

JULIUS NYERERE

a biography

by

George Dunheved

“We, the people of Tanganyika, would like to light a candle and put it on top of Mount Kilimanjaro, to shine beyond our borders, giving hope where there was despair, love where there was hate and dignity where before there was only humiliation.”

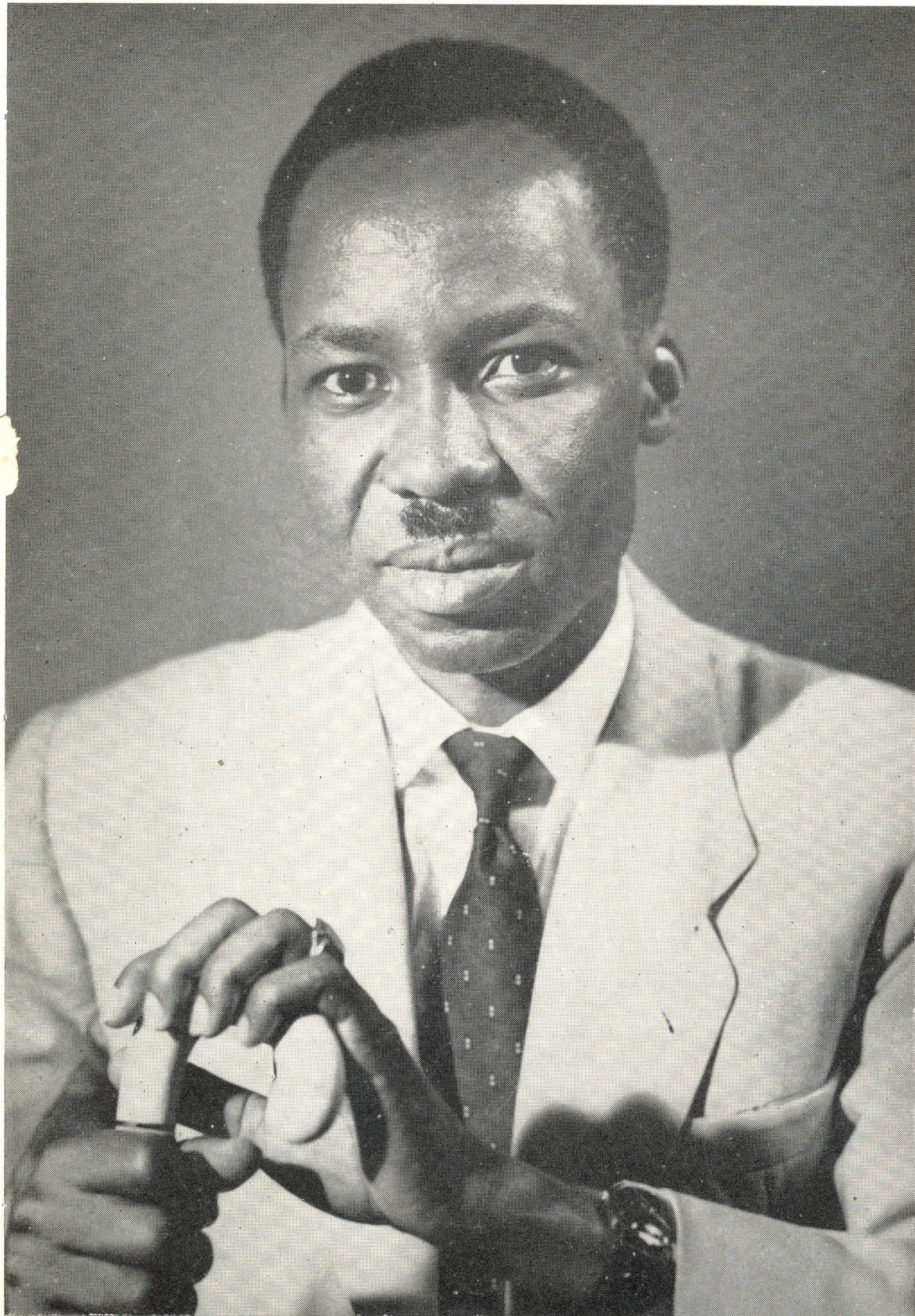
J. K. Nyerere in
Legislative Council,
October, 22nd 1959.

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In the brooding quiet of an evening more than six years ago, a young schoolmaster walked from a tense interview with the Principal of a Mission school at which he worked, determined to turn his back on both an academic career and the prospects of a comfortable middle class future, so as to devote all his time and energy to a political organisation aimed at the removal of foreign government.

Julius Nyerere had been advised by the well-meaning priest who ran the school, to give up politics and confine himself to teaching. Instead, Nyerere told his young bride and elderly mother to pack their bags for the return journey to his late father's country on the shores of Lake Victoria, where he would think out his plans for the future.

In the vital period of reassessment that followed his rejection of the not inconsiderable prospects and security open to one of the few professional Africans in the entire country at that time, Nyerere's resolve hardened.

He had returned from Britain after graduating in history and economics, acutely conscious of the intolerable position of his own fellow men under colonialism. His researches into history taught him that people had fought and died for their national independence and freedom over the centuries. The study of economics revealed that systems alone were responsible for maintaining one section of a people in bondage, while another section enjoyed to the full the fruits of the earth.

It was his bitter knowledge that the then colonial government was not merely reactionary towards the party he had indoctrinated with nationalism, but that a careful watch was being kept on his every movement and declaration in anticipation of his eventual prosecution and detention.

As an antidote to desperation Nyerere galvanised himself into action and set off on a countrywide safari to probe the party organisation for weaknesses.

The strategy he conceived for the days and years ahead was negotiation through strength. And strength through unity.

Nyerere untiringly reached into the remotest corners of the country. He explained to the people that tribalism was a weakening factor in politics and economics. Then he sought to identify every man and woman with a single and clearly defined policy of national self-determination.

He had built a party that could be transformed at the push of a button from a passive body of thousands of men and women to an army capable of paralysing the administration of the entire country. As things resolved themselves, Nyerere never had to use his weapon for such purposes.

Julius Nyerere believed that if a man was not prepared to fight and even die for the cardinal principles of individual and national liberty, then he betrayed his birthright. And in pursuing this condition he narrowly escaped jail on a

number of occasions, for several years he refused to sit in the legislature, and rejected all overtures to enter into association with a pseudo-nationalist party established by the Nominated Members of the Legislative Council at the instigation of the then British Governor.

Nyerere never made the error in the stages leading up to independence of admitting non-Africans to the party he founded, despite his personal admiration for many individual Europeans and Asians and his avowed policy not to seek their departure from Tanganyika.

It was, he felt, for the Africans to fight for and achieve their birthright alone. Tanu was formed to win independence. The Africans in Tanu were not organised against the white community, but against colonialism as such. The issue was one of colonialism and not one of racialism.

By 1958 the party had passed the building up stage and began to manifest an increased militancy and urgency in its demands.

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The decision reached on a Sunday night in March, 1955, was but one of the many that Nyerere has made in his scant 39 years; decisions that interlock in the jigsaw that is this vast country's destiny.

Destiny indeed. For earlier that month—on Monday, March 7, 1955—Julius Nyerere had expressed to the 15th session of the Trusteeship Council his hope that the Council would one day meet, not to consider whether an individual African should come before it to express his people's views, but whether an independent Tanganyika should become a member of the United Nations.

On July 13, 1961, Julius Nyerere made his third appearance before the Trusteeship Council. This time his role was not one of petitioner but as Tanganyika's first Prime Minister.

And as he had prophesied only six years earlier he was able to tell the delegates, "Before the end of the year we hope to join the United Nations organisations as a fully-fledged member." (The General Assembly on April 21, 1961, unanimously adopted a United Kingdom motion terminating the Trusteeship Agreement.)

The date was brought before his eyes: December 9, 1961. When that day was but one minute old, a new flag—green, black and gold—would be raised above the 29th independent sovereign state in Africa.

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Nyerere was born the son of Chief Nyerere Burito of the Zanaki, one of the smallest of Tanganyika's 120 tribes, then divided into eight chiefdoms, but now welded into one under Chief Wanzagi Nyerere, a half-brother of Julius.

As was customary in the tribe, Chief Nyerere Burito was a polygamist, and Julius was one of the children born to a man who had also been a chief in the times of German rule in Tanganyika. Until he was 12 years old Julius lived according to the pattern that had prevailed in rural Africa for centuries.

He performed his duties herding cattle. At six his eyes stared in wonder at their first motor car and white man!

When he was 12 years old Julius was sent away from home at Butiama to attend school at Musoma, 26 miles distant. From then onwards he was to spend little time at the place of his birth. In 1934 he became interested in Christianity, and nine years later he was baptised into the Roman Catholic Church.

He crowded four years of primary education into three while attending a school managed by the Native Authority at Musoma, before going to Tabora in the Western Province, where he progressed in six years at the secondary school from Standard V to Standard X.

At Makerere College in Uganda he studied from 1943 to 1945 and obtained a Diploma in Education that enabled him to return to Tabora to instruct pupils of the mission school of St. Mary's.

The year 1949 brought the opportunity of entering Edinburgh University where he spent more than three years and graduated as a Master of Arts in 1952, returning to Tanganyika in October of that year.

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Back in Tanganyika he renewed his connection with the Tanganyika African Association, which owed its existence to a group of civil servants who formed it in 1929 as a social organisation for Africans.

In 1953 Nyerere was elected President of the Association. By then he was aware of its inadequacy as a vehicle of political action, and set to work on a new draft constitution which completely re-orientated its objectives and policy and was enthusiastically adopted at its annual conference in July, 1954.

It was at this conference that a new name for the Association was discussed. As Nyerere now recalls, the conference "stumbled" on the title "Tanganyika African National Union" (Tanu).

The young politician was at this time teaching at St. Francis' School, Pugu, near Dar es Salaam. He had not long since married a maiden from a neighbouring tribe, to whom he had become affianced before leaving for Scotland in 1949.

Nyerere had by this time already earned a reputation as a dynamic and purposeful politician, and in 1954 he accepted the Governor's nomination as a temporary Member of the Legislative Council in the absence of a fellow African. Although his introduction to parliamentary life lasted barely four months, it served to alert him for the exacting responsibilities that lay ahead.

It was during 1954 that a United Nations Mission visited the Trust Territory of Tanganyika, and in March of the following year Nyerere flew to New York as a representative of the then-infant Tanu.

In fact, Tanu had warmly endorsed the Visiting Mission's report as a "balanced, true, honest and comprehensive study" of Tanganyika's problems.

On the floor of the Trusteeship Council, Nyerere made a lasting impression as an orator and as spokesman "of my people's hopes".

He explained that the major object of the Tanganyika African National Union was to prepare the people of Tanganyika for self-government and independence. As a first step towards that goal it sought to see the elective principle established and the Africans securing a majority on all representative public bodies in accordance with the Trusteeship Agreement and Article 76 of the United Nations Charter.

Nyerere asserted that Tanganyika's fitness for self-government should not be judged on the basis of the least progressive elements of the population.

He claimed that the Africans of Tanganyika desired a categorical statement from the Trusteeship Council and the Administering Authority that the future Government would be primarily African. Once they had that assurance, parity of representation would cease to inspire false hopes in the non-Africans and false fears in the Africans.

Nyerere endorsed the conclusions on Tanganyika's political advancement which the U.N. Visiting Mission that visited the territory in August and September, 1954, had made in their report. The Mission suggested that Tanganyika was capable of reaching self-government very much earlier than the 20—25 years it had proposed for the neighbouring trust territory of Ruanda-Urundi.

The consistency of Nyerere's words and actions over the years are demonstrated by his assurance to the Trusteeship Council in those early days that while Tanganyika was primarily African, the Asians and Europeans who had made it their home were as much Tanganyikans as Africans born in the country.

He regarded them all as fellow Tanganyikans, and felt that it would be the greatest injustice either to ask them to leave the country or to deprive them of rights to which the Africans were entitled as citizens of Tanganyika. All the rights and duties of the inhabitants as Tanganyika citizens should be shared on the basis of individual, not of collective, equality.

Tanu did not want non-Africans to feel like foreigners in Tanganyika, any more than it wanted Africans to feel like foreigners in their own country. Such was Tanu's policy—one not of discrimination but of brotherhood.

Nyerere protested that it had been a mistake to emphasise the fact that there were many tribes in Tanganyika. The people might interpret that emphasis as an attempt by the Government to retard the Africans by perpetuating tribal divisions rather than lead them forward to consider the future of their country. Tanu cut across tribal divisions.

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It was on his return to Dar es Salaam that he made the decision to devote himself entirely to forging national unity as the forerunner of Tanganyika nationhood.

One of Nyerere's first tasks was to make a countrywide safari so as to meet and talk with the people. It was something of an exploration that took him to every part of the Territory, and he still recalls the registration number of Tanu's first Landrover in which he travelled—DSK 750. He often had occasion to note it as with its other occupants he heaved and struggled when the vehicle became stuck in the mud during rainstorms!

In November, 1956, Nyerere paid his second visit to New York. This time he addressed not the Trusteeship Council but the 579th meeting of the fourth Committee of the United Nations General Assembly.

The Assembly heard him call on the Tanganyika Government for a declaration that "our country will be developed as a democratic state. Since 98 per cent of the population are indigenous Africans, this will naturally be primarily an African state."

As he was to recall when speaking to the Trusteeship Council in July

1961, "the innocuous statement which I made to the fourth committee and a subsequent one which I made upon my return to Tanganyika, got me into some trouble with the authorities."

But he was not dismayed, and within a few months returned to the United Nations with four requests. He asked for a target date for Tanganyika's independence and for intermediate dates for constitutional reforms leading to independence. He asked for universal suffrage in the elections that were to take place in 1958, and for the lifting of restrictions from Tanu and the ban which then prevented him from making public speeches.

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Nyerere's experience as a Nominated Member of the Legislative Council in late 1957 was brief but telling. He entered with a readiness to co-operate and compromise in an endeavour to advance his people's claims to constitutional progress, but after attending only two meetings he tasted the cup of bitterness. He could be neither a puppet nor a cypher—so he quit.

Submitting his resignation to the then Governor, now Lord Twining, to take effect from Friday, December 13, 1957—"the day my last compromise was rejected by Government"—Nyerere wrote at length to explain beyond all shadow of doubt the reasons that had led him to make this decision. At the outset he said that when he was offered a seat as a Member of the Legislative Council he had believed that the Government's offer was an indication of a change of heart and he therefore accepted the offer in the hope "that this change of heart would be demonstrated by a spirit of give and take."

During his four months' membership he had made a series of compromises to enable the Government to demonstrate an understanding of the spirit of give and take in the development of a democratic process.

After making eight points in the letter, the first of which frankly declared that his acceptance of a nominated seat was a compromise since he was opposed to the continuation of nomination, he demolished the theory that local government bodies that were multi-racial in composition could be set up, and protested against "this unwise and unnecessary irritation of the chiefs and the people."

Nyerere told the Governor that "unnecessary irritations are being caused in the name of the non-Africans which in fact have nothing to do with the non-Africans, and can never in the long run be in the best interest of the non-Africans."

These artificial and unnecessary racial irritations might be intended to delay, and might result in delaying the achievement of democratic self-government, but he hoped that they would do no more than that. Then followed a simple sentence:

"I sincerely hope that they SHALL NEVER result in leading our country into a mire of intolerable racial bitterness."

Nyerere rounded off his indictment, typewritten on four foolscap pages of the blue notepaper issued to Members of the legislature:

"Your Excellency, your Government has consistently and for the most unconvincing reasons, rejected every proposal that I have made in the Legislative Council . . . I have given everything that it was in my power to give, and what

I have given has been rejected. I came to the Council expecting a little of the spirit of give and take. That spirit is not there.

“I would feel that I am cheating the people and cheating my own Organisation if I remained on the Council, receiving allowances and attending sundowners as an Honourable Member, giving the impression that I was still of some service on the Council when in fact I know that I am useless. I have, therefore, no alternative but to tender my resignation.”

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At about 4.30 p.m. on June 5, 1958, only a month before Sir Richard Turnbull was due to arrive in the Territory as its new Governor and Commander-in-Chief, Julius Nyerere was interrupted in his work in the cramped and tiny earth-walled offices that served as the party's headquarters in Dar es Salaam.

Two C.I.D. officers entered and asked to speak to him alone. Once the room was cleared of other Tanu officials the senior officer explained he was investigating the publication of an issue of “Sauti ya Tanu” (Voice of Tanu).

On being handed a copy, Nyerere frankly declared: “I wrote it. I do not deny it.”

The police officer asked Nyerere if he kept a running file of the publication in the office, and Nyerere sent a branch official to fetch it. When the senior C.I.D. officer asked his colleague to go with the party official, Nyerere raised the objection that it seemed the police were searching the offices and, if this was the case, he would require certain formalities—the police officer should have a search warrant.

The senior officer produced a warrant and subsequently took possession of the file.

On July 9, 1958, in the Resident Magistrate's Court, Dar es Salaam, Criminal Case No. 2207 of 1958—Regina versus Julius Nyerere—opened before Mr. L. A. Davies. Mr. D. N. Pritt, Q.C., Mr. M. N. Rattansey and Mr. K. L. Jhaveri appeared for the accused.

There were originally three counts against Nyerere, but as the case progressed, one alleging criminal libel against a District Commissioner was withdrawn, and the third count was modified.

The first of the two counts on which Nyerere was eventually convicted alleged that issue No. 29 of Sauti ya Tanu dated May 27, spoke of a D.C. instigating people to make false accusations against Tanu, and that he had dismissed a sub-chief who refused to give false evidence against Tanu.

The other count alleged that the following defamatory statement was published in the same issue: “These same officials would have people committing perjury in court if only to vilify Tanu. These same people who intimidate and punish innocence, cajole and reward crookery, have the temerity to invoke law and order.”

Mr. Pritt had occasion to state in court that he did not think the prosecution had the remotest idea of the seriousness of the case. He said: “I do beg my friend to realise that this is not a 2½d. police court case; this is a case of the utmost seriousness which may affect the happiness of eight million people.”

In the witness box, Nyerere—who then put the membership of Tanu at

about 300,000—explained “I was aware of complaints of discontent in these two Districts and my motive was to bring government’s attention to the existence of those discontents and to get them remedied.”

On the afternoon of July 7—the court did not sit in the morning because of the ceremony at which Sir Richard Turnbull was sworn in as Governor—Mr. Pritt referred to a Government Press release that had been published in a daily newspaper under the heading “Chief dismissed and exiled.” This referred to a chief who was at that time giving evidence in the case.

Mr. Pritt said a Government spokesman made a number of detrimental statements about the defence witness Makongoro to the Press with the knowledge that the Press would probably publish them while the witness was still under examination.

Mr. Pritt said it seemed clear that the Officer Administering the Government, the Government spokesman and the newspaper had all rendered themselves liable for prosecution for contempt of court on two grounds:— the first making statements calculated to prejudice the fair trial of the prosecution by influencing the court to regard the witness as a person of bad character, and secondly intimidating the witness and, perhaps indirectly, other witnesses yet to come.

The following morning the Attorney General appeared in the court and said he had come to apologise on behalf of the Government for the Press release and to attempt in whatever way he could to purge whatever contempt there was. He had come to the conclusion that in order that justice might be seen patently to be done, he must in all fairness take away any possible prejudice and enter a *nolle prosequi* in respect of the first count on the charge sheet.

As the third count was what one might call a joint count which charged a libel of two people (two District Commissioners) it would be only just and fair to the accused to disregard what the third count said about one of the men and amend it by striking out his name.

On August 12, the Resident Magistrate delivered his judgment. Julius Nyerere was convicted on two charges of criminal libel, and was fined a total of £150 with the alternative of six months imprisonment in default of payment.

The Resident Magistrate observed that the first count had been withdrawn by the Attorney General in person after the issue of the Press release concerning the dismissal of Mr. Mohamed Makongoro as a chief.

The Resident Magistrate said he believed that Julius Nyerere as a leader of a national movement had a legitimate personal interest in that he wanted to draw the attention of the Government to certain acts of maladministration, but he did not agree that the extent of the publication had been reasonable to the occasion.

After the case had been heard, and before the judgment was given, the new Governor and Nyerere had a long talk, in the course of which Sir Richard said: “You and I have great responsibilities in this country.”

After the discussion, Nyerere decided not to go to jail, he knew that to do so would mean trouble among the people, and he wanted to avoid this at a time when there was a possibility of a change of attitude on the part of the Government. He wanted to give the new Governor a chance.

On October 14, 1958 when seated in the Legislative Council as an Elected Member, Nyerere heard the Territory's newly-arrived Governor, Sir Richard Turnbull, state: "In terms of population the Africans are and always will be an overwhelming majority in Tanganyika and, as the country progresses, it is right and proper, as indeed it is natural and inevitable, that African participation both in the legislature and in the executive should steadily increase. It is not intended, and never has been intended, that parity should be a permanent feature of the Tanganyika scene.

"On the other hand it is intended, and always has been intended, that the fact that when self-government is eventually attained both the legislature and the government are likely to be predominantly African should in no way affect the security of the rights and interests of those minority communities who have made their homes in Tanganyika."

In the debate on the address that followed, Nyerere told the House he felt Sir Richard was the Governor the country needed to guide it towards independence.

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In March of the following year, at the completion of Tanganyika's first general election, there was a total of 30 Members on the non-official side of the House.

Nyerere, seated on the front bench as their leader, had beside him as deputy, one of the European Elected Members, Derek Bryceson, an ex-R.A.F. fighter pilot.

The pattern of planned constitutional progress was rapidly revealing itself. Within a matter of months and with Nyerere's approval, five of the Elected Members had crossed the floor of the House to become the first Tanganyika non-officials in history to hold ministerial portfolios. One of them was Bryceson, together with four other colleagues—three Africans and an Asian. Two of these Africans, George Kahama and Chief Abdullah Fundikira, together with Amir Jamal, are members of the cabinet today.

Earlier, at the ceremony marking their appointment as the constitutionally-established advisors to the Governor in all matters of policy and legislation, these five men were told by Sir Richard:

"Tanganyika is emerging from her period of tutelage. Among your number today is the first generation of those of this country who, stage by stage, will take over full responsibility for the Government of the Territory."

Nyerere himself had not accepted a ministry. His work was still to weld the Elected Members into a viable body, to strengthen his party machine, and prepare the Territory's population for yet further constitutional development that was to be announced by the Governor before the year's end.

Then came the day in December, 1959, when the Governor announced that there was to be an elected majority in the legislature. In the ensuing debate in the House, Nyerere described the announcement as a major step towards full independence for Tanganyika.

In the new year of 1960, Julius Nyerere journeyed to the United States as a guest of the State Department, and later briefly visited Canada and the United Kingdom.

His U.S. tour embraced talks with the U.S. Vice-President, Mr. Nixon and other national figures, television and radio appearances and public meetings.

He took every opportunity to explain to an inquiring America just what made Tanganyika's future bright.

On Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt's national education T.V. programme in March of that year, Nyerere explained that Tanganyika had a population of 9,000,000 with 120 indigenous tribes, plus the new "tribes" of Europeans—Greeks, British, Italians—together with Arabs and others. He expressed in a nutshell the Territory's aspirations: "We are trying to weld these people into a nation."

It was during Nyerere's United States visit that an honorary doctor of laws degree was bestowed on him by Henry J. McNulty, President of Duquesne University. In the citation he was described as a "statesman and scholar" whose vision and determination "have given new hope to men long weary of racial strife and unresolved national differences."

At this ceremony, the Rev. Father Gerald Feeley, who also has taught in Tanganyika, cited the co-operation of Muslims and Christians in the Tanganyika African National Union behind Mr. Nyerere's leadership. The Rev. Father Feeley quoted the words of a Muslim leader who said, "The Muslims cannot follow a man who sits at home; Julius Nyerere is one who has stood in the heat of the market place."

In April, 1961, on his return to Tanganyika, details of the framework of Tanganyika's new—or as it was officially termed, "responsible"—government were announced in the Legislative Council. The stage was set for putting into action Tanganyika's "grand design".

In August, 1960, Tanganyika went to the polls in a second general election as a prelude to the introduction of an elected majority into the executive and the legislature. The results were a resounding demonstration of the nation's confidence in Nyerere and his party—Tanu won 70 out of the 71 seats!

On September 1, 1960, the Governor called on Julius Nyerere to form a Government and to become Tanganyika's first Chief Minister.

Two days later Julius Nyerere was able to broadcast to the people as Chief Minister in their own elected Government.

He used this occasion to remind the vast majority of inhabitants of the country, that there were certain basic conditions which must always be fulfilled if the objective of independence was to be reached.

The first of these essentials was co-operation. There would be no true co-operation without respect for their fellow men. A second essential, therefore was mutual respect..

This was again an example of the nationalist leader assuming the mantle of a youthful patriarch so as to shepherd his people along a peaceful path to self-determination.

His immediate reaction to increased personal responsibility and authority was firmly to remind the population that they had to learn to forget the annoyance and the prejudices, and also the irritations and humiliations of the past. The only way in which the past could help them was in showing them where they went wrong in their dealings with their fellow men.

His approach of sweet reasonableness was nevertheless backed by a sense of purpose, for he followed this by promising that the Government would be

quite ruthless in its determination to see that the peace of the country and justice to the citizens was upheld, so that the efforts of the people of Tanganyika over the past six years could come to fruition.

A few days later the Chief Minister and his non-official ministers (there were still two officials in the Council of Ministers) took their bow before 30,000 people at a mass meeting in Dar es Salaam. Above the platform flew the green and black flag of Tanu and the crowd sang in unison "God Bless Africa," the song that only a year later was to be chosen as Tanganyika's national anthem.

It was at this meeting that Nyerere made his momentous pronouncement on non-racialism. As he had remarked in his nationwide broadcast, in Tanganyika militant nationalism had been combined with a smile and good humour. The people of Tanganyika had become fervent nationalists without becoming racialists.

He said Tanganyika's political development would be used to discredit any colour consciousness. "A man's colour is no sin in Tanganyika."

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If there is one thing Julius Nyerere cannot comprehend it is the insistence of theorists that democratic government must of necessity include an opposition. Speaking in the General Overseas Service and North America Service of the B.B.C. in November, 1960, the then Chief Minister said that although Parliamentary democracy was impossible in the thinking of Britons, without a party in the Government and a party in the opposition, to him this was not really an essential part of democracy. An essential part of democracy was that government decisions should be reached by a government as a result of discussions. Having a government party and the opposition party going into parliament knowing they were going to disagree was, he sometimes thought, making parliamentary democracy a mockery.

Julius Nyerere explained his view by saying that in African tribal society they discussed what one might even call a family problem, and this was in order to reach an agreement to reach a solution. When this was transferred to a clan or beyond that to a tribe the whole purpose of discussion was in order to agree, and he felt that in Africa they would go wrong if they tried to impose organised opposition for the sake of opposition. A government system had to suit the attitudes of the people. An official opposition would not be understood by the people because it was contrary to the basic attitude of the African people.

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A visit to Federal Germany as a guest of Dr. Adenauer's Government in January, 1961, was an opportunity for him to strengthen the links between the two countries.

The immediate result of his visit was the announcement that a German Government delegation would visit Tanganyika in March to study its economic problems and to decide on appropriate proposals for submission to Bonn.

A personal assurance of financial aid for Tanganyika received from the German Chancellor six months later was the successful outcome.

In March, 1961, the Tanganyika conference was held to decide the timetable for the final stages of constitutional development. The venue had been

announced as London, in accordance with normal practice, but then, as a gesture of his recognition of Tanganyika's record, the Secretary of State said he would journey to Dar es Salaam to confer with Chief Minister Nyerere and his colleagues.

Shortly before this conference, Nyerere had shown his hand for the first time in foreign affairs. Although the responsibility for the external relations of Tanganyika was still vested in Her Majesty's Government, Nyerere felt compelled to express his aversion to the racialist policies of the South African Government before the Commonwealth Premiers met in London.

His action was a calculated risk of the first magnitude for he declared that if South Africa remained in the Commonwealth, Tanganyika would not join the Commonwealth on the attainment of independence.

It was again one of those moments of decision. Principle or political expediency.

And when he stated his position, followed up by a timely article in a London newspaper on the eve of the Commonwealth Premier's conference, there were those who felt that not only was Nyerere endangering Tanganyika's membership of the Commonwealth and the economic advantages accruing thereto, but also prejudicing his chances in the forthcoming constitutional talks.

But Nyerere's resolute stand on a moral issue was undoubtedly a factor in South Africa's leaving the Commonwealth.

Significantly, his comment on the South African Premier's decision to withdraw his country's application for renewal of membership of the Commonwealth as a republic was: "I am so very happy that Tanganyika's future is with the Commonwealth—I am confident that the future of the people of South Africa is with the Commonwealth."

Meanwhile the constitutional conference found all sides in such accord that its business was concluded ahead of schedule. It was, as Nyerere was to observe to Iain Macleod "surely one of the briefest of the many constitutional conferences to which you are accustomed."

The spirit of this conference was expressed by Julius Nyerere at its close, when he rejoiced to say it was not a day of triumph over anybody. It was a happy victory for a good cause in which all were the winners. "One and all in Tanganyika can rejoice with us and say uhuru 1961."

And within a few minutes he was holding aloft the hands of the Secretary of State and of the Governor, so that the crowds outside the conference hall could applaud not only himself but also the other principal actors in the drama.

Then, hoisted shoulder high, he was carried to a waiting car and headed a triumphant cavalcade through the streets of the Capital.

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On May 1, 1961, a brief and solemn ceremony took place in Government House, Dar es Salaam. The decisions of the constitutional conference were being fulfilled one by one.

Chief Minister Nyerere was sworn in as the country's first Prime Minister, and the members of the first Cabinet followed him.

His linking the word "Kazi" with that of "Uhuru" as the rallying cry of the Tanganyika people was not without significance. As during the period

of responsible Government, so during the final intermediate stage of full internal self-government, Nyerere set the pace as a man with a will to work and a capacity for work.

Any tendency among his people to sit back and await the miracles of independence he dispelled long ago. And any inclination towards viewing independence as the alpha and omega of political advancement he had similarly disabused.

* * *

A federation of the East African territories and indeed, of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia too, had long occupied his thoughts.

From the policy of unifying the tribes of Tanganyika, Nyerere swiftly moved to the vision of the eventual federation of East and Central Africa and indeed, of a unified continent of Africa.

His first thinking on the subject was that the condition of federation was to bring Kenya and Uganda up to Tanganyika's level of constitutional progress so that the Chief Ministers of the East African territories could sit down and decide whether they wanted to go their separate ways or go together in federation.

Federation was first proposed by the British Government in 1929 but as Nyerere remarked, the Africans could not then accept it because it would have been dominated by the Kenya settlers. There was another attempt after the second world war and again there was African opposition for the same reason.

Things were moving rapidly, and by mid-1961 there was responsible government in Kenya, Uganda and Zanzibar. Then came the de-restriction of Jomo Kenyatta in Kenya and Nyerere went to talk with him.

Nyerere felt that most people in East Africa agreed that if the conditions could be fulfilled for federation, then the countries of East Africa in every respect would be much better together as one political unit than if they were separate.

* * *

Even now, Julius Nyerere looks beyond the horizons of federation. In his struggle for the unity, peace and prosperity of an independent Tanganyika he has lifted his people above the shallow limits of nationalism. Already they have begun looking beyond their borders and self-interests.

December, 1961.