ideologically and Kenya went in the opposite direction. Nyerere's enduring achievement is in creating a genuine national entity out of a hotch-potch of some 120 ethnic groups. A comparison with the tattered and highly ethnicised fabric in present-day Kenya brings out this achievement very well.

His other enduring achievement is the role he played in the liberation struggle in Southern Africa. to ultimate victory. Frelimo, SWAPO and the ANC were all invited to open training camps in Tanzania.

Nyerere was instrumental in the formation of the Frontline States caucus and served as its first chairman. He became a crucial diplomatic link between the liberation forces and the international community.

Fittingly, the OAU's Liberation Committee was headquartered in Dar. On the continent, the quest for freedom and human dignity is what Nyerere will best be remembered for.

Matters got downright frosty in the seventies over disagreements about the operations of the common market. In 1977, the EAC virtually collapsed amid bitter acrimony. Nyerere ordered the frontier with Kenya closed.

Relations improved following the ascension of Daniel arap Moi, though the real watershed was the ouster from power of Charles Njonjo in 1984, whom Nyerere long considered a stumbling block to closer relations. The relations were perhaps at their best during the tenure of Mwinyi, no doubt spiced by the fact that Moi had grown extremely suspicious of Yoweri Museveni in Uganda.

The creation of the East African Federation in 1994 was seen to be a new beginning. But the old disputes over trade and Tanzanian complaints over the lack of equity in Kenya-Tanzania economic relations persisted.

Tanzania's recent refusal to ratify a protocol on tariffs attests to these differences.

Meanwhile, relations with Uganda had taken a distinctly different line. Right from the start, a certain ideological affinity with Obote existed. The inspiration for Obote's Common Man's Charter was evidently the Arusha Declaration. And after Obote was overthrown by Idi Amin, Nyerere willingly gave him refuge. He helped him to regain power when Nyerere moved to

overthrow Amin in 1979, but subsequently became convinced that Obote was more of a divisive factor in Uganda than an asset. Later, he developed very close relations with the youthful Yoweri Museveni which endured to his death. The Ugandan leader, whose political awakening happened while he was a student in Dar-es-Salaam, remains eternally grateful for the help he and colleagues received from Nyerere in defeating Amin. On a personal level, Museveni has always extended great respect to the Tanzanian leader such that Museveni's hardline stance on the ruling Burundi junta seemed to arise from the impression that they were not paying sufficient respect to the man.

Nyerere's is an enviable niche in Africa's history.

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There Was Real Freedom in Mwalimu's Day

October 26, 1999

By Philip Ochieng

Dar-es-Salaam - I never really covered Mwalimu Nyerere. By the time I got to Tanzania to work for The Standard Tanzania, I had been an editorial pontiff in Nairobi's Sunday Nation for upwards of two years. And that was what I continued to do in Dar-es-Salaam, fulminating like Ezekiel from my armchair.

But one thing is true. Working for the president, between September 1970 and January 1973 was probably the most enjoyable period of my entire journalistic career. There were at least two reasons for this. The first was that ours was a community of ideas. The second, contrary to what was constantly claimed here in Nairobi and by the Western press, was that the Dar-es-Salaam newspapers enjoyed a high level of freedom to publish. This reflected the fact that Tanzania enjoyed an unprecedented freedom of speech. But it was never licentious freedom of the kind with which Nairobi's alternative press assails our eyes every morning.

Following the Arusha Declaration of 1967, Julius Kambarage Nyerere had, early in 1970, nationalised The Tanganyika Standard from Lonrho and rechristened it The Standard Tanzania as the official print organ of the government.

The Nationalist and its Kiswahili sister Uhuru already existed as the organs of the ruling Tanganyika African National Union (Tanu), with Ben Mkapa as its editor. Brought in from London as Managing Editor of The Standard was a tough-talking South African woman of Asian origin called Frene Ginwala.

Ginwala, who is now the Speaker of the South African Parliament in Cape Town, was a woman of strong left-wing convictions. She very soon collected around her men and women from the international community with equally strong socialist views.

This was the context in which I left Nairobi for Dar-es-Salaam, invited by Ginwala. Mwalimu Nyerere acted as our (non-executive) Editor-in-Chief. And yet every Friday I published an opinion column highly critical of his system. I waxed critical especially of the recently nationalised commercial and industrial houses: the corruption that was beginning to invade them and their umbrella organisations, the ineptitude, the apparent absence of development ideas.

Yet never once did Ginwala or myself receive a telephone call from or a summons to Ikulu (State House), complaining about anything we had written. Of course, there were many murmurs in the corridors of power against us. They accused us of being a bunch of communists, though we never were. But they dared not call a press conference to attack us. Nyerere simply would not have allowed them to do so.

Were we really a den of communists? To be sure, Frene Ginwala herself and Tony Hall were members of Joe Slovo's Communist Party of South Africa and Iain Christie was a member of the British Communist Party. There were two other British imports - Richard Gott and Rod Prince - but they were self-confessed anarchists. There was also myself. But, though I would soon be introduced to Marx, Engels, Lenin and Mao, my leftism continued to be subsumed under liberalism. The rest of our newsroom - the corps of reporters and sub-editors, practically all of them native Tanzanians - was solidly right-wing, paying lip service to Nyerere's Ujamaa tenets but either cynical about them or ignorant of their social import.

Yet, to me, Nyerere's greatness does not lie in his Ujamaa ideology. Though this ideology was what attracted most of us into Tanzania, it was what was to prove the economic bane of that country. Nationalised property only fell into the jaws of a deeply venal class of vibwanyenye. The word, which means petty commodity owners, was a "technical

translation" by Tanzania's Swahili Academy of the Marxist term petty bourgeoisie, namely, the peasants and the classroom-created urban elite.

The Ujamaa Village institution itself proved nothing more than a stratagem for settling rural people together so as to facilitate such social services as water, education and seed distribution by collectivising them. It, too, would soon be vitiated by graft and lack of commitment.

Very soon, production would come to a standstill and distribution of what was produced would go haywire. Nyerere, who was genuinely persuaded by and committed to the system, had included a leadership code in Azimio. It banned corruption and prohibited a certain level of politicians, civil servants and parastatal employees from owning personal businesses. But it did not cut much ice. And things went from bad to worse. From time to time, the president would hit back through widespread sackings, decentralisations and shuffles. But he only succeeded in bringing in leeches more ravenous than those he had sacked or decentralised.

Nyerere's failing, then, stemmed both from objective conditions and from subjective weaknesses. Objective because he never really came to grips with the forces - national as well as international - which he was setting out to defeat. Western individualism had been internalised by practically all Tanzanians through the classroom and the church. The African extended family system, which he was trying to reinstitute, had long been done to death by cash payment and individualist callousness. Mwalimu Nyerere just couldn't see the vital link of this habit of thought with the very same Western institutions whose property he was trying to socialise. Socialism, he claimed, was an attitude of the mind and so he hoped to convert people merely by moral preachifying.

Like most other Third World petty-bourgeois radicals - Josip Broz Tito, Jawaharlal Nehru, Cheddi Jagan, Kwame Nkrumah, Agostinho Neto - Mwalimu vehemently rejected the Marxist class analysis.

And this was the subjective aspect of his position. According to its founders, socialism can be genuine only as an ideology of a class without any producer property, namely, the industrial proletariat and the agricultural labourer. It stands to reason that no social group with any property can be interested in sharing it with everybody else. Both the peasantry and the urban elite are propertied classes. As individuals, of course, they may,

as Lenin hoped, be converted into socialism. But, as a class, you can only force them into collectivisation with disastrous consequences. That was the lesson the world should have learned from Stalin's forced collectivism, in which tens of millions perished.

Yet, despite all these failings, Kambarage Nyerere remained one of Africa's quintessential men of the 20th century. His personal probity was unequalled. In Africa, he was equalled only by Muammar Gaddafi in his refusal to use his immense power to enrich himself or his family.

It was his intellectual strength and moral fibre that enabled him, when he saw that his experiment could not succeed, to admit openly that his life career had been a failure. When he nationalised The Tanganyika Standard, he gave us a charter which expressly challenged its new editors to criticise all social failings by whomever they are committed. I had never been and would never be freer than when I worked in Dar. This freedom of the press, as I say above, was only a mirror-reflection of the much more important freedom of ideas throughout the country. Though Nyerere believed more than 100 per cent in Ujamaa, he never tried to force it down anybody's throat.

Nor did he ever issue The Standard Tanzania, The Nationalist or the latter's Swahili daily and weekly counterparts Uhuru and Mzalendo, with any instruction to print only Nyerereist ideas or to slant news in favour of that ideology and its exponents.

If that had been the case, Tanzania's amazing pluralism of ideas at that time would not have reached the world. Yet it did reach the world, attracting into that country hundreds of intellectuals from all over the world.

The University of Dar-es-Salaam at Ubungo was Africa's, perhaps the world's, intellectual Mecca. Dar-es-Salaam harboured all the radical liberation movements in Africa, Latin America, the Middle East, Ireland, South-East Asia, even the the United States. It was a crossroads of such celebrated freedom fighters as Agostinho Neto, Samora Machel, Marcelino dos Santos, Jorge Rebello, Janet Mondlane, Yoweri Museveni, Sam Nujoma, Thabo Mbeki, Oliver Tambo, Gora Ebrahim, Amilcar Cabral, Angela Davis and others, changing ideas with us, often hotly. For these were not uniform minds. There were intellectuals - both native and alien - who expressed ideas so far to the right that they bordered on fascism. Others expressed ideas so far to the left that again they bordered on fascism.

The humdinger, however, was that all these ideas were expressed freely and printed in the party and government newspapers with little attempt at editorial slanting and chicanery.

In 1972 came the only time Nyerere intervened in The Standard Tanzania. Somebody had tried to overthrow President Gaafar al-Numeiry of the Sudan, who had himself staged a coup with the help of the Communist Party the previous year. He responded by killing hundreds of leaders of the same Communist Party.

In an editorial commentary, drafted by Richard Gott, The Standard accused Numeiry of horrendous murder. At a Tanu meeting in Dodoma the next day, the right-wing, led by Prime Minister Rashidi Mfaume Kawawa, was up in arms. Editor Ginwala was made to accept very many nasty names: including communist, woman and Mhindi (Asian). They demanded her sacking on the spot because Numeiry, they said, was a good friend of Tanzania. Nyerere had to give in.

That was the end of Ginwala's regime. It was about that time, too, that The Nationalist married The Standard to beget the present Daily News, with such successive editors as Sammy Mdee, Ben Mkapa, the present President, Ferdinand Ruhinda and Joseph Mapunda. The merger was necessitated by a reorganisation of the government's information structures, with a party-based Press Council chaired by Daudi Mwakawago, Tanu's then Director of Information.

Composed totally of right-wingers, including Ben Mkapa, Information Minister Daudi Namfua, Uhuru editor Costa Kumalija, Nationalist editor Ferdinand Ruhinda and Radio Tanzania Director Paul Sozigwa, it signalled the end of radicalism and free expression in the press. It was then that I resigned to study in Germany.

Until his death, Nyerere, who was humble, self-effacing and selfless, continued to serve humanity on many capacities - particularly his promotion of mutual South-South assistance to reduce dependence on Western alms and his attempt to help bring about order in Burundi.

An intellectual of immense stature, a man of great personal integrity, a paragon of humanism, Julius Kambarage will be hard to replace in Tanzania, in Africa and on the globe. I was privileged to know and work with such a man. That is why, as I mourn, I ask, with Marcus Antonius, whence cometh such another?

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Painful Loss of a Friend, Mentor and Nationalist Par Excellence

October 26, 1999

Dar-es-Salaam - The passing away of Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere, the Father of the Tanzanian Nation, has brought intense personal sorrow and grief to me. I have been in the company of Mwalimu Nyerere, being under his direct personal leadership and tutelage over a period of many years.

I was a history student of Mwalimu Nyerere at Pugu Secondary School for two years in 1953 and largely through his dedicated teaching, I qualified for admission to Makerere University College, Kampala, then known as the University College of East Africa.

On completion of my university education at Makerere in 1960, I was appointed to the Tanganyika Legislative Council as Clerk Assistant, to understudy the then English Clerk of the House with a view to taking over from him under the then civil service Africanisation programme. That appointment brought me once again into close working contact with Mwalimu Nyerere, who had in the meantime been elected to the Tanganyika Legislative Council.

Mwalimu Nyerere ceased to be a member of the legislature in November 1962, when he was elected the first President of Tanganyika. But because, under the constitution, parliament consists of both the Presidency and the National Assembly, my cordial working relationship with him continued, as I had to pay frequent visits to him in order to present those Bills which had been passed by the National Assembly for his statutory assent.

Mwalimu preferred that I present the Bills personally so that, if necessary, he would have the opportunity of asking me questions about the general mood of the House in passing any of them in particular. And he frequently did so.

He appears to have developed a liking for, and appreciation of, my overall performance. Immediately after he had launched the famous Arusha Declaration in January 1967, he appointed me to the position of National Executive Secretary of the Tanganyika African National Union (Tanu) for the purpose of handling the party's strategies in

implementing the Arusha Declaration - the country's socialist blueprint.

This developed an even closer relationship between him, as the national chairman of the party, and I as the national secretary.

In June 1970, the then existing constituent colleges of the then University of East Africa were each granted full university status. The law which established the University of Dar-es-Salaam (upgraded from University College, Dar-es-Salaam) declared that the President of the United Republic would be the Chancellor of the new university ex-officio. The law also gave the President power to appoint a Vice-Chancellor of the University, thus creating a new close relationship between the Chancellor and his Vice-Chancellor.

This continued for a period of seven years until in 1977, when the merger of the Tanu party on mainland Tanzania and the Afro-Shirazi Party of Zanzibar was achieved and a new party, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) came into existence, with Mwalimu Nyerere elected as its first national chairman. He quickly appointed me to be the first national executive secretary of the new party.

In 1984, the year before his retirement from the presidency, he appointed me Permanent Secretary in the office of the Prime Minister, with Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim as Prime Minister.

In the course of this close working relationship over the years, Mwalimu Nyerere taught me a number of things, all of which I fully digested and treasure. The thought that I will never see or talk to him again is therefore very painful. It was by a stroke of good luck that I was able to see him in his apartment in London. I talked to him in London for about one hour, exactly the day before his condition suddenly deteriorated and he had to be rushed to St Thomas's hospital, where he stopped talking and eventually departed.

May the Almighty God rest his soul in eternal peace. FROM: [no name]

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Death Puts Nyerere Biography in Limbo

October 26, 1999

By Premy Kibanga

Dar-es-Salaam - Tanzania's founder president and Father of the Nation, the late Mwalimu

Julius Kambarage Nyerere, died before his autobiography could begin.

Prof Ahmed Mohiddin, a former academician, told *The EastAfrican* that three people - himself, Prof Haroub Othman, now in Liberia, and former ambassador Ferdinand Ruhinda, one of Mwalimu's confidants - had earlier on approached the late Mwalimu to seek his consent.

"He had initially agreed, on that, and Prof Othman was to meet him on August 12, 1999 so that we could work out a strategy on how we were going to do it. I think he knew that his disease was fatal."

Prof Mohiddin, who describes Mwalimu as "the last revolutionary," said "it is sad that he has departed without it."

Ambassador Ruhinda said in Dar: "We were going to sit with him whenever he had time, and write his own words, and then he would go through the manuscript and correct it because we wanted it to be his own work. It is just bad that he has departed before the project could take off."

He added: "Actually, we were just going to assist him to write, but not for us to write for him; there are so many books that have been written about him that we wanted one by himself."

The three writers, who had worked on a framework for the Nyerere autobiography, now have a daunting task ahead.

"We will have to reorganise ourselves and the work. But it will never be the same again," Prof Mohiddin said.

This will now keep Tanzanians anxious to know whether there were any last words of wisdom from Nyerere. These will now be only attainable from his family, who were by his side during his sickness, especially his wife Mama Maria.

The body of the former president of Tanzania, the late Julius Nyerere, who died at St Thomas's Hospital in London on Thursday, October 14, 1999, was flown back to Dar-es-Salaam on Monday in readiness for a funeral service on Thursday October 21st at the National Stadium in Dar.

Tanzania's revered founding father Julius Nyerere will be given a state funeral before a private burial in his home village next Saturday.

The dirt road off from the Mwanza-Musoma tarmac road has been graded by regional authorities. It is said Nyerere did not want the road tarmacked unless the government was ready to do the same on other roads in the neighbouring villages.

Sources from the 50-plus burial committee said last week that although many people had expressed their wish to bury Mwalimu in Dar, it wasn't possible as Nyerere's wish was to be buried next to his close relatives. The thought of a mausoleum for Mwalimu was apparently toyed with by State House but didn't materialise due to lack of full support.

This writer brushed shoulders with the sage in Arusha town as a reporter where Mwalimu was mediating the Burundi peace talks.

"I came to know Mwalimu better as a reporter in 1996 during the Burundi peace initiatives in Arusha when I relentlessly insisted on getting an interview him. I learnt that he is very patient, determined, never gave up on his assignment even when insulted. I was amazed by his dedication to the Burundi issue.

"On one or two occasions he granted me the honour to conduct an exclusive interview with him, something I will always treasure."

When Mwalimu was asked why he persisted to work for peace in Burundi he said: "I'm not doing this for myself, I'm doing it for the Barundi. It is not me who will bring them peace, they will do it themselves. I'm just facilitating the talks here because this is the only place where they can do it without fear." Every body wishes that Barundi showed appreciation for the work Mwalimu had started doing for them by conducting proper talks that could lead to lasting peace.

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Leaders Pay Tribute to Mwalimu

October 26, 1999

By Faustine Rwambali

Dar-es-Salaam - World leaders last week continued to send condolence messages to President Benjamin Mkapa and the Tanzanian people following the death of Mwalimu Nyerere.

One of the first to offer his condolences was President Daniel arap Moi, who said Mwalimu Nyerere would be remembered for his distinguished role in the liberation of Africans from colonial oppression.

"As a Pan-Africanist, Mwalimu was among the founding fathers of the Organisation of African Unity, whose vision was for an organisation that would be committed to the complete political and economic emancipation of the African continent," said President Moi.

US Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright, described Nyerere as "an eloquent spokesman for the developing world." "His long record of achievement as an international figure includes many contributions to regional peace. Most recently, he brought his considerable diplomatic talents to bear as facilitator of the Burundi Peace negotiations."

Former US President Jimmy Carter, a close friend of Mwalimu, also sent heartening message to Mkapa and Mwalimu's family. Messages were also received from the leaders of Zimbabwe, Botswana, India, Malawi and Zambia.

His Majesty King Harald V of Norway paid tribute to Nyerere saying: "I was deeply saddened to learn of the death of former President Julius Kambarage Nyerere. Africa has lost a great leader."

The British Prime Minister, Mr. Tony Blair, also sent his message saying: "I deeply regret ... He was a leading African statesman of his time and the founder of modern Tanzania. He played a historic role in consolidating independence in his country. The fact is that Tanzania is today a country at peace and is in large part a tribute to Mwalimu."

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Italy, Mr. Lamberto Dini, said: "It is with deep sadness that I learn of the passing away of Julius Nyerere. Africa has lost one of its most respected leaders, leader of his country... and father of Independence, but also a determined mediator," he said.

President Kim Dae-jung of Korea said: "Nyerere greatly promoted the friendly and co-operative relations between the United Republic of Tanzania and Korea as a globally respected leader."

The Executive Secretary of the Arusha-based East African Co-operation (EAC), Ambassador Francis Muthaura expressed deep regret at Mwalimu's death describing it as "a blow to guidance and encouragement towards the quick realisation of regional integration."

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Sporting Events Postponed in Honour of Nyerere

October 26, 1999

By Apolinari Tairo

Dar-es-Salaam - Flags will fly half-mast for 30 days and all sporting activities are postponed indefinitely as Tanzanians mourn the death of the nation's founding father, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere.

The Minister for Education and Culture, Prof Athumani Juma Kapuya, announced in Dar on October 14, the day Mwalimu died, that all sports events, including soccer matches, would be put off until a later date. Also postponed are foreign trips by government officials.

The move affects a wide spectrum of activities including business trips earlier scheduled for this month. These included the inauguration by President Benjamin Mkapa of Tanzania's leading tea packing company, Tanzanian Tea Packers (Tatepa). The company was recently listed on the Dar Stock Exchange and floated millions of shares.

Tatepa officials told The EastAfrican last week that inauguration ceremony planned to take place on October 16 has been rescheduled to a later date.

A team of 50 business and government executives that was scheduled to leave for Japan and South Korea last week also had to postpone the trip. The Tanzanian delegation was to participate in the African Trade Exhibition and business seminars in Tokyo between October 28 and November 1.

The exhibition which has been planned to attract over 50 Tanzania general trading, tourism and industrialists, was organised by the Japanese External Trade Organisation (JETRO).

Tanzania's parliament, scheduled to sit from October 26, has also postponed its session to a date to be announced later, a parliamentary spokesman said. The parliament sits in Dodoma four times a year - in February, April, June and October.

Graduation ceremonies that were to take place this month have also been cancelled. This will affect students who completed their General Certificate of Education and pupils who sat their Primary School Certificate examination two weeks ago.

More than 200,000 GCE graduates and about 600,000 Primary School Certificate finalists were to hold their graduation ceremonies this month. Officials from the Ministry of Education and Culture said the activities were all put off until future dates

Our Sports correspondent Willie Chiwango reports that Tanzania has also withdrawn from the East and Central African under-20 soccer championship which opened in Nairobi last

Saturday (October 23) to mourn the Father of the Nation, Mwalimu Nyerere.

An official at the Cecafta secretariat in Nairobi said the tournament would proceed as planned and that with the exception of the two Tanzanian sides, the rest of the 11 Cecafta members were expected to take part. They are Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Somalia, Sudan, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Djibouti, whose teams are expected to start arriving in Nairobi on Wednesday this week (Oct. 20).

The Chairman of the Football Association of Tanzania, Mr. Muhidin Ndolanga, said the association had suspended all local league matches, including the Union Super League, which determines the country's representatives to the African Champions League and the Confederation of African Football Cup.

The Super League, involving three teams each from the mainland and Zanzibar, was to kick off last Saturday (Oct. 16) but is now likely to start on November 13.

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27 October 1999

Panafrican News Agency

Spirit Sends Soldiers Scampering For Safety

October 27, 1999

Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania (PANA) - Several mourners were reportedly injured Sunday while fleeing from the grave of Tanzanian leader Julius Nyerere's after hearing a spooky voice in the vicinity.

In the ensuing confusion at Nyerere's home in Butiama, northern Tanzania, only one policeman remained glued at the spot while soldiers tasked to guard the grave ran helter-skelter.

Villagers said the voice was that of Muhunda, a well-known spirit among Nyerere's Zanki tribe, who had the capability of transforming into the image of any living being.

Nyerere's nephew, Magembe Daniel, is among the mourners who reportedly sustained leg injuries and had to be attended to at the village dispensary.

The Zanki believe that Muhunda is capable of assuming the form of a monkey, goat, leopard or a human being.

Some elders said Muhunda appears rarely during drought seasons or funeral ceremony. They said the spirit may have come to mourn Nyerere.

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Business Day (Johannesburg)

Nyerere No Great Leader, But Ensured Poverty For Tanzania (Column)

October 27, 1999

By Simon Barber

Johannesburg - US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright wrapped up another inconsequential tour of Africa last week by speaking at the memorial ceremony for Julius Nyerere in Dar es Salaam. She was more than fulsome in her praise of the late Tanzanian president, declaring him to have

been "every inch a builder and one of the great leaders of our time".

De mortuis nil nisi bonum, speak nothing but good of the dead. The occasion required the secretary to look on the bright side - not be utterly ahistorical so as not to betray any inkling of the harm Nyerere did his country and his continent's reputation.

In Albright's defence, her speech was probably written for her by the same breed of state department nitwit who, when I recently posed a question about the SA arms maker Denel, replied, quite seriously, "Denel? Is it one of those small African countries?"

If Africa is at last to become more than the land of the permanent future, it is because fewer men like Nyerere are in charge.

Mwalimu, teacher, they called him. Indeed he was. He taught two important lessons: how not to govern and, more positively, the virtue of retiring quietly, as he did in 1985, to avoid disgrace.

Builder? Hardly. Dreamer, certainly, and his dreams ensured poverty and dependence on foreign aid for generations of Tanzanians.

In Nyerere's Tanzania, his party, the Chama cha Mapinduzi, consciously modelled on Chinese lines, was the state. (Tanzanians had to wait until 1992, seven years after Nyerere stepped down from the presidency, to vote in a multiparty election). In other words, Mwalimu, under Nyerere, was Swahili for führer.

The Arusha Declaration, the founding document of Nyerere's revolution with its apostrophes to freedom and equality, seemed to the kind of westerner who had earlier fallen in love with Stalin's Russia to reaffirm the values held dear by America's founding fathers.

It was all words. The peasant farmer and his traditional leaders were free so long as the former moved into a collective village designated by the state and the latter surrendered their authority to party cell leaders.

Tanzanians became subject to forced removals on a scale about which apartheid bureaucrats could only fantasise.

Mwalimu, superior (by definition) in knowledge and immune from popular opinion, nationalised everything, placing the entire economy in the hands of party apparatchiks with the power to extort. He may have been above taking bribes himself, but he created an indelibly corrupt society.

Here is what The Economist had to say in June 1987 in an analysis of Nyerere's achievements: "State corporations and so-

called co-operatives were set up to supply (relocated) villagers and buy their produce; a similar pattern was imposed in the towns. Private enterprise was abolished, its functions assigned to hundreds of state corporations. Most did no trade at all; distributing seeds and fertilisers is not hard work if there are no seeds and fertilisers to give out.

"Those that did have serious jobs involving foreign transactions - vehicle supply, coffee and sisal marketing, the airline, public transport - turned to bribery and theft."

While Mwalimu claimed that he had made primary education universal, secondary schools and universities withered for want of the funds he had prevented his economy from generating. As for health care, there were dispensaries everywhere, but with nothing to dispense. Nyerere's Tanzania was a nation of lofty promises and empty shelves.

The shortcomings of his dictatorship were ignored by whites in the west, especially Scandinavians, who believed that while colonialism had been a great evil liberated blacks were nonetheless incorrigibly stupid and thus in need of firm control, not to mention a spot of detention, torture and arbitrary execution, by their own elite.

Nyerere's rough stuff was off the sentimental radar of the folks who gave Archbishop Desmond Tutu his Nobel prize.

Nyerere played on the tears of the white man, and the white man's contemptuous pity for Africans, like Paganini on a violin. He repeatedly convinced donors that Tanzania's economic disintegration was their fault because exploitative western capitalists would not pay enough for his country's products.

The real problem was that his nationalised economy could not produce anything. When coffee prices were at their height in the '70s, Tanzanian producers would not pick the beans because the state was not paying them.

Nyerere would whine that Tanzania was the victim of apartheid aggression on frontline states. Then how was it that economies actually on the frontline did better than his? Some would excuse his infantile utopianism and the lives it destroyed on the ground that his army overthrew Uganda's Idi Amin in 1979. Not much of an excuse, given that all Mwalimu did was reinstall Milton Obote, a creature just as vicious as Amin, if not quite as ostentatious a butcher.

If Nyerere is really an exemplar of Africa's best, as Albright would have us believe, God help Africa. But then Albright probably did not have the faintest clue what she was talking

about. What was this hero who would not, once in power, ever subject himself to a popular plebiscite and who relied upon westerners to keep his economy solvent? A traitor to Africa, I would say.

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28 October 1999

Southern African Research and Documentation Centre

Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere- A Remembrance

October 28, 1999

by David Martin

Harare - "We, the people of Tanganyika, would like to light a candle and put it on top of Mount Kilimanjaro which would shine beyond our borders giving hope where there was despair, love where there was hate and dignity where before there was only humiliation."

"We cannot, unlike other countries, send rockets to the moon. But we can send rockets of love and hope to all our fellow [humans] wherever they may be." That statement, over two years before Tanganyika's independence, was made by Julius Kambarage Nyerere to the Legislative Assembly in October 1959. It expressed the essence of his beliefs: hope, love and dignity.

While those in the developed world walked, his brisk and sprightly stride implied, as he repeatedly said, that Africa had to run to catch up. Once political freedom was attained, unity and development, coupled with hard work, were essential pre-requisites in nation building. Nyerere was the champion of the liberation of southern Africa becoming the first chairman of the Frontline states.

In Tanzania, Africa and the world he was regarded almost with awe. Such reaction was contrary to that which Nyerere wanted. He was above all a simple man combining this with formidable discipline. Once a chain-smoker, he simply stopped when he became involved in politics and he rarely drank imbibing only in an occasional glass of "Samora" as he called the Portuguese wine the Mozambican leader had introduced him to. His wife, he once said in a statement, was simply Mrs Nyerere and not "the First Lady". Apart from his simplicity and piercing intellect, one of Nyerere's most endearing traits was his honesty. Today it is no longer fashionable among journalists (and much of the public) to take politicians at their word or even imagine in advance what those words might be. Early in his Presidency he decided he wanted to be like everyone else and have a home to go to after the office. But he had no money.

So he called in his commercial bank manager and asked for a loan. It is said, before giving the loan, that the white banker jokingly observed that African Presidents in those days of coup d'etats were not a very good risk. Nyerere later nationalised the bank but kept up his payments. When he retired as Tanzania's first President in 1985, he gave the Msasani house he had built to the state. He waived all the payments he had made leaving the state with the balance. Somewhat to his chagrin, the state paid off the mortgage and gave him the house back; including all the upkeep costs that went with it.

Whenever he could, Nyerere went back to his village. There he had a farm - of sorts.

Olusegun Obasanjo, then a farmer and now Nigeria's President, once observed that although Nyerere had more tractors than he did, the Tanzanian would never be a commercial farmer.

Soon after independence, Nyerere resigned as Tanganyika's Prime Minister to forge unity within his party, offered to delay his country's independence for the sake of unity with Kenya and Uganda, and merged Tanganyika and Zanzibar in the union now known as Tanzania. He was deeply committed to the unity of east Africa and the rest of Africa, a reality which ironically may now come to pass after his death.

For his countrymen and women he was an inspirational leader. He rarely relaxed and when he did it was usually to play *bao* with the elders. He was an avid reader who believed in hard work whether it was behind the portals of State House, building bricks for an *ujamaa* village at Chamwino near Dodoma where he moved the country's political capital, or marching with blistered feet to Mwanza at the head of his people. He evolved a uniquely African electoral system for his people in the days when Tanzania was a one-party state well before pluralism became the buzz word. Two candidates from the ruling party ran against each other.

They had to both speak in Swahili from their shared platform so use of the local language by one did not disadvantage the other, and they could not make promises that they would do such and such if elected. Reference to the other candidate's gender, religion, race or tribe was forbidden, the aspirants had to travel together at all times and even eat from the same plate in case of poisoning. In the country's first post-independence election the electorate voted out two ministers, seven junior ministers and over 60 backbench Members of Parliament.

It was an outcome that would have stunned western political parties and while some aspects of this unique electoral system may have been undesirable, it is a sad reflection on the developed nations that they forced its entire abandonment in 1995 in favour of the "western model of democracy". Nyerere's distinctive grey hair atop a slight but athletic body always stood out from the crowd. When he was in his seventies, young security officers had to run to keep up with him and the sound of his mercurial voice, raised and then whispered, was still resonant and haunting. I arrived in Dar es Salaam in early 1964, just four years after Nyerere's speech to the Legislative Assembly. Nyerere, I had been told in London by my interviewers in that strangely confiding way many whites have when talking to other whites was, "almost one of us". A liberal, a catholic and so on. How right - and how wrong - they were. I was fascinated by the man who was to become my informal professor teaching me the meaning of principles and non-racialism. Nyerere, as his record testifies, recognised the equality of all human beings irrespective of race, ethnicity, gender and religion. He greatly admired the late American President, Jack Kennedy, and was the second visitor to the Oval Office during Kennedy's tenure in the White House.

Kennedy, the subsequent American analysis showed, tried to set his African visitor at ease before realising that Nyerere was more at ease than he was. It was a year after my arrival in Dar es Salaam that I met Nyerere for an interview and when I did so it was strictly on his terms. The West Germans had just given him an ultimatum: if he allowed the East Germans to open a consulate in Dar es Salaam they would withdraw their support for his fledgling air force. His response was immediate.

The West German ambassador was shown the door and the Canadians took over. Now Nyerere wanted the story in the British media. I learned two things about the man from that meeting. The first was that he was a master media manager, a quality some other contemporary leaders could well emulate. He spoke to journalists on his terms when he had something to say. Interminable lectures and harangues were not his style. The second point was that you gave Nyerere ultimatums at your own peril. His logic was disarming; his determination both forceful and occasionally somewhat chilling.

At another meeting I recall commenting on the number of African countries who were not

paying their dues to the Organisation of African Unity Liberation Committee. He looked at me thoughtfully chewing the inner corner of his cheek in the characteristic way he had when concentrating. Having made his decision, he passed across a file swearing me to secrecy as to its details. It contained Tanzania's budget for that year for the liberation movements fighting colonialism and minority rule in Angola, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa and the Comoro islands.

I was astounded by just how much Tanzanians were paying; a sum well beyond the country's publicised contribution. The vast amount that one of the continent's poorest countries materially - and morally - contributed to the liberation of Africa should shame those who are more materialistically inclined. Therein, in the view of many non-Tanzanians, lies Nyerere's greatest contribution. All of the countries of the continent - with the exception of Spanish Sahara - are now fully independent.

When Nyerere had spoken to the Legislative Assembly in 1959 only nine countries were independent; today the number is 54. All of southern Africa's liberation movements at one time had their headquarters in Dar es Salaam. Nyerere, along with Hasting Banda of Malawi and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, were the only three leaders to recognise the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) when it was formed in 1963 and Herbert Chitepo was Tanzania's Director of Public Prosecutions. In the days of the heady 1960s through to the somewhat calmer 1980s, Tanzania was to be the crossroads of Africa.

Almost everyone who was anyone visited Dar es Salaam during those years to meet Nyerere and the leaders of southern Africa's liberation movements. The Chinese Premier, Chou en Lai, spoke of Africa being "ripe for revolution". Others came with their own agendas such as Marshall Tito, Olaf Palme, Robert Kennedy, Henry Kissinger, Che Guevera, Malcolm X and sporting legends such as Arthur Ashe. From Africa there were the leaders such as Gamal Nasser of Egypt, Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia (whose subsequent death Nyerere tried to prevent), William Tubman of Liberia and a host of others. Almost all Tanzanians hold him in special esteem.

They are stunned by his death gathering in silent groups beneath the official photograph which in Swahili proclaims him as Baba wa Taifa meaning Father of the Nation. To Tanzanians he remains, Mwalimu, the

teacher, the title they gave him. Tanzanians, despite the conspicuous pride they retain in their country's role in the liberation of southern Africa, have several very different reasons to remember the man who shaped their lives. One of his most lasting legacies is the union of the sovereign states of Tanganyika and Zanzibar into the single country now called Tanzania. Not everyone, including many mainland Tanzanians, look on the union through the same rose tinted spectacles they once wore for it has been fraught with difficulties. But were it not for that union, and particularly the potential protection the mainland militarily offered, the former Arab rulers - the second largest minority in Africa behind the whites of South Africa - may have tried to re- seize power from the African majority.

Ujamaa, the concept of togetherness often erroneously referred to as African socialism, is another of Nyerere's enduring legacies. There can be no doubt of the logic of bringing scattered communities together into centres where goods and services can reach them. Nyerere had the vision to do this but the implementation of others was found wanting. But domestically Nyerere's most enduring legacy must be Tanzania's unity and stability. From over 120 ethnic groups, Nyerere forged a united nation bonded by a single language, Swahili. The pride of nationhood is palpable: never more so than when Tanzanians drove the dictator Idi Amin out of Uganda. Such unity is unique in eastern and southern Africa. And in a curious sense Tanzania was to be a poor classroom for me as it did not prepare me for the mysteries and miseries of ethnic political strife elsewhere in Africa and Europe. When he told his mother in 1985 that he had decided to retire as President her response, which he gleefully repeated, was "Julius, you are a silly boy."

His decision to step down as President only added to the high regard in which he was held. Nevertheless, from that day until his death, Nyerere remained the first among equals. His endorsement was to be a vital component for any contemporary Tanzanian politician for, in truth, he never ceased to be Tanzania's leader. In the 1995 election he formally endorsed Ben Mkapa, a former newspaper editor and foreign minister, as his choice for Tanzania's third President. One of those he had opposed observed that the "constitution" made it impossible for him to become President. By the "constitution" he said he meant Nyerere and not a written document.

Another reason to remember Nyerere is the way in which he stood up to the international donors and said "No" when he believed that the course they proposed was not in his people's best interests. One wishes that today there were more leaders with his courage and mettle. Nyerere was a charmingly forthright and visionary leader, the most forward looking politician Africa has yet seen. He also had his share of warts. But it is the man's vision and purpose which will live on. Tanzania, which in some ways will be a more difficult place to rule without him, Africa and the world is a very much poorer place today. (SARDC) David Martin is a founder-director of the Southern African Research and Documentation Centre (SARDC) of which Julius Nyerere is patron. Martin lived in Tanzania for 10 years from 1964 and talked frequently with Nyerere during the past 35 years.

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Southern African Research and Documentation Centre (SARDC)-

Address To Members Of Parliament: By Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere

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Original date not given

Cape Town - Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere: Madam Speaker and, I think I may say, Comrade President and Comrade Vice President, ladies and gentlemen. I have told you already how I felt when you asked me to come and talk here. And then I got the message that you were coming. Of course, I am happy you are here, but what do I say in your presence in this House? This is not my first time here.

I have been here before and I have thanked you, but I must thank you again. For me to come here to this Chamber and address you is a dream which you have helped me to make true. How could any one of us have thought that it would be possible for me or people of my type to come to this country and speak from a forum like this? So, Mr. President, and all your colleagues, I say thank you very much for making this possible. Now, as for sharing my thoughts with you: my thoughts, unfortunately, don't change, so a lot of what I am going to say some of you will have heard before, but some of you have not. I am going to say two things about Africa. One, that Africa south of the Sahara is an isolated region of the world. That's the first thing I want to say. The second thing I want to say is that Africa south of the Sahara is not what it is believed to be because Africa is now changing. So let me see if I can share those thoughts with you in a very short period. Africa south of the Sahara is an isolated region of the world. During the last ten years, since my retirement as head of state of my country, I was asked, and I agreed, to establish something called the South Commission. That has meant a lot of travelling. I have been many times to Latin America, many times to Asia, many times to many parts of Africa before coming here, and many times to a large number of countries in Europe. The world is changing. It is not only Africa which is changing. The world is changing. Of the three big power blocs developing in the world since the end of the Cold War, one -- the obvious one - is the United States. It has always been there. The United States is building around it a group of other countries. That is the obvious area of power. It is the one which is very clear. Another is Europe, which is also an obvious power bloc. The third is Japan and the areas of Asia around it. The US has neighbours. One of them is Mexico, from the Third World. A President of Mexico is reported to have said once -- this is a president of the country -- "Poor Mexico! So far from God, and so near to the United States!" When he said that, what Mexicans were reaping were the disadvantages of being close to the United States. They were not getting any advantages at all from being so close to the United States. The US is reach and there is a kind of osmosis- a political osmosis, but I think also an economic osmosis. The economy of the US pulls people from Mexico into the United States. The US has been trying very hard to

stop these poor Mexicans from getting into the US, but without success. They spend a lot of money on the border, and have a lot of police there. I don't know whether they have electric fences and other things to try to prevent Mexicans going to the US, but they can't succeed. They have not succeeded. Mexicans keep pouring into the United States. The United States had decided to change its policy. They have invited Mexico to join NAFTA, and now they are working together to create jobs in Mexico to prevent poor Mexicans from looking for jobs in the United States. I think they will succeed and Mexicans will now want to remain in Mexico. Some will still want to go to the United States, but the flood can be stemmed. There will not be a flood of Mexicans going to the United States. What is happening between Mexico and the US is happening in Europe. Europe is a powerhouse -- not a political powerhouse or even a military power house like the US, but an economic powerhouse, and one of these days, I think, they are actually going to be a bigger powerhouse than USA. They are a power and are attracting people: again there is osmosis there, the economic osmosis. Who are pulled there? East Europeans are pulled towards Europe. But the others who are pulled towards the economic power are from Mediterranean Africa, Africa north of the Sahara. That is why I was talking about Africa south of the Sahara being the isolated region in the world. So Eastern Europe and Mediterranean Africa are to Europe what Mexico is to the US. Geography, the logic of geography, means that if you have problems of unemployment in Eastern Europe, East Europeans will want to move into Western Europe. The Germans know it, and others know it. They will try to keep them out. They will not try to keep them out by building fences or putting up another wall. They will try to help East Europeans to stay at home by creating jobs in Eastern Europe, and they are already doing that. They will do the same with regard to the Africans of North Africa. So Europe has a policy with regard to the countries of North Africa -- not simply an economic policy, but actually a security policy. The French, the Italians, the Portuguese, the Spaniards -- those are the ones in particular who are frightened of a flood of unemployment from North Africa into Europe. And some, of course, are afraid not only of the unemployed. Some think they don't like the export of Islamic fundamentalism into Europe. But I think that's a minor problem. The real

problem is unemployment, people moving into Europe from North Africa. Europe has a plan. They can't just sit there and watch this happening. European countries will have to work together to help the countries of North Africa to create jobs.

The other bloc is Japan. Japan is small, Japan is wealthy, Japan doesn't like other people going to Japan. They don't like that. But they are a big trading nation and they are pouring a lot of money into Asia, and I think they'll do it in China also. I don't think they'll be frightened of China. They'll put money in China.

So there are those three blocs of countries, three power blocs -- power developing in Asia, power developing in North America, power developing in Europe- and those countries which are geographically in the orbit of those areas. These rich areas are being forced to help the countries which are near them.

Africa south of the Sahara is different - completely different. It's not in the orbit of any of those big areas. If you people here are unemployed, very few of you will want to go to the US. The unemployed here will stay here. But so will unemployed in Tanzania. We'll not go to the US. We'll not go Europe. Certainly we'd never dream of going to Japan or anywhere else. A trickle will go out -- the stowaways. But there is no answer to our unemployment in running away from where we are. And if you try it, it won't work.

So the USA is not frightened of unemployment in Africa south of the Sahara. It's your problem. It's not their problem. They will not do here or in Tanzania or in Nigeria, what they are doing about Mexico. No, it's not a problem for them, and it's not a problem for Europe either. Europe has a problem arising from Algeria, yes, or even from Egypt, from that part of the world. But from Africa south of the Sahara? No, they've no fear of a problem there. There is no flood of unemployed moving from this area going to Europe to seek jobs. So what would be the imperative from Europe? What pressure has Europe to deal with you people, unless you create some very attractive means of attracting a few business people?

And in Asia, the Japanese are afraid that if they don't share their wealth with some of the poor, these poor might come to Japan. Those poor are not the African poor from this part of the world. They are from Asia.

So that is the first thing I wanted to say about Africa south of the Sahara. You are isolated from the centres of power. There is no internal urge in the US, in Europe or in Japan to help

Africa. None. And, I think, to some extent the urge of imperialism has gone. So you could easily be forgotten. Africa is of interest when we are killing one another. Then we arouse a lot of interest. The big news now in Europe and North America is not here. It's in Congo Brazzaville; Congo Brazzaville is now big news. The television screens are full of what is happening in Congo Brazzaville. That's news. And won't last for long. It might last until the end of this week, then it's out. And then, if Africa wants to appear on European television, we can cause more trouble somewhere, I think I've made that point.

Africa south of the Sahara is isolated. Africa south of the Sahara, in the world today, is on its own -- totally on its own. That's the first thing I wanted to say. The second thing I wanted to say is that Africa is changing. I've been to Europe, Asia, North America and Latin America, and Africa is a stereotype. The Africa which now arouses some interest is the Brazzaville Africa, that Rwanda Africa, that Somalia Africa, that Liberia Africa. That is the Africa which arouses interest, and I don't blame these people. That's the Africa that they know.

And so I go out. I come from Tanzania, and we don't have these blessed troubles that they have in other places, but I go out. Sometimes I get annoyed, but sometimes I don't get annoyed. Here I am a former president of my country. There are no problems in Tanzania -- we have never had these problems that they have -- but I'm an African. So when they see me they ask about the problems of Rwanda. I say, "I don't come from Rwanda." And they answer, "But you come from Africa" But if Blair were to come to Dar es Salaam, I wouldn't ask him what is happening in Bosnia. If I meet President Kofi somewhere. I don't ask him, "what is happening in Chechnya? Kofi could say, "Why are you asking about Chechnya? I don't know what is happening in Chechnya." But this is not true about Africa. Mr. President, here you are trying to build something which is a tremendous experience, but perhaps you are different. Sometimes they think South Africa is different, so perhaps they would say, "This is President Mandela, this is different." But for the likes of me, no, I am an African. And sometimes I get irritated, but then I say, "Why? Why do I get irritated?" Because, of course, I am a Tanzanian.

But what is this Tanzania? Why should these Europeans see me as a Tanzanian? What is this Tanzania? This is something we tried to create in my lifetime. I built Tanzania. So what

is this Tanzania? The Europeans are right. The North Americans are right to look at me as an African, not as a Tanzanian, because Tanzania is a creation of colonialism, which is causing us a lot of trouble on the continent. So, to some extent, Europeans are right when they choose to see us in this differentiated manner. The Tanzania here is a president of Tanzania. He struggled there for 23 years before he stepped down to try and turn those 125 tribes into some kind of nation, and he has succeeded to some extent. This is what I want them to think of. Why? They see me correctly as an African. So that is where I want to end. This is the other thing I really wanted to say.

Africa South of the Sahara is isolated, Africa south of the Sahara is changing. That stereotype of "There is trouble in Africa all the time" is nonsensical. There is trouble in Africa, there is trouble in Asia, there is trouble in Europe, there is trouble everywhere, and it would be amazing if after the suffering of the blessed continent for the last 100 years, we didn't have what we are having. Some of these nations we have are not nations at all. They make no sense at all, any geographical sense or ethnic sense or economic sense. They don't. The Europeans set somewhere and said, "you take that part, you take that part." They drew these lines on a map and here we are, trying to create nations which are almost impossible to create. But we are changing. The continent is changing.

My friend who was introducing me mentioned neocolonialism. I'm glad you still use the word "neocolonialism", because, you know. We went through a period when some of our people thought we were so advanced now to talk about neocolonialism. Uh-uh, no, no. It is almost communist to talk about neocolonialism. He is a communist? Well, I am not a communist, but I agree with you! We went through a neocolonial period in Africa. It nearly destroyed all the hopes of the struggle for the liberation of the continent, with a bunch of soldiers taking over power all over the continent, pushed, instigated and assisted by the people who talk about this stereotype of Africa.

We have just got rid of Mobutu, who put him there? I don't know what Lumumba would have been if he had been allowed to live. I don't know. He was an elected leader, but angered the powerful and they removed him within weeks. Then Mobutu came on the scene within weeks and he's been there since. He was the worst of the lot. He loots

the country, he goes out, and he leaves that country with a debt of US\$14 billion.

That money has done nothing for the people of Congo. So I sit down with friends of the World Bank and IMF. I say, "You know where that money is. Are you going to ask Kabila to tax the poor Congolese to pay that money? That would be a crime. It's criminal." And that was the type of leadership we had over a large part of Africa. They were leaders put there either by the French or by the Americans. When we had the Cold War, boy, I tell you, we couldn't breathe.

But Africa is changing. You can make a map of Africa and just look at the countries stretching from Eritrea to here. Just draw a line and see all those countries. You still have a Somalia and a Burundi there, but it's a very different kind of Africa now, it has elected governments, it has confident governments. Actually, most of those countries with the exception of Uganda, have never been under military rule. Never! And since your coming onto the scene, this is completely different kind of Africa.

When we were struggling here, South Africa still under apartheid, and you being a destabiliser of your neighbours instead of working together with them to develop our continent, of course that was a different thing. It was a terrible thing. Here was a powerful South Africa, and this power was a curse to us. It was not a blessing for us. We wished it away, because it was not a blessing at all. It destroyed Angola with a combination of apartheid; it was a menace to Mozambique and a menace to its neighbours, but that has changed. South Africa is democratic. South Africa is no longer trying to destroy the others. South Africa is now working with the others. And, boy please work with the others! And don't accept this nonsense that South Africa is big brother. My brother, you can't be big brother. What is your per capita income? Your per capita income is about US\$3,000 a year. Of course compared with Tanzania you are a giant. But you are poor. When you begin to use that money this is arithmetic, simple arithmetic and if you divide the wealth of this country for the population, of course everybody gets US\$3,000, but not everybody in this country is getting US\$ 3,000. That would be a miracle. That is simply arithmetic. So when you begin to use that wealth, Mr. President and I know you are trying to address the legacy of apartheid -- you have no money. You are still different from Tanzania, but you have no money. You are still more powerful. So Tanzania and the

others to say that South Africa is big brother, and they must not throw their weight around, what kind of weight is that? And, in any case, this would be positive weight, not the negative weight of apartheid.

So this is a different Africa. I am saying that this Africa now is changing. Neocolonialism is being fought more effectively, I think, with a new leadership in Africa. And I believe the one region which can lead this fight is our region. With the end of apartheid and South Africa having joined SADC, this area of Africa is a very solid area. It is an extremely solid area. It is strong, it has serious leaders and these leaders know one another. I know that because where some of them have come from, They have a habit of working together, Mr. President, so let them work together. Deliberately. It should be a serious decision to work together. Why? You have no other choice. You have absolutely no other choice. South Africa, because of its infrastructure, can attract more investment from Europe, from North America, than Tanzania can. Fine, go ahead. Do it, use your capacity to get as much investment as you can. That's good. But then don't be isolated from the rest of Africa. What you build here because of your infrastructure and the relative strength of your economy, you are building for all of us here. The power that Germany has is European power, and the Europeans are moving together. The small and the big are working together. It is absurd for Africa to think that we, these little countries of Africa, can do it alone. Belgium has 10 million people. Africa south of the Sahara if you exclude South Africa has 470 million Africans, I sit down with the Prime Minister of Belgium, and he talks to me about European unity. I say, "You are small, your country is very small, so how can you talk of European unity with giants like Germany and the others? He says, "This question of the protection of our sovereignty we leave to the big powers. We lost our sovereignty ages ago."

These countries are old, their sovereignty is old. These Europeans fought wars. When we were studying history, it was the history of the wars of Europe. They fought and fought, and they called their wars World Wars. But now I can't imagine Europeans fighting. No, war in Europe is an endangered species. I think it's gone, certainly war between one country and another. The internal problems you will still have, the problem of the Balkans, but that is a reflection of something that is like Africa. So I'm saying that Africa is changing because the leadership in Africa is changing. Africa is

beginning to realise and we should all encourage Africa to get that realisation more and more that we have to depend upon our selves, both at national level and at the collective level. Each of our countries will have to rely upon its own human resources and natural material resources for its development. But that is not enough. The next area to look at is our collectivity, our working together. We all enhance our capacity to develop if we work together.

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UN Integrated Regional Information Network

IRIN Focus on the union

October 28, 1999

Nairobi - As mourning continues in Tanzania over the death of former Tanzanian president and "father of the nation" Julius Nyerere, many are questioning the future of the union between the mainland and the islands of Pemba and Zanzibar.

Speaking at Nyerere's funeral on Saturday, President Benjamin Mkapa warned that anyone "dreaming about breaking the unity of Tanzania, generating insecurity or stirring up tensions will be dealt with ruthlessly and their activities curtailed". He added that the government would do "all in its power to protect Nyerere's legacy of love, unity and harmony" but would not tolerate anyone causing insecurity on the basis of tribe or religion.

Nyerere, who led the country to independence from Britain in 1961 and achieved the union of mainland Tanganyika with Pemba and Unguja [Zanzibar] in 1964, died in London from leukaemia on 14 October.

Many analysts contacted by IRIN believe Mkapa's fears could well be his own and not a reflection of the current reality on the ground. They believe there are no threats "yet" to the union.

"There is no danger at the moment that the union could disintegrate," Dr Sengondo Mvungi, a lecturer at Dar es Salaam

University and legal adviser to the opposition National Convention for Construction and Reform party said. "The truth is that it [the union] could be more consolidated than ever. The majority of people, between 85-90 percent, endorse the union both on the mainland and the islands," he told IRIN. He added that political squabbles on the mainland and in Zanzibar "are often the voices of the elite".

However, he cautioned that the present structure of the union may be "ill-suited" to make it "flourish" in the future. "The Kisanga commission [set up by the government to gather views on possible amendments to the constitution and the union] will give an insight as to how the people want the union and the constitution to be," he said. But for the time being, there was no party with the strength to dislodge the ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), he stressed.

Norway's Ambassador to Tanzania Nils-Johan Jorgensen observed that Tanzanians are "very proud of the unity, sense of stability and peace, and it would not be politically easy to change this dramatically". "I haven't seen anything that would disturb that stability and the continuity of the Nyerere legacy," he told IRIN.

"Anyone trying to break this would be terribly unpopular," he added. "There is something very strong which is the sense of peace and unity." But he noted that although the CCM was powerful in both the mainland and Zanzibar, it was "not very clear" what would happen in the latter which would "have to solve its internal political dilemma".

Zanzibar has a strong opposition party, the Civic United Front (CUF), which is campaigning to prevent the island's President Salim Amour of the CCM from running for a third term. Eighteen CUF supporters are currently imprisoned, and Commonwealth Secretary-General Chief Emeka Anyaoku has launched an initiative to mediate between the two parties.

Jorgensen pointed out that Tanzania's democracy is young. "The fact that only one party has been in power for a long time, does not mean it is undemocratic, although the presence of an opposition to check on the government's performance is equally desirable," he said.

A regional analyst and lecturer at the University of Nairobi's Institute of Diplomacy, Professor Moustafa Hassuni, said Mkapa was afraid "the ghosts of unity may resurface".

"The rifts and divisions which may have existed in CCM or in the union were somehow

smoothed and the risk of them erupting during Nyerere's time was minimal," he told IRIN.

"Now, the situation could be unclear without the unifying factor or an agent of the calibre of Nyerere."

Another regional analyst added there was possibility of Tanzanians "rediscovering their own identity" and "maybe favouring a breakaway". "It is too early to know but there may be a problem in the future," the analyst said. Some observers have suggested that Islamic fundamentalism may surface in the islands of Pemba and Zanzibar, posing a potentially serious threat to the union.

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29 October 1999

All Africa News Agency

Julius Nyerere: A Concrete Example Of Commitment

October 29, 1999

by Special Correspondent

Geneva - The following tribute to the renowned African elder statesman and former president of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere, who died on October 14, has been paid by the Rev Dr Konrad Raiser, general secretary of the World Council of Churches WCC:

"Throughout Africa's struggle for liberation from colonisation and against apartheid the World Council of Churches, in its efforts to support that cause, sought the guidance and insights of the man who, as chairman of the 'frontline states', inspired and exemplified the struggle.

"As we share in the grief over the loss of our friend and mentor Julius Nyerere and express our sincere condolences to his family and friends, we give thanks to God for his life and pray that his soul may rest in eternal peace.

"Julius Nyerere lived a simple life in harmony with his message and the values of truth and justice to which he referred. Incorruptible and fully accountable, his life and work set an example of integrity that challenged his country and people, the rest of Africa and the world.

"In many ways, Nyerere was the conscience of Africa. His voluntary relinquishment of the presidency is evidence of that, but other examples of his integrity abound.

"Nyerere was a man of tremendous intellectual and moral resources. During the long struggle for decolonisation of the Portuguese colonies and of Southern Rhodesia, as well as in the battle against apartheid in Namibia and South Africa, he put his capacities to work in the service of resistance and the liberation struggle.

"A concrete example of his commitment was the welcome given by Tanzania to refugees from the Portuguese colonies and South Africa, land and resources for development and education being specially set aside for their needs.

"During these years, the WCC through its Programme to Combat Racism PCR not only offered financial support to such refugee settlements, but frequently consulted Nyerere, drawing on his wisdom and experience.

"In its work as a whole in support of justice, peace, development, human rights and freedom, the WCC was also guided by his words that 'If the church is not part of our poverty, and part of our struggle against poverty and injustice, then it is not part of us'."

For the Rev Sam Kobia from Kenya, director for Issues and Themes, while the world would do well to emulate his unostentatious lifestyle, Africa might pay a fitting tribute to Nyerere by continuing to work for unity and peace.

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Who Else Would Get The Credit For Peace And Unity?

October 29, 1999

Nairobi - The late former Tanzanian President, Julius Kabarage Nyerere, was the peaceful son of a continent associated with wars, ethnic divisions, dictatorships and famine among other evils. (also see Features section)

Nyerere's native country, Tanzania, is the only nation in Africa that has known peace, freedom, religion and ethnic harmony for nearly four decades. He was fondly known as Mwalimu, the teacher - a tribute to his initial profession and astute leadership.

Credit for unity and peace goes to Nyerere, the son of former colonial chief, who was brought up as a Christian but wore Muslim cap during his days as president of Tanzania. Nyerere is the only African leader to remember that the continent's pre-independence and post-independence problems are land related and promise to be so as long as the statutes remain colonial or colonial laced.

"Africans waged wars against the Berlin partitioners of Africa to regain land, a lost birthright. Community conflicts are land based," Nyerere once said.

Nyerere parted ways with counterparts and proclaimed Tanzania a socialist state. With the package came the controversial nationalisation of the land which eliminated speculators.

Of all Nyerere's pronouncements, the Arusha declaration that gave birth to Ujamaa or familyhood remains the secret of unity and

peace envied and admired by many who wonder how 120 tribes could be so harmonious.

After the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union, the donor community abandoned their creation, African despots. They introduced multi-partism and coined phrases that were as old as Nyerere's vocabulary.

Accountability and transparency, welfare system and empowerment of the rural folk - all these attributes that the donor communities advocate today were part of Nyerere's socialism package in Ujamaa.

Education, social services and shelter were free in Nyerere's socialist Tanzania. Last but not least, Nyerere created Ombudsman to check on abuses and corruption.

Seven, a divine and sacred figure in some African communities dominated the life and times of a man who died at age 77 fighting for rights and total liberation of the continent.

Nyerere was born 37 years after the partitioning of Africa in Berlin. On July 7, 1954, he founded a liberation movement, Tanganyika Africa National Union TANU to fight against the partitioners of the continent. Seven years later, Tanganyika became independent and TANU, under Nyerere, assumed the leadership of the East African nation.

In 1967 Nyerere proclaimed Tanzania a socialist state and presided over the formation of the three-nation East African Community which collapsed 10 years later because of ideological differences between Tanzania and a partner, Kenya.

In 1977, Nyerere merged TANU and Afro-Shirazi political parties to form Chama Cha Mapinduzi (Revolution Party). The next year, he waged a seven-month successful conventional war against dictator Idi Amin of Uganda. Nyerere was among the founders of the Group of 77 developing countries.

He celebrated 100 years of the scramble for Africa by retiring from presidency of a poor and proud nation but swore to continue the struggle against apartheid and vestiges of colonialism.

Fourteen years after retirement, last October 14, at 77, Mwalimu Nyerere died in London following hospitalisation there making figure "seven" significant in the Tanzania political calendar.

Nyerere lived an uncompromising life. He was non-aligned in the true sense of the word. He was friendly to China and Cuba because these countries provided military support to liberation movements he provided with training bases.

The former president hosted the OAU Liberation Committee headquarters to provide logistic and military assistance to liberators.

Tanzania, in Nyerere's days and now, is home to thousands of African refugees fleeing genocide in their countries.

Liberators and refugees alike are fighting to regain birthright, land. Nyerere found a solution to Africa's problems before powerful Western nations returned to do so.

Nyerere is dead. The legacy remains. Why can't African countries emulate the statesman of the century to forestall disasters?

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The Day The Villagers Lost Their Favourite Son

October 29, 1999

by Stephen Mbogo

Nairobi - As Tanzanians buried the country's founding father and senior statesman, Dr Julius Kambarage Nyerere on October 23 in the humble setting of his birthplace, Butiama, villagers in this northern region expressed their heart-felt impressions on the departed leader who Tanzanians fondly referred to as Mwalimu, Kiswahili word for teacher.

Fr Rev Tomas Marando, who has pastored the late Mwalimu for the last two years at Our Lady of Precious Blood of Jesus, about 400 metres from Nyerere's home said: "I have witnessed the old man constantly perfecting his spiritual life, through attending the Mass without fail on Sundays, mid-week and evenings, whenever he was within the area". The local parish priest added that the church was built by the Catholic bishops as a way of taking the pastoral service closer to Mwalimu after he retired as head of state in 1985.

Before this, Mwalimu used to attend his mass at Zanaki (Magorombe) Catholic Church, about 13 kilometres from his home at Butiama village, according to Fr., Marando.

"Sometimes Mwalimu would go without full breakfast, having shared it with the children, who used to time him at breakfast time".

74-year old Mama Dorothy Msoga, who has served Nyerere's household as a housekeeper in the past says: "Sometimes Mwalimu would go without full breakfast,

having shared it with the children, who used to time him at breakfast time".

"I would sometimes hear Mwalimu from the kitchen beckoning them(children)... Njoooni!, njoooni!, nyinyi ni watoto wangu (Come! Come right in my children!) and they would rush in haphazardly and Mwalimu would request me to bring more food. This did happen many a time, she recalled.

71-year-old Teresia Nyakigi, sister to the late Nyerere says: " He was everything to us . He cared for us, from advice to financial needs. We hope the trend will continue especially on financial line. The Government has already promised, but we wait to see it happening". The old woman, was referring to an earlier announcement by Tanzanian leader, President Benjamin Mkapa that the Government would do everything possible to "assist" Mwalimu's family. Mkapa spoke at the graveside .

Mama Nyakigi and his brother Josephat Kiboko, 67, are the only remaining members in the family of Nyerere, whose father, the late Mzee Burito Wanzagi, was a traditional chief for the Wazanaki tribal community.

32-year-old Muslim woman, Adijah Mgendi recalls vividly how in 1978, she approached Mwalimu for some help. She was in dire need for a set of uniform, shoes and socks. This was the day Mwalimu visited her school, Butiama Primary School.

She says: " I knelt in front of him as a sign of respect and presented my case. I was about 10 by then. He held me by his hand. Took me to a nearby tailor and asked him to make a uniform for me. He paid him and told him to have it ready by the end of the day.

"He then took me to a nearby shoe shop. Bought me a pair of shoes (tennis) and a pair of socks. I thanked him and then run back to school". She is now married and runs a small restaurant at Centre, about 300 metres, from Mwalimu's house . "I was very proud to have been very close to Mwalimu. I cared for his flock, about 20 cows, African breed, ten of which was a gift from Uganda's President Yoweri Museveni to Mwalimu".

Ambasi Msengu, who described himself as Dakitari wa mifugo wa Mwalimu (extension officer for veterinary services for Mwalimu's farms) has worked for Mwalimu for the last two years.

He says: "I was very proud to have been very close to Mwalimu. I cared for his flock, about 20 cows, African breed, ten of which was a gift from Uganda's President Yoweri Museveni to Mwalimu".

There were times he would work in the shamba (farm) from morning to evening, without a break. He grew maize, cassava, among other farm products, and he also kept cows and goats, he says.

"By the time of his death, he planned to introduce modern dairy cows, a project, he once confided to me, would act as a demonstrating arena for the villagers that this would be practically possible," Msengu added. Muslim Juma Hamisi Kakwaya Nyamberere, a Koran teacher in Butiama village says: " Mwalimu was very accommodating when it came to religious faith of the people".

He cites a case where Nyerere planned to assist Muslim villagers in the construction of a mosque for them, about 200 metres from his house.

The project reached the foundation level by the time Nyerere passed away on October 14. he former leader had already made his personal donation equivalent to half the cost of the project. I hope the good gesture of Mwalimu will find its way to realisation, says Juma Hamisi.

The Chief of Zanaki area, 42-year-old Josephat Wanzagi, whose father Edward Wanzagi Nyerere was brother to the former president's father, Burito Nyerere, recalls vividly how Mwalimu presented to him 12 Bibles during his installation ceremony as chief in 1997.

"He told me to distribute them among my people while he gave me an extra one, stressing 'You need one for yourself '. As a leader he advised me to be always be close to God's word," recalls the chief.

Robert Madebe, 36, says Nyerere taught him how to play Bao, the African equivalent of chess." We later played together during 1996, 1997 and 1998. And for all that time until later part of his life, I only managed to win twice. He was too smart for me," recalls Madebe from Bisarye village within Butiama area. "He welcomed everybody. This is how people, especially those who happen to be too close to him, will always remember him".

Daniel Nyerere, a cousin to the former leader says: " Mwalimu had too much of humanity, humility to accommodate everybody who came across him, be it a child, old, baled, disabled, educated or less educated. This is how Mwalimu lived. This is how people, especially those who happen to be too close to him, will always remember him".

While presiding over the requiem Mass for Nyerere at the very church which he attended his Mass, the Our Lady of Precious Blood of Jesus, about 400 metres from his house,

Archbishop Anthony Mayala of Mwanza said: "Mwalimu had set a good example of moral uprightness, integrity and submission to prayer".

He added that these were the secrets behind Nyerere's successful leadership. The founding father of Tanzania was a devout Catholic and a man of wisdom. He was a moral leader, worth emulating, noted the Catholic clergyman.

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Panafrican News Agency

Tanzanian Authorities Crackdown On Poachers

October 29, 1999

by Nicodemus Odhiambo

Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania (PANA) - Wildlife authorities have launched a massive crackdown on poachers in Tanzania's national parks, amid reports that the country had lost 35 percent of its wildlife population in the past five years.

A total of 4,333 arrests have been made in the sprawling Serengeti National Park, in Mara region, northern Tanzania, in the last four years alone.

Authorities also recovered a total of 24 guns, 100 hunting dogs, 32 axes and 673 machetes during the same period in the world-famous Serengeti.

The crackdown comes at a time when speculators say that the country's wildlife had plummeted tremendously.

A recent report in the British newspaper, The Guardian, said that animal population in Tanzania had dropped to an "unsustainable" point.

Independent sources say that the population of rhinos in the south-eastern Selous Game park alone had declined from 2,000 in 1970 to less than 150 three years ago.

Government officials, however, say that the number of elephants there had risen from 30,000 to 57,000 within 10 years. As a measure to curb the poaching menace, park wardens are currently being retrained in skills that would help them fight off sophisticated poacher weaponry, the Tanzania National Parks Authority, said.

The authority's director-general, Gerald Bigurube, said that the body was also enlisting the support of villagers to betray the poachers before they struck. In the Selous Game Reserve, 45 villages are now engaged in the protection of the wild animals on their land.

Village scouts are assisting the Selous game authorities to combat poaching in return for an income which the villages deploy in development projects.

Similar efforts are being employed by the Kilimanjaro National Park Authority where poaching, especially of bushbuck and buffalo, is very rampant.

Confirming that poaching is rampant in the region, the authority's chief park warden, L. ole Moirana, said game trophies found their way to markets abroad while game meat was often supplied to local butchers.

Unconfirmed reports suggest that game wardens often work in difficult and at times dangerous situations without necessary logistics like weapons and radio equipment. Compared to the 1980s, authorities are, however, elated that elephant poaching has at least been brought to a bare minimum.

The incidents had been so rampant in the Selous that a special campaign code-named "Operation Uhai" (operation life) was launched to avert the slaughter of further beasts.

As the largest protected area in the world and home to over half of Tanzania's elephants, the Selous is a big attraction to tourists.

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The East African

He Did Not Think His Life Was in Danger

October 29, 1999

By Premy Kibanga

Dar-es-Salaam - The late father of the nation Kambarage Nyerere thought he was going for a normal medical check-up when he went to London. He did not talk of death. He did not leave any last words.

"He did not expect to die when they took him to the hospital. He thought his was a normal check-up. But when he was given the sedatives, he did not wake up," said

Madaraka, one of his sons, in an exclusive interview with *The EastAfrican*.

It is therefore believed that Nyerere did not leave any special instructions about his death or choice of his burial site because he did not think his life was threatened.

He is said to have even asked to be taken back home to continue with his Burundi negotiations in Arusha.

"I talked to him a few days before he was admitted to the hospital. He was impatient to return to Tanzania to carry on with his facilitation of the Burundi peace process. I pleaded with him to desist from taking such a step," said President Mkapa in his eulogy at the National Stadium during the state funeral on Thursday.

Although a member of Nyerere's family, Mr. Joseph Butiku, had said that Mwalimu had chosen his burial place, a dispute arose at his home village between community elders and one of Nyerere's sons in Butiama.

Sources said the government was disappointed that it could not bury Mwalimu Nyerere at the Karimjee Hall in Dar-es-Salaam. The building is located next to the national museum. It was used for parliamentary sessions before the government decided to transfer Parliament to Dodoma.

"We wanted to have Mwalimu as the first leader to be laid to rest there so that we could turn it into a heroes' burial ground," said a source, adding that the government was considering making the Karimjee grounds the final resting place for state leaders.

Many Tanzanians did not expect Nyerere to die. Although the president's office gave regular bulletins on his health condition, his death still came as a shock to many.

Thus when his body arrived in Dar-es-Salaam on Monday, October 18th, the whole city came to a standstill. Deep mourning cloaked the days his body lay in state in Dar. People of all age groups, colours and faith lined the road and streets from Dar es Salaam airport to Mwalimu's residence in Msasani, some 20-km long route.

Nyerere was admitted to St Thomas's Hospital in London on September 24.

He was given sedatives to help put him to total rest while doctors treated other complications related to his sicknesses. He took long to wake up and the doctors later said he had slipped into a coma and a brain scan revealed that he had suffered a massive stroke from which he could not recover. He was pronounced dead on October 14.

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South Africa Remembers Nyerere as One of Its Own

October 29, 1999

By Chris Erasmus Special Correspondent Nairobi - If Mwalimu Julius Nyerere had been the founding father of South Africa and not Tanzania, he would hardly have received a more dignified farewell here than he has done.

South Africans from across the political spectrum, including many who once denounced him as puppet of the evil communist masterminds in Beijing and Moscow, if not as a demon himself, praised the former Tanzania head of state as a great African and a fine human being.

South African President Thabo Mbeki ordered that the country's flags be flown at half-mast for five days of mourning in recognition of Nyerere's role in South Africa's move from apartheid and the achievement of a multi-party democracy.

Mr. Mbeki, who was one of several heads of state to attend Mwalimu Nyerere's funeral, shared the sentiments of the many posters bearing the wording: Farewell Father of the Nation.

Mr. Mbeki was heading a high-powered South African delegation that included Inkatha Freedom Party President and Home Affairs Minister Mongosuthu Buthelizi, Foreign Affairs Minister Nkosazana Zuma, and Speaker in Parliament Frene Ginwala.

Although Mwalimu Nyerere's passing, aged 77, from leukaemia in a London hospital came as no great surprise, his death has hit hard many South Africans, especially those who were involved in the liberation struggle against apartheid and racism in this country and region.

Like so many African leaders who praised Mwalimu Nyerere, most South Africans feel they have lost a beloved godfather to their young nation.

In the media and on the streets, Mwalimu has been praised for his selfless contributions to the cause of African liberation.

He has been described as a tireless defender of just causes and a worthy architect of the African people's victory in gaining their rightful place among the nations of the world.

Just as Nelson Mandela is widely known by his nickname of Madiba, many South Africans fondly refer to Nyerere as Mwalimu.

From streetsweepers to parliamentarians, there was a general sense last week that Africa had lost a great man and that South Africans of all races and creeds owed him a huge debt.

Such is the feeling towards Mwalimu that not one but two formal memorial services were held for him last week.

Deputy President Jacob Zuma and representatives of all parties in the National Assembly also paid tribute to Mwalimu. They unanimously adopted a motion expressing National Assembly's condolences and support to his family and the people of Tanzania.

Mr. Zuma said Mwalimu had been "one of the giants" of the African continent.

His name permeated all the significant moments of the continent's development from its colonial past, and he had played a key supportive role in South Africa's path to freedom.

"The best way to remember Mwalimu is to continue the struggle to free all Africans from hunger and starvation; from homelessness; from diseases that are killing millions of our people; from joblessness; illiteracy, conflict and war; from tyranny and from oppression," Mr. Zuma said.

Dr Ginwala said prior to her departure for Mwalimu's funeral that under Dr Nyerere, she had hosted thousands of exiles from Southern Africa.

Africa would be the poorer from his death. Democratic Party foreign affairs spokesman Colin Eglin said Mwalimu had been deeply committed to the development of Tanzanians and to the liberation of Southern Africa's people from colonialism and racism.

He had realised in the course of time that his policies of resettling millions of peasant farmers and of a one-party state had not worked as well as he had hoped, and had become more pragmatic.

Today Tanzania is a healthy multi-party democracy, Mr. Eglin said.

The Inkatha Freedom Party's Joe Matthews, deputy minister of safety and security, said Mwalimu had been a "very bold and imaginative" leader.

Even one of Mwalimu's harshest critics in the past, the New National Party, found praise for Nyerere. Dr Boy Geldenhuys, the NNP's foreign affairs spokesman, said that apart from his opposition to apartheid, Nyerere had also "taken up the battle axe" against human

rights abuses in other parts of Africa, such as by Idi Amin in Uganda.

He had possessed the rare quality of being an honest politician. But his removal of 14 million peasants to communal villages had all but destroyed Tanzania's economy, added Dr Geldenhuys.

The South African media reflected much the same spectrum of opinion, with the Afrikaans press highlighting the forced resettlement of peasants under Nyerere's Ujamaa policy, saying it was "one of Africa's most disastrous experiments in social engineering, enforced by an autocratic, one-party government."

But even Business Day had to concede that Mwalimu had been remarkably honest as an individual, had not enriched himself through his office, as have so many other African leaders, and in the end had voluntarily stood down from office, thereby saving his nation much grief and pain.

Papers with a predominantly black readership heaped praise on Mwalimu and largely glossed over the mistakes of his leadership, saying that at the least his intentions were pure, even if Ujamaa had failed in its application.

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Balancing Relative Values at the Funeral (Opinion)

October 29, 1999

By Mike Okema

Dar-es-Salaam - It had all along been taken for granted that Mwalimu had no private life. This line of thought was encouraged by the fact that he never accumulated any wealth. Of the four houses he possessed - one in Msasani, Dar-es-Salaam and three in Butiama, his native village - two were gifts. He built the first house before joining politics. In 1974, the party decided the house was no longer worthy of his status and built him another one.

On April 13, 1999, which was taken to be Mwalimu's 77th birthday, the army gave him another house in Butiama as a birthday present, mainly because his library was getting larger by the day and there was no longer enough space in his Butiama village houses for his books. This is not much in the

way of possessions for a man who was president for 23 years.

Even so, there is more to private life than worldly possessions.

On the one hand, Mwalimu never gave his offspring special treatment just because they were the children of the president. On the other hand, it was a close-knit family where even some grown-up children continued to live in close vicinity to their parents until Mwalimu retired from the presidency and returned to the village.

Treating his children like any other citizens meant none was being prepared to take on the old man's mantle. This has resulted in a certain leadership vacuum within the family. Of all the children, Makongoro alone turned to politics, becoming an MP for Arusha town on the opposition NCCR ticket. But his stint on the political stage has been brief and he has let it be known he does not plan a comeback in the near future.

Makongoro has acted as the family spokesman ever since his father was taken ill. He has, however, made it clear to the press that he is not the new chief of the clan, pointing out that he is only the fifth child. This lack of leadership has affected the whole funeral procedure. Tanzanians had taken it for granted that Mwalimu's funeral and burial would be public, not private, and it was generally assumed he would be buried somewhere in Dar-es-Salaam or Dodoma, the new capital. Mwalimu had not indicated where he wanted his final resting place to be. So his relatives argued that since, upon retirement, Mwalimu had returned to his native village, he would have preferred a private burial in Butiama.

Within the clan, there was another wrangle going on as to the exact spot where Mwalimu would be buried. Elders, led by Chief Wanzagi, wanted Nyerere to be laid to rest next to his parents. Emil Magige, Nyerere's son, on the other hand wanted his father to have the back of the new house for a resting place. Digging the grave was thus delayed for a few days.

It took the intervention of the Minister for Labour and Youth Development, Paul Kimiti, in his capacity as a member of the official burial committee, to strike a compromise: Nyerere was to be buried in front of the new house where his statue stands.

It would be idle to ponder what Nyerere himself would have preferred. Public expectations were based on what he was perceived to be. Family expectations on the other hand have reflected his private

relationships. It was a delicate balance between public and private life that lasted only as long as he lived. His death marked the end of that balance.

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A Legacy of Unity, But Not of Democracy (Opinion)

October 29, 1999

By Charles Onyango-Obbo

Dar-es-Salaam - The numbers tell the story. The funeral last week of former Tanzanian leader "Mwalimu" Julius Nyerere was possibly the third biggest in Africa. The biggest ever remains that of former Egyptian leader Gamal Abdel Nasser in 1970.

The second was, possibly, again an Egyptian's, that of singer Umm Kulthoum, the diva of Arab song, in February 1975. Her funeral procession was nearly two kilometres long, and over two million people turned up. And then there was Nyerere's.

Nyerere, interestingly, was like both. He was a visionary, an African Big Man (with a small stick), an intellectual with a sense of humour who contributed something lasting to political thought and practice; as Nasser fashioned Pan-Arabism and was a Pan-Africanist too, Nyerere gave us Ujaama and was a great Pan-Africanist too.

Like Umm Kulthoum, on the other hand, Nyerere had a remarkable ability to remain connected to the masses and to evoke their love, while captivating the high and mighty at the same time.

He even managed to evoke the admiration of sworn enemies like Idi Amin. First Amin proposed that his regime's differences with Tanzania be sorted out in a simple and manly fashion - he invited the slightly built Nyerere to step into a ring with him and box it out.

When Nyerere didn't take him up on this offer, Amin resignedly said he would have married Mwalimu had the Tanzanian leader been a woman. Presumably, he would have appeased Tanzanian pride with a hefty bride price.

Nyerere remained unimpressed. In a last act of madness, Amin's troops invaded Tanzania in 1978; Nyerere hit back and ended his tyranny in 1979. For that, Nyerere earned

himself a very special place in the hearts of many Ugandans.

At the end of the day though, the Nyerere mystique tells us less about the man, than it does about Africa.

Nyerere, to put it bluntly, was a one-party dictator. David Lamb, in his caustic book, *The Africans*, notes that Nyerere brooked no dissent, and until 1979 held more political prisoners than apartheid South Africa - which he worked so tirelessly to liberate.

His experiment with Ujamaa was a resounding flop, and he left the Tanzanian economy a shambles.

Nyerere nevertheless stood several heads taller than the crowd, if only because very many of the other African leaders were illiterate, maniacally brutal, and downright stupid. That was the time when people like Haile Mengistu in Ethiopia threw their opponents to the lions and crocodiles, and "Emperor" Jean-Bedel Bokassa in Central Africa clubbed schoolchildren to death and allegedly ate the livers of his opponents. And lest we forget, Jerry Rawlings of Ghana, who today is often lumped together with the "new breed" of African leaders, rounded up all previous rulers in that country, had them tied to poles in a field and executed them by firing squad.

It was the age of old-fashioned wanton thieving and excess. It is embarrassing to recall, but wasn't a briefcaseful of dollars the only thing dictator Macias Nguema of Equatorial Guinea remembered to flee with into the sugar plantations when he was deposed in 1979? Amid this looting frenzy (which continues in more subtle forms in the country Nyerere shaped), Mwalimu remained a simple and honest man.

Soon, we shall have to ask some hard questions. Was Nyerere's image a product of true greatness, or a result of the inferior calibre of the peers with whom he was compared in most of the Third World? His legacy will soon be tested. While Nyerere kept Tanzania a united country, he didn't leave it with the other thing it needed more than unity - a democratic culture. He governed under a one-party regime, and the party he bequeathed, Chama Cha Mapinduzi, is a vote-cheating monolith. Its government jails journalists and bans newspapers.

While he lived, Nyerere's charisma and moral authority kept Tanzania together. Now that he is gone, there are observers who fear the country will unravel. We can only hope that they are wrong.

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Why Mwalimu Never Went Out of Fashion (Opinion)

October 29, 1999

By John Githongo

Dar-es-Salaam - A deep cynicism infects Africans' perceptions of their leadership. We are saddled with political elites of such heartlessness that they are prepared to rape economies, visit extraordinary brutalities on their own citizens and generally behave as if their true mission in life is to destroy rather than to build.

Mwalimu Nyerere was in a special category of African leaders. No matter what one may say about his many failings, he was the continent's most striking exception to this depressing norm. That's why so many of the articles written around Africa since Mwalimu's demise sound so similar. I'm afraid this one will as well.

Now that he is gone, Mwalimu will be remembered as the African leader who was most successful in the fight against tribalism. The sense Tanzanians have of their "Tanzanianness" has always seemed more durable than the sense of national identity enjoyed by the citizens of other countries in the region.

The credit must go to Mwalimu for emphasising Kiswahili as a national language, in the process also turning it into the most serious collective language in East and Central Africa.

Mwalimu was also the most successful Pan-Africanist. Even though Kwame Nkrumah was the father of Pan-Africanism, that his regime turned into a dictatorship that was messily overthrown detracts from his stature.

Nkrumah's failures left Mwalimu carrying the torch and he did not shirk the responsibility. He supported liberation movements across the continent. Many a leader and former leader across the region would never have made it to State House had it not been for Mwalimu.

All this was at great cost to Tanzania, but one suspects that in the 21st century the country shall finally start to reap its benefits. Nyerere, for example, rescued Ugandans from Idi Amin in a military venture Tanzania could hardly afford. In the process, Mwalimu gave his

country a continental and international stature totally out of proportion with Tanzania's economic and military power.

Mwalimu was not a rich man who could bribe people to support him; he did not command armies that could intimidate his opponents; he was not from a dominant tribe that treated him like a demi-god. His authority was primarily moral and derived from true charisma.

Besides his wisdom and integrity; his powerful personality and modesty in power, Mwalimu was also special in the high standards he set in African leadership. Ujamaa impoverished what should otherwise be one of the continent's richest countries, yet, incredibly to the cynical, the people of Tanzania clearly never held these mistakes against him.

With the benefit of hindsight, it emerges that Nyerere's Ujamaa was not so much a socialist experiment as it was an African common-sense one - the product of an African leader who enjoyed thinking, reading and meditating on complicated African problems more than most of his counterparts. Partly as a result of this, even in this hard-edged age of the all powerful market, Mwalimu's rhetoric did not reduce him into an anachronism.

One of Mwalimu's greatest successes, therefore, was that he managed to remain relevant nationally, continentally and even internationally after he had given up formal power.

In Tanzania, his not-so-invisible hand was evident in many of the decisions made by the country's leadership on the grand issues of the day.

In the middle of 1995 his support was so crucial to Benjamin Mkapa's eventual nomination as the Chama cha Mapinduzi's presidential candidate, that Mwalimu was being described as the "Dodoma Candidate" - such was his influence that it was as if he were a shadow contender for nomination himself. When Mkapa won the nomination, I overheard a Tanzanian Asian businessman comment, "Mwalimu ameshinda! ("Mwalimu has won".)

Now, the country's political elite don't have their "father" there to hold their hand; choose their presidents; or hold the union with Zanzibar together.

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Coach Nyerere is Gone, the Team Must Play On

October 29, 1999

Dar-es-Salaam - Benjamin Mkapa needs a sense of balance now that Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere is gone. He and other post-Nyerere rulers ought to applaud Mwalimu's accomplishments without downgrading Tanzania's capacity for both economic evolution and revolution. President Mkapa is like the captain of a national soccer team whose revered coach passes away a few weeks before the team's debut in the World Cup. The team captain cannot afford a eulogy, however fitting, which puts his team at a disadvantage or cedes an edge to his competitors. He needs to project steadfast determination to fulfil the coach's wish of winning the trophy. He needs to suppress all signs of fear, low morale or tactical disarray.

Underdeveloped countries, particularly those that experimented with socialism, are more or less debutantes in a global economy driven by a triumphant capitalist class. They are pitted against other equally investment-hungry economies that may deliberately or otherwise exploit the perceived weaknesses of competitors. They cannot afford to display desperation or even indecision when a revered leader dies.

Tanzania, which has a per-capita income of only about \$250, is one of the poorest countries in the world. Its political executives should realise that the death of a key individual in an economic entity can make a profound difference to the hard-nosed players in the game of international investment. It is therefore foolhardy to portray a ruler as being indispensable to the economic prosperity of a nation.

"Miss Piggy" and other Muppet cartoon characters are a source of joy to millions of children all over the world. To business people, they constitute an economically sound entertainment company. Jim Henson, the puppeteer who created the Muppets, was portrayed as being indispensable to the company's success. In 1990, the Walt Disney Company, one of the world's largest entertainment companies, wanted to buy the Muppet ensemble. When Mr. Henson suddenly died, the deal fell through.

It may seem laughable to cite a cartoon character when discussing the perils that lie in wait for a national economy. However, it is not a laughing matter when one realises that, in comparison to Tanzania's \$7 billion annual

GDP, Disney's annual revenues are about \$20 billion - not a Mickey Mouse sum. Mainland China, whose communist rulers are said to have influenced more than the modest attire of Mwalimu Nyerere, is also a good case study for post-Nyerere Tanzania. The late Deng Xiaoping largely inspired China's economic boom. Although Deng, like Mwalimu Nyerere, relinquished his formal positions several years before his death, he retained informal yet paramount political authority. When Deng died in 1997, one of the biggest challenges and noteworthy successes of the post-Deng political rulers was to convince the investment community that Deng's business-friendly policies would be retained, that China's political stability would not diminish, and that Deng's totalitarian tendencies would be revised.

If post-Nyerere's Tanzania is to maintain the country's steadily rising rating among the international investment community, then its political executives need to learn from their Chinese counterparts. They need to show that Tanzania's march towards a business-friendly economy will continue, that Nyerere's death will not undermine political stability within Tanzania and among her neighbours, and that Nyerere's dark side will not be replicated. Doing all this requires a conservative approach to praising Mwalimu.

First of all, Mwalimu Nyerere was, by many accounts, a humble person. The man who disdained personal monuments would probably wince at the claim that he was solely responsible for Tanzania's progress. He would probably prefer a statement to the effect that he contributed to building a stable system that would survive long after his passing away.

Second, Mwalimu was only human. The investment community is aware of Mwalimu's shortcomings and would like to see them discarded. It probably knows that Mwalimu's emotional attachment to some causes prevented him from always pushing for democracy - a long-term political stabiliser. For instance, Mwalimu's stand on the union of Tanganyika with Zanzibar seems to have made an unsavoury contribution to the CCM versus CUF election debacle in Zanzibar. Above all, the overriding goal of Mwalimu's policies seems to have been economic prosperity for his nation. His relentless pursuit of that goal precipitated his possibly painful admission that his brand of socialism had failed to deliver. A good student of Mwalimu should thus not be reluctant to jettison a failed policy, regardless of its initiator. Pointing out

and correcting Mwalimu's mistakes would indeed be a fitting tribute to his teaching. Tanzania has prospered both because of and despite of Mwalimu's actions. As the world mourns his untimely death, Mr. Mkapa would be justified to say that Tanzania has lost an illustrious son. He would be prudent to indicate that Mwalimu is not indispensable to the prosperity of Tanzania.

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Nyerere Mourning Regulations Relaxed

October 30, 1999

by Nicodemus Odhiambo

Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania (PANA) - The government has relaxed the regulations stipulated during the mourning of Tanzania's former President Julius Nyerere, allowing "important sporting and social activities" to proceed.

"Important activities whose organisers prudently feel that they cannot wait for the expiry of the official (30-day) mourning period can proceed," Prime Minister Frederick Sumaye said.

Many Tanzanians had put off their social engagements, including weddings, following a nation-wide government suspension of sporting and entertainment activities upon the death of Nyerere 14 October.

"Citizens are free to marry and carry on with other important social functions, without involving in loud merry-making," Sumaye added.

He also allowed radio and television stations to air their regular programmes "but must continue playing dirges and religious music to keep the mourning tempo high."

Both independent and state-owned electronic media stopped airing normal programmes since the suspension of social activities went into force, and have been playing dirges the whole day.

Sumaye also said sportsmen going on the field should wear a black band around their arms as a sign that they were in mourning.

"We also do not expect promoters to bring in musicians in the country during this period," he added.

Sumaye also said the catafalque that housed Nyerere's body during his state funeral in Dar Es Salaam is to be preserved as an artifact. He added that the 15-foot structure that cost the state some 31,250 US dollars would be dismantled and rebuilt at the National Museum.

It will be used to preserve newspaper cuttings and video footages on Nyerere's funeral.

Meanwhile, traders are minting money from selling pirated speeches of the late leader to those trying to keep any of his memorabilia.

The demand for the speeches skyrocketed since Nyerere's death.

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Miscellaneous

Saints and Presidents: A Commentary on Julius Nyerere

by Stanley Meisler

American foreign affairs writer and author of
United Nations: The First Fifty Years

At a Korea University conference in Seoul a few months ago, I was placed next to Julius Nyerere of Tanzania at dinner. For those of us who covered Africa more than a quarter of a century ago, Nyerere was like a saint. Incorruptible, frank, good-humored, intellectual, he could charm the most suspicious and doubtful questioners into following the flow of his logic as he expounded the need in Africa for socialism, one-party democracy, self-reliance, non-alignment. He always made sense, at least in theory, and, since we knew he did not line his pockets with gold or pander to tribalism and racism, we always wished him and his poor country well. I turned to him at the Seoul dinner and said, "Mr. Nyerere, when I was a young correspondent, and you were a young president, I interviewed you." "Well," he replied with a laugh, "I got out of my business. I hope you got out of yours."

In fact, the 74-year-old Nyerere is one of the few African leaders to get out of the business peacefully and voluntarily. He gave up the presidency in 1985 and retired to a farm in his native village of Butiama near Lake Victoria. Tanzania coins honor him in Swahili as Baba (Father) of the Nation and First President, and he still wields a good deal of influence in national politics and in the settlement of international crises. But, as I discovered in a recent visit to Tanzania, most educated Tanzanians, though they have no bitterness, look on his reign as a failed one. The headmaster of a secondary school near Moshi took down a couple of volumes of Nyerere's old essays from a bookshelf after I asked about them. "I'm sorry," he said as he handed them to me. "They are very dusty now that we have a multiparty state." No one reads Nyerere any more. A return to Tanzania after an absence of 25 years left this visitor with an uncanny sense that little had changed. Foreign aid donors had improved some of the roads, and new, monstrously powerful buses hurtled down these roads at criminal speed. Swahili had helped unify the disparate tribes and geography into a nation. The country now had more than 25 private newspapers to supplement the two bland government and party newspapers. But the country remained dirt poor and devoid of development. France and China had built two textile plants for the government but neither functioned. Women bought *kangas* - cotton

wraparounds with bright, flashy designs and Swahili slogans - that were imported from Kenya and India. Nyerere used to exhort his people, "We must run while they walk." But most people had stood still.

What went wrong? It is clear now that while Nyerere spun his ideas a quarter of a century ago, few of his people understood these ideas well enough to implement them. In 1967, Nyerere wrote a paper, "Education for Self-Reliance," that was a masterful critique of the ills of African education. School systems were creating an elite class of graduates who refused to work with their hands and soon lost touch with the societies that spawned them. Tanzania's Chief Education Officer that year quoted huge gobs of the paper to me by heart. But, when I asked him for an example of how he intended to wipe out elitism in the schools, he replied, "Oh, yes, elitism is one of our problems in the schools. But it is not a major problem. There are always a few students who come to school and fool around and refuse to study. We must deal with those few students. We must discipline them - cane them or expel them." He had missed the whole point of the paper.

When I repeated this to Nyerere later that day, he laughed and said, "There can only be one missionary in this country, and I am the missionary. But I can not tell them how to carry out my ideas. If I put in examples (in the paper), the Ministry of Education will follow those and do nothing else. I want them to think of examples by themselves."

The noted French agronomist Rene Dumont, author of "False Start in Africa", warned Nyerere in those days that Tanzania was at too primitive a level of development for its leaders to talk about sophisticated economic theories like socialism. But Nyerere did not listen. He nationalized the foreign banks, plantations and manufacturing plants when he did not have trained personnel to run them. He pushed out Peace Corps and missionary teachers from the secondary schools when he did not have enough Tanzania teachers with adequate English to replace them. He pressured farmers into *ujamaa* villages even though Tanzanians found the idea of collective farming abhorrent. He undercut one of Africa's most remarkable cooperatives - the coffee marketing association near Mt. Kilimanjaro - because it did not fit into his theories. He broke relations with Britain, Tanzania's chief aid donor, because the Organization of African Unity had set down a ridiculous ultimatum on Rhodesia and he wanted the rest of the world to take Africa's word seriously.

There is a new optimism in Tanzania today. Evidently with Nyerere's acquiescence, his heirs have adopted multiparty democracy and the free market system and have engaged in a war on

corruption. The old Swahili translation of free market - *soko huria* - had a negative air in the Nyerere era; it connoted uncontrolled capitalism, in short, capitalism at its worst. So the leaders are using different Swahili words - *soko huru* - which is supposed to mean free market with limits.

In an upcountry town like Mbeya in the breathtaking highlands of southern Tanzania, when you sip *Safari* beer with local journalists, mostly stringers for the mushrooming newspapers in Dar es Salaam, you find them eager, enthusiastic, hopeful and grateful for advice. But their training is inadequate, their English kind of halting, and their poverty obvious. My own optimism for Tanzania is tempered by the memory of similar scenes with eager Tanzanians a quarter of a century ago. They were just as enthusiastic then for African socialism as they are now for *soko huru*. Tanzania is at so low a level of development that capitalism may be no better as a panacea than socialism was.

I do not want to belittle Nyerere. His Tanzania is warm, calm, gentle and united. Standing still in Tanzania was a healthier experience than going backwards in neighboring Zaire, Burundi and Rwanda. Tanzania was far better off with a benign saint for a president than a rapacious tyrant. I still admire Nyerere a great deal. But the Tanzanian experiment offers good evidence that saints do not really make very good presidents.

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