Ask someone ‘what is education?’ and you are likely to get an image of a school building. Ask ‘what is quality education?’ and you may get descriptions of clean buildings, orderly desks, sturdy books and disciplined pupils.

All these things are important. But Mwalimu Nyerere challenges us to think beyond. Because, for him, education is much more.

This book is the second volume of Mwalimu’s collected writings on education. The collection spans 36 years, from 1961 to 1997. For Mwalimu, education was inextricably linked to development. It had to be relevant to the everyday life of people and to the challenges of the day.

His was a transformative vision. Mwalimu challenged teachers, “Work for revolution. Do not fear revolution”. He urged students to think, to ask questions, to analyze. Yet his was a constant battle – with his fellow teachers, leaders and bureaucrats – as this vision of education failed to be implemented.

Why? Is the challenge any less today? Reading Mwalimu Nyerere today is to interrogate the present, and to learn the lessons of our history.
Nyerere on Education
Nyerere kuhusu Elimu
Volume II

SELECTED ESSAYS AND SPEECHES
1961 – 1997

Edited by
Elieshi Lema
Issa Omari
Rakesh Rajani
Some Writings and Speeches were first published by Oxford University Press, Dar es Salaam. See ‘Acknowledgements’ for details.

Nyerere on Education/Nyerere Kuhusu Elimu Volume II
© Mwalimu Julius Nyerere Estate under the Trusteeship of The Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation, 2005

ISBN 9987 – 423 – 16 - 7

Distributors: HakiElimu: Non-commercial Edition
E & D Limited: Commercial Edition

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced in any form without prior permission of the publishers and copyright holder.
CONTENTS

Biography......................................................................................................................... i
Introduction................................................................................................................... iv
1. Education and Law (1961).................................................................................. 1
2. Opening Chang’ombe Teachers’ College DSM (1965).............................. 5
3. Congress on African History (1965)............................................................ 13
4. The Importance and Pleasure of Reading (1965)...................................... 21
5. The Role of Universities (1966).................................................................... 25
6. Ahutubia juu ya Elimu ya Kujitegemea, Tabora (1967)....................... 35
7. Ahutubia Walimu Juu ya Elimu ya Kujitegemea, Mbeya (1967)......... 45
8. The Intellectual Needs Society (1969).......................................................... 57
   Msomi Anahitaji Jamii (1969)........................................................................ 65
9. The Job of Teachers is Revolution (1969).................................................... 75
10. The Objective of Adult Education (1969)...................................................... 85
11. Adult Education Never Stops (1971).............................................................. 91
13. Azimio la Musoma na Wajibu wa Walimu (1975)..................................... 113
14. Maana ya Elimu (1975).................................................................................. 135
15. Ahutubia Wabunge kwenye Ukumbi wa Karimjee (1978)............... 147
16. The Purpose of the University of Agriculture (1984)............................... 165
17. Twenty Years of Education for Self Reliance (1988)............................... 177
18. Address at the Twenty Fifth Anniversary of the University of Dar es Salaam (1995).................................................................................. 191
19. Education and Development in Africa (1997)........................................... 205
CONTENTS OF VOLUME I PUBLISHED IN 2004

Introduction

1. A Great Urge for Education (1954) .......................................................... 1
2. In Tanganyika Education is Racial (1956) ............................................... 7
3. The Fight Against Prejudice (1963) ....................................................... 11
4. University, an Investment of the Poor in Their Own Future (1964) ........... 17
5. Mategemeo na Wajibu wa Watoto na Vijana (1964) ............................... 25
6. Umuhimu wa Elimu ya Kilimo na Watu Wazima (1964) .......................... 31
7. The Power of Teachers (1966) .............................................................. 37
8. Elimu ya Kujitegemea (1967) ............................................................... 43
   Education for Self Reliance (1967) ..................................................... 67
9. Progress in Schools (1967) ................................................................. 89
10. Relevance and Dar es Salaam University (1970) ..................................... 95
11. Ten Years After Independence: Living, Learning and Working Cannot be Separated (1971) ................................................................. 107
16. Education for Service and not for Selfishness (1998) ............................. 159
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Chapter 1 and 2 were published in Julius Nyerere, Freedom and Unity, Uhuru na Umoja: A Selection from Writings and Speeches 1961-1965. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 were published in Julius K. Nyerere, Freedom and Socialism, Uhuru na Ujamaa: A Selection from Writings and Speeches 1965-1966. Chapters 6 and 7 were original taped speeches: 1967-1969. Chapters 8, 9 and 10 were published in Julius K. Nyerere, Freedom and Development, Uhuru na Maendeleo, A Selection from Writings and Speeches 1968-1969. Chapters 11 and 12 are unpublished manuscripts. Chapters 13, 14 and 15 are original taped speeches. Chapters 16, 17, 18 and 19 are based on original typed manuscripts provided by Prof. Issa Omari.

Several people played a key role in compiling this volume. Professor Issa Omari solicited and organized the original manuscripts from the archives. Ms. Itatiro typed the text. Glory Mosha, Veena Gokhale, Godfrey Telli and Zainab Bakilana took on the difficult task of reviewing, checking and proofreading.

Funding for this volume was provided by the consortium of donors supporting HakiElimu: The Embassies of Sweden, Ireland and Norway; Novib, Hivos (Netherlands) and the Ford Foundation.

The editors are grateful to all of the above for their invaluable assistance. The credit belongs to many; the responsibility remains with the editors.

EL, IO, RR
Dar es Salaam
December 2005
Julius Kambarage Nyerere was born in March 22, 1922, at Butiama village, near Musoma town, in Mara Region of Tanzania. His father, Chief Nyerere Burito was a traditional chief of a small tribe called Wazanaki.

At age 12, he started school at Mwisenge Primary School, in Musoma township, about 20 miles away from his home. This necessitated his staying away from his parents, and he later characterized this as alienation from his roots. After four years, he passed his Primary IV examinations, and joined the famous Tabora Central Boys School for post primary education up to Form II. In 1943, he was selected to take an Education Diploma at Makerere University College so as to become a professional teacher. His political thinking started there when he became the President of the student organization called Tanganyika African Association, which debated political and social issues.

Mwalimu Nyerere obtained his diploma qualification in 1945 and became a biology and history teacher at St. Mary's Catholic School in Tabora, after becoming a Roman Catholic at the age of 20. He advanced his political interests there by becoming the Secretary of the local branch of the Tanganyika African Association. His literary and language skills were sharpened by attending debates and evening adult education classes. No wonder he became a champion of the omnipotence of adult education in development in Tanzania. After distinguishing himself as a good teacher, he obtained a colonial government scholarship in 1949 to study for a biology degree at Edinburgh, in Britain.

At Edinburgh, Nyerere switched from biology and studied economics and history instead. Because he was an exemplary student, he was promoted to do a Masters degree which he attained after three years in 1952.

In 1952, Nyerere wrote a major publishable article on “The Race Problem in East Africa, (Nyerere1967), which was very political. He returned home to Tanganyika in 1952 to resume teaching at the then famous St. Francis College, Pugu. He soon married Maria (her maiden name) with whom he eventually got seven children.
Mwalimu Nyerere was the first African from Tanganyika to graduate with a Masters degree from the United Kingdom. He became an instant celebrity and a focus of attention by both government and non-governmental persons, who were keen to follow his next steps. He immediately became elected president of the national chapter of the Tanganyika African Association and became a Temporary Nominated Member of the Legislative Council of Tanganyika. Within two years, he transformed the association from a welfare body to a political party, Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) which was launched on 7th July 1954. Nyerere became its first President, and by 1957 it had 500,000 members. He quit teaching in 1955 to concentrate full time on political activities.

In 1957, Nyerere was again nominated as a member of the Legislative Assembly or Parliament, by the colonial government. However, by December that year, he resigned as he found parliamentary engagement was delaying the struggle for independence. He made appearances at United Nations to plead the case for independence in 1954, 1955, 1956 and 1957. In 1958, Nyerere became an elected Member of Parliament in the very first democratic elections in the country. He was returned unopposed in 1960 when he also became the Chief Minister and then Prime Minister and leader of the Council of Ministers of Tanganyika. He became the first President of Tanganyika in 1961 until 1985 when he chose not to run for office again.

Apart from studying education at diploma level, Nyerere was not a professional educationist. However, his trust in the power of education and its importance to national development propelled him to study it intensively, engaging with it intensely almost all his life. Due to his excellent teaching skills and power of oration, he became fondly referred to as Mwalimu, meaning Teacher, both in and outside Tanzania. He wrote over 30 articles on education alone.

Julius Kambarage Nyerere died on 27th September, 1999 in London and was buried at his home in Butiama.

Issa M. Omari
Dar es Salaam, October 2005
INTRODUCTION
INTRODUCTION

Political independence in 1961 brought with it numerous challenges that had to be addressed urgently. These included the lack of indigenous human resources for running the government machinery; transformation of the economy, uneven and limited provision of social services, integrating a very limited commercial and manufacturing sector into an economy which would benefit the majority of the people; and the dismantling of the western development model which valued individual rather than collective achievement.

The question of how to lift the country from this colonial legacy into an empowered state, able to chart out its own destiny, hinged on two choices: to adopt a development process that focused on the interests of a minority elite, or, to set a development path that addressed the social, economic, and cultural needs of the broad majority of the people.

Nyerere chose the second option, a choice articulated through the Arusha Declaration which attempted to define the kind of society that Tanzania should aspire to create: A socialist society which is guided by the three principles of equality and respect for human dignity; sharing of resources produced by our own efforts; and, work by everyone and exploitation by none. The Arusha Declaration provided the framework for major government policies, including Education for Self Reliance, envisaged to move the people of Tanzania from poverty to prosperity.

Regarding education, Nyerere emphasized that any education system meant to ground and advance the values of a particular society, has to have a purpose and therefore relevance. It must be able to prepare its recipients to be active agents of change in their environment by shaping their modes of thought, inculcating positive attitudes, transferring skills necessary to improve individual conditions and that of society. Education for Self Reliance (ESR), published in March 1967, was supposed to give guidance to the provision of relevant
education for a Tanzanian socialist society. It aimed to counteract the individualistic values inculcated through the colonial education system and instead foster commitment to the cooperative ethic, service to others, and ultimately, the creation of equal citizens.

In the search for ways and means through which Tanzania could attain a better life devoid of poverty, ignorance and disease, Nyerere consistently considered education the primary springboard for achieving that goal. The development of other sectors, especially agriculture on which the country’s economy was based at the time of independence, depended on a well thought out, socially relevant education system that addressed the constantly changing development needs of Tanzania, and one that would entrench, in its populace, the ethics of equity, dignity and self reliance. Generally, this is the social context that gave premise to Nyerere’s thinking on education. The essays in this volume, written before and after the Arusha Declaration and the 1967 Education for Self Reliance, and spanning the period up to 1997, two years before his death, reflect the nature of the struggle he waged between himself as a nationalist in the struggle for independence from colonialism, and the intense desire to create a socialist Tanzania. The major theme of the essays revolve around the concept of self reliance and the challenges of applying it to education, defined as: training, knowledge, skills or wisdom, whose express purpose was “to transmit from one generation to the next the accumulated wisdom and knowledge of society; and to prepare the young people for their future membership of the society and their active participation in its development.” (Vol.1 p. 67)

Two key words that signify and explain the intensity of the struggle, and the passion underlying the urgency for its realization, are people and development. The purpose of development, Nyerere argued, was the liberation of people from limitations of ignorance and dependency, and that too was the purpose of education. Therefore, people were both the agents and the subject of their own development and also their education. Thus, the necessity for education for self reliance was to create ‘a new Tanzanian.’ This new Tanzanian was defined as a free worker and citizens in a free and democratic society… able to think independently, make judgements on issues affecting them and interpret decisions made through democratic institutions and implement them in the light of local circumstances where they live. (Vol.1 p. 73)
Like a snail and its house, Mwalimu Nyerere tirelessly carried with him the vision and the burden of realising the values espoused in the Arusha Declaration, values upon which a socialist Tanzania had to be constructed.

The five essays (Chapter 1-5) written between 1965 and 1966 portray a country determined to reverse the situation created by colonialism. They are concerned with education expansion and the necessity to increase the number of teachers; the desire for Africans to understand themselves; the need to disseminate knowledge of African history to schools; local book printing capacity as a way of easing book provision to schools, appreciating that reading and literacy are a mirror of a developed society; and the role of university in society, highlighting the responsibility of the university in transforming the rural areas from their abject poverty. This would be achieved by designing content and approach of university education to respond to urgent social problems of the society to which the university is a part, and by integrating university students into the community so that transformation can happen from within.

By 1965, quantitative strides had been made in terms of enrolment increase and schools expansion. During this period, the expansion of education was being guided by the Education Act of 1962, which, among other things, streamlined the curriculum and financing of education; initiated the participation of local authorities and communities in the construction of primary schools and established a unified teaching service. However, for Nyerere, real transformation had not yet occurred.

Thus, 1967 stands as the landmark year in political and education reforms after independence, with the birth of Arusha Declaration and Education for Self Reliance (ESR). Some critical considerations underlined the policy of Education for Self Reliance: One, independence brought self rule, after protracted nationalist struggles, and that called for radical educational approaches to counter colonial legacy and combat poverty. Two, education development at all levels was not to depend on foreign assistance.

In May, 1967, Nyerere addressed teachers in Tabora and Mbeya (Chapter 6-7) with the objective of elaborating on the essence of ESR and the role of teachers in its successful implementation. A year before, in 1966, Mwalimu had talked about The Power of Teachers (Vol. 1 Ch 7), interrogating the fallacy that teachers were useful but not powerful, and re-iterating that “teachers, more
than any single group of people, shape the ideas and aspirations of the nation,” influencing people’s attitudes and the way they think. (p. 40)

In the two speeches delivered in Tabora and Mbeya, Mwalimu Nyerere elaborated the ESR policy as a strategy to achieve equity. He was very concerned about the misconception harboured by the government, the teachers, pupils and parents that those few who filtered through to secondary schools were better than those left behind. In that respect even the purpose of primary education was misdirected. He explained that only half of the school age children were going to school, and that the transition rate into secondary schools was a mere 10 percent, compared to the 90 percent left out and branded as failures. This irked him very much, because it created the basis for alienation and arrogance of the few who ‘passed’, while at the same time, creating unrealizable expectations on pupils and parents, that it was possible to cross the bridge into secondary school and therefore into privilege. Primary school education, therefore, according to Nyerere’s thinking had to be complete in itself, designed to focus on the 90 percent so that the graduates can become better farmers and make the village a better place to live.

Nyerere foresaw two challenges. One, the approach of ESR was environment specific, as the villages of Tanzania were not similar and there was no plan in place of making them similar. “Sasa jinsi ya kutimiza. Hili ni gumu. Hatujui, na hili nadhani walimu itabidi kulifikiri jinsi ya kutimiza…Sidhani tutatunga msahafu kutoka Dar es Salaam…Walimu watayarisheni watoto wenu kwa maisha watakayokwenda kuishi katika vijiji vyao. Basi! Full stop…” (p. 43) The implication, left silent at the time, was that the content of the syllabus would not be the same throughout the country. Implicitly, teachers were given the mandate to adjust the syllabus to fit the local situation. The question is, could they? And if and when they attempted to do so, was it expected that they would be able to design a holistic syllabus, specific to their areas? Was there an environment conducive to such creative experimentation?

Two, the communities had to be part of the school and vice versa. It meant that they had to be sensitized to accept and internalize the new approach. Teachers were urged to accept ESR. They were implored to study and understand the aspirations of the pupils and the villages from where they came. There was an unspoken killer assumption here. The mindset of the people and the teachers had to change if ESR was to succeed to the degree it was expected to. “...This
does not mean that education in Tanzania should be designed to produce passive agricultural workers…it must produce good farmers, it has also to prepare people for their responsibilities as free workers and citizens in a free and democratic society.” (Vol.1p.73)

Nyerere appealed to the teachers to adopt the philosophy of ESR so that they could help the state to explain to the people, and to teach the children about ESR. As a committed teacher himself, he believed in the commitment and capacity of teachers to deal with the complex challenges that the implementation of ESR posed. Teachers therefore became defacto, the principle allies and vanguard of ESR, outside the State and the Party. It is not evident whether the teachers, as a group, had either the will to assume this responsibility; or that they had the moral strength (ideological) which demanded work by all and exploitation by none. It is also not evident whether the teachers had the political consciousness or conceptual and philosophical understanding about ESR to assume the task bestowed upon them.

In 1969, two years after ESR, Nyerere spoke to teachers again and also made a radio broadcast about adult education. (Chapter 9-10) He spoke in depth about the two weaknesses of the African: the lack of self worthiness and poverty. The role of the teacher is to serve the poor and be the agents of change that the poor need. His concern in both speeches was the creation of the ‘new Tanzanian’, “…who has no weakness but who has spirit and purpose.” The creation of a new Tanzanian was a process, a life long one. Therefore, the expansion of primary schools would not be enough, not only because universal primary education had not been achieved, but that all Tanzanians needed education, in and out of school, at workplace and at home. Adult education which “applies to every one of us without exception… is something that all of us should continue to acquire from the time we are born till the time we die. We must change our conditions of life ourselves; and we can learn how to do this by educating ourselves.” Education by doing is the preferred option because it is practical, and is rooted in traditional society in which education is integral to people’s lives. Again, he gave this enormous responsibility to teachers. “This work has to be done by teachers. Creating a new African is the job of teachers…” Whether equipped or not, the teachers took up the challenge and did their best. Some studies on ESR noted that the most commonly cited problems were, among others, misunderstandings by teachers and pupils regarding the philosophical basis of the policy; disdainful attitudes towards manual labor; and poor planning, with
little or no pupil participation. Some researches have also indicated that the problems were more structural than technical, while practice raised such questions as, who gave what directives to whom in the hierarchical ladder. Who guided the implementation of ESR – the Party or the Ministry or the school? Where in the process was the place of the village community? Who worked and who reaped the benefits?

One of the strengths of Nyerere, and a mark of his commitment to a vision was his resilience and capacity for self evaluation. One can still appreciate a head of state, struggling with a national vision almost single handedly, because he was the thinker and the cartographer of the map, driven by an intense desire to win over that struggle and achieve a socialist Tanzania. It was a measure of serious intent that he re-visited the drawing board to trace the faults. Hence the Musoma Resolution in 1974 (Chapter 12), which was a Directive on the implementation of education for self reliance, after having noted that it was not succeeding.

What or where was the problem? Most of the objectives of ESR had not been achieved. While the syllabus had adopted some changes to reflect a Tanzanian perspective in the content and relevance to the country’s policies, its translation on the ground was not bearing the expected fruits. Primary and secondary education was still focusing on entry into higher levels instead of preparing pupils to live productively in villages. The school farms had not become a learning centre. The pupils had not appreciated the ESR approach to learning; and self reliance activities had not reduced the government’s financial allocation to schools. In other words, the soul of ESR - the philosophy, had not taken root. Self reliance as a way of life, as a mode of thinking that would inform national plans and curricula design, motivate development initiatives, guide a people’s total life process and ultimately grow into a culture, remained as elusive as ever.

Consequent to that flaw and most importantly, the people, the subject of the whole investment, the people who were to spearhead the social transformation, the “new Tanzanian” was nowhere in sight. This situation hinged on a truism Nyerere articulated well in Education for Liberation (Vol. 1 p.129) that, “…What happens if selection for a privileged place in society is based sorely on academic knowledge?... The facts of life will thus teach all pupils that while cooperation may be a religious virtue, the pursuit of self interest is what
determines a man’s status, his income and power…” Nyerere articulated further, “…this lesson will have come from two things, first, the existence of privilege in society, and second, the basis of selection for that privilege.” The Musoma Resolution was therefore attempting to offer solutions by abolishing direct entry to universities, introducing subject biases, universalizing education and de-emphasizing final examinations by introducing continuous assessment.

In 1975, Nyerere went back to ESR allies, the teachers, to talk to them about the Musoma Resolution (Chapter 13). To the teachers of Dar es Salaam schools, he outlined at length how ESR is the strategy for cost effective expansion of education.

To all head teachers of secondary schools, who he called ‘leaders’ and had to undergo 9 months of ideological training at Kivukoni Party College (Chapter 14), he focused on the purpose of education, using a language that smacked of great impatience and irritation about what was happening in education. Teachers were not happy with the proposed cost effective strategies to meet the challenges of expansion. They claimed that using untrained teachers and older pupils to teach undermined the integrity of the profession. The challenge was which one had more value- integrity of the profession or the benefits of expansion? To this, Nyerere insisted that the purpose of education is to enable people to confront the challenges in their environment that hinder their progress. Education is not for prestige.

The 1980s, however, were years of harvest. Schools had increased. Inroads to universal primary education had been made earlier than planned. Illiteracy had been reduced to a minimum. Schools – urban and rural – had teachers, although their conditions of life were hard. True to character, Nyerere did not indulge in these successes, nor did he fail to remind Tanzanians that all was not well yet. Quantitative achievements did not happen in consonant with qualitative and philosophical aspects of ESR. In 1984, in his essay, The Situation and Challenges of Education in Tanzania, Nyerere acknowledged successes in adult literacy and expansion in primary and secondary education, but admitted, “…We have allowed this need to organize and modernize education to lead us into thinking that education just means
the teaching given in classes… to the extent that we have fallen into that trap, we have divorced education in Tanzania from society of Tanzania and made it inadequate for fulfilling the aspirations of Tanzanians… that was the most fundamental thing which I tried to emphasize 17 years ago in the booklet *Education for Self-Reliance*…”(Vol. I p 148)

As he talked to teachers at Marangu, (Ch 17) in 1988, he stressed that ESR was not allocation of ‘periods,’ but a whole approach to education, an acceptance that schools are economic and learning communities, while at the same time acknowledging that failure to emphasize science teaching and technical training is the greatest failure of the education system because it denied the country the requisite skills needed for social transformation. Yet, almost all schools were suffering from lack of resources and parents were not supportive of the approach, because they felt that pupils were being exploited by their teachers. He was at a loss! What is wrong? He asked!! That was not all. People were demanding that private secondary schools be allowed to open. He talked to members of parliament at Karimjee Hall (Chapter 15) about their inability to explain to the people why expansion of private secondary schools was not consistent with the ideology of self reliance but a weakening of government efforts in improving education. He argued that only a few people could pay those fees in private schools, so the move would be automatically discriminatory. But by then, Nyerere was alone on issues regarding socialism and *Education for Self-Reliance*. He could not stop the mushrooming of private schools.

The 1980s were also years of economic hardships which threatened to erode many of the achievements recorded. But Nyerere continued to reiterate the relevance of ESR as the only strategy to attain real development for Tanzanian society. His resilience was tenuous; his commitment to this cause was unwavering. He was not turning back.

When he inaugurated Sokoine University of Agriculture in 1984 (Chapter 16), Nyerere cautioned that it should not be for the attainment of degrees, but should be geared to the transformation of the rural areas. In its technical and management training, the university was to focus on the development of self reliance in agriculture. The learning approach was to be the same as in other levels, that is, the university should be a learning center for peasants.
New issues in education emerged during the 1980s and the 1990s. Economic recovery programmes introduced in 1986 were meant to revamp the economy by broadening participation, liberalizing trade, and introducing cost recovery measures. The increase in enrolments in 1970s could not be sustained due to declining government capacity to meet education costs. Shortage of classrooms and educational materials persisted while drop out rates increased. In July 1995 and June 1997 (Chapter 18-19), respectively, Nyerere addressed the University in its 25th anniversary and gave the Michael Scot Memorial Lecture in London. In his address to the University, he severally referred to the political, economic and social choices which the people had made through their government, removing himself from those choices and re-iterating the role of the university and the link it must maintain to the society, that, “…in a country committed to building socialism I described this obligation as being a willingness to give service to the community without demanding further privileges…Whether Tanzania is still an aspiring socialist country or not, I stand by that statement.” In the Memorial Lecture, Nyerere did not speak with the strength of personal conviction as in earlier times. He quoted the World Bank figures about declined enrolments and a shrinking education budget. He sounded disillusioned. He said that any society, whatever the context, must ask itself what kind of education it should provide to its people. To him, issues of equity, equality and human dignity that he struggled with throughout his life still remained valid.

Read within the context of current development initiatives geared towards poverty alleviation and quality improvement in education, Nyerere’s struggle, as can be traced from these essays, leave us with very important lessons.

Elieshi Lema
Dar es Salaam, October 2005
CHAPTER 1

EDUCATION AND LAW
Nyerere argues that given the growing numbers of secondary school leavers and the human resource deficits left behind by departing colonialists, higher education has to be expanded and reformed. This cannot be done abroad but in Africa.

“Our young men and women must have an African oriented education. That is, an education which is not only given in Africa but also directed at meeting the present needs of Africa.”

Mr. Chairman, this College has been started in a rush. Recommendations for opening a University College in Tanganyika had all put a much later date as the operative one, but my Government felt that this was a matter of the highest educational priority. It has been said that this was a political decision. It was. An independent country depending on charity for all its higher educational opportunities is in great psychological danger. But the decision to start the first Faculty in 1961 and to proceed as rapidly as possible thereafter was also an educational decision... Under our educational development plan we shall increase more than six fold the numbers of young men and women of Tanganyika who obtain High School Certificate. Therefore, unless we take action now, we shall find by 1964, at the latest, that it is impossible to offer places in the older East African Colleges to all those of our students who are qualified for and wish to obtain university education...

We are in the process of building up a Tanganyika nation. Valuable as is the contribution which overseas education can give us, in the long run, if we are to build up a sturdy sense of nation-hood, we must nurture our own educated
citizens. Our young men and women must have an African-oriented education. That is, an education which is not only given in Africa but also directed at meeting the present needs of Africa. For, while other people can aim at reaching the moon, and while in future we might aim at reaching the moon, our present plans must be directed at reaching the villages…

I am, of course, Mr. Chairman, aware of the glamour which is attached to studying in the United Kingdom or in America. I sympathize with the attraction which many of our young students feel for this trip abroad. But I am sure that those who have the honour to be the first students at this College, as well as those who have graduated from Makerere and the Royal College, Nairobi, have distinctive contribution to make to our national growth. During their most important educational years they have been subject to an African environment and they have inevitably more easily learned their lessons with the problems of Africa in mind…

Many of the present students will go abroad at a later date… they will go as mature men and women, in a better position to learn from other countries and to evaluate the experience and institutions of the countries they visit, because of the training which they have had here. They will go as Africans seeking to learn how our own needs can be helped by experience abroad; they will not have to learn the lessons first and then return to see whether what they have learned can be fitted in to our needs…

We are just undertaking a Herculean task, the building of a united, democratic, and free country. An essential part of our national philosophy must be a legal profession of great integrity which not only knows the formalities of law but must also understand the basic philosophy which underlies our society. Our lawyers and our Judiciary must, in other words, not only appreciate that law is paramount in our society, they must also understand the philosophy of that law. It is essential in a democratic society which believes in the equality of all of its citizens that every individual should be subject to the law. Further, it is of paramount importance that the execution of the law should be without fear or favour. Our Judiciary at every level must be independent of the executive arm of the State. Real freedom requires that any citizen feels confident that his case will be impartially judged, even if it is a case against the Prime Minister himself.
This, of course, is not the responsibility of the legal profession alone. It is the job of the Judiciary and of other members of the profession to ensure that the law is impartially administered; it is the job of the Legislature to make sure that the law itself is just. Lawyers can only influence the content of the law by their actions as individual citizens, by the fact that they are constituent members of our democratic society. Their job as lawyers is to administer the law, regardless of their opinion of it. It is upon all of us that the responsibility rests to see that our law follows those basic principles, which underlie the development of a free nation of equal citizens. This responsibility we cannot evade or delegate. There are countries in the world today which have their laws administered by upright men who insist that every letter of the law is maintained. Some of these same societies call forth our strongest condemnation because the laws which their judiciary upholds are contrary to the basic tenets of human dignity. It is not the fault of the judge if he has to pass sentence on a man for being black; it is the fault of the society of which he is only one member. Equally, in this country, it is the responsibility of all the citizens to ensure that no man suffers a legal or social disability for being white. This would be contrary not to the law – laws can be changed by the will of the people as expressed in National Assembly – but it would be contrary to those basic principles of human justice for which we have long been struggling.
CHAPTER 2
OPENING CHANG’OMBE TEACHERS’ COLLEGE
OPENING CHANG’OMBE TEACHERS’ COLLEGE

[English - Dar es Salaam, 25th July 1965]

Nyerere held the view that the local production of teachers for all levels of education is central to the creation of an independent education system in an independent country. But the teachers need to cultivate a sense of professionalism and volunteerism.

“But it would be absurd for us to continue to rely on expatriate teachers to man our education system. It is one thing to receive help in overcoming the inheritance of educational neglect. It would be another thing to imagine that this help excuses us from taking step to fulfill our own teaching needs for the future. We must educate and train our own teachers at all levels as rapidly as possible.”

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am very happy to have the opportunity to open the Dar es Salaam Teachers’ College this afternoon.

Surely it is not necessary for me to explain that statement. My interest in education and my conviction that the whole future of our country depends upon quantity and quality must now be very well known. We have made great strides in educational expansion in recent years. The number of children in primary schools has increased considerably and is continuing to increase.

Yet the greatest emphasis in self-government has been on the extension of secondary schools facilities and on the provision of opportunities at the
University and Technical Colleges. The results have been very good. Since 1960 the number of pupils entering Secondary Schools has more than doubled and the number entering higher school certificate courses have increased four times. This year we shall have more science graduates for the Higher Certificate from a single school, Mkwawa High School, than we had from the whole of Tanzania in 1963, the whole Tanganyika then, not the whole of Tanzania. This and other figures illustrating our progress have been quoted before, but I think they are worthy repeating. They represent a great effort by the whole nation, and also particularly, by those who work in the education field.

The people of this country have encouraged the government to devote a very large part of their resources to education and have demonstrated again and again the willingness to make financial sacrifices which are necessary. But development of this magnitude does not only call for money. It calls for devoted and skilled management, both as organizers, administrators, and particularly as teachers. The whole of TANU and the government is responsible for the decision to devote a large proportion of our resources to the secondary school sector.

But I want to use this occasion to pay a special tribute to the Minister of Education, Mr. Solomon Eliufoo, (applause), for the way he has taken charge of this responsibility and implemented the broad policy decision. Together with his staff at the Ministry of Education, he has done a magnificent job in completely reorganizing an educational system since independence, integrating it, creating a Unified Teaching Service, devising a syllabus more in tune with the conditions in an independent Republic, and at the same time bringing into being this great expansion of facilities. In order to achieve this, however, we have had to outrun our national ability to provide teachers. The small number of Tanzanians who have stayed manfully at their teaching post despite other attractions have been carrying a very heavy load for the future of our country. I hope that all of us are conscious of our debt to them. At the same time, it has been necessary for us to use large numbers of teachers from other countries. Without this help, none of the extensions we are so proud of would have been possible. At the University College, at the Technical College, at all our secondary schools, and even primary schools, our progress has been made possible because of teachers from countries abroad, particularly in point of number, from Britain and the United States of America. We are grateful to the teachers for their help, and we hope that many of them will stay with us for a long time to come.
But it would be absurd for us to continue to rely on expatriate teachers to man our education system. It is one thing to receive help in overcoming the inheritance of educational neglect. It would be another thing to imagine that this help excuses us from taking steps to fulfil our own teaching needs for the future. We must educate and train our own teachers at all levels as rapidly as possible. The Teachers’ College we are opening to-day is one of the steps which are being taken to achieve that aim. It is not the only one. As you know, major new building works are in preparation at Morogoro, at Marangu, Mpwapwa, and Butimba, as well as smaller extension schemes at other major junior teachers’ colleges. All these developments are urgently needed, and we are specially appreciative of the help which countries abroad are giving us in the field. By helping to make it possible for us to train our own teachers, donor countries are helping us to achieve our major aim of eventually standing on our own feet.

In the case of this college here at Dar es Salaam, it is the United States of America to whom we are indebted, and I welcome this opportunity to express our appreciation. It is because of an AID loan of 338,000 pounds that enables me to open this building to-day, and this is a loan which carries only nominal interest rate, and a long repayment period. Because of this loan, we now have 142 students at the college here and next year we expect to be able to accommodate 280 students. The buildings are very attractive and also well designed for the work which will be done in them. The architect, Messrs French and Hasting, and the builders, Messrs Chavda Limited, are to be congratulated on their work as are all the other people in the Ministry and among the staff of this college, who have contributed the ideas and supervision. Finally, on the subject, I like to pay tribute to Mr. Orga and his colleagues, whose work on the landscaping and garden has assured us that, even at this early stage, the college campus is very attractive. I hope that everyone will co-operate to maintain and improve still further this high standard.

Buildings by themselves, however, are not of very much use. This college is already able to make a contribution to our teaching requirement because since September 1962, we have had the services of specialists from Kent State University, USA, in the planning and teaching at the College. It is this help which has made it possible for the College to expand from 25 students in 1959 to the present number. In addition, these expert visitors have contributed very much to improving the quality of the training given to teachers both here and
elsewhere in Tanzania. I am told that the Kent State University team is now gradually returning home. They are doing so because at the same time as they were working here, their colleagues in their home College were training Tanzanian in the skills necessary, and these Tanzanian are now beginning to return home. By this time, next year, the Tanzanian counterparts of the Kent State University personnel will be back here. Let me use this opportunity to say how much we appreciate this plan and organized scheme of training, and also that we hope the individuals who have been staying with us will not completely sever their connection with Tanzania. I would add that on their return to America, we hope, they will be able to spread an understanding of what we are trying to do in Tanzania.

The facilities in both staff and equipment, which have been made available in the College, have made it natural that this should be the centre of advanced teacher training work, and the introduction of new courses. Not only we have a large number of people here being trained as Grade A teachers, that is those who have obtained School Certificate, but we have also introduced here first course for Education Officers Grade III. Only 17 students, instead of the 40 we were hoping for, have come forward to take this first course for ex-higher certificate teachers, but I am sure this number will increase rapidly as secondary school students realize that, after higher school certificate, they can enter a course for training in secondary school teaching up to Form IV without obtaining a degree. I certainly hope this is the case. In my experience, few things are more popularly rewarding than opening the mind of the future citizens of our country so that they may learn to appreciate and develop their own potentiality for services.

Good teaching, however, is hard work, and let those who doubt this try to become an effective teacher. But it is also a very honourable profession and its members rightly deserve their high status in our society. I hope that Tanzania will continue to accord to its teachers the very highest respect. A nation which fails to do this is like a family in which no respect is shown to its parents, an attitude which is clearly incompatible with our traditional society, and with socialist society we are now trying to build.

In return for this respect, and indeed to earn it, what is it that the teachers of Tanzania have to do? They have to transfer to the children of this country certain skills, certain basic aptitude and facts about our country and the world.
Equally important, they have to encourage their pupils to develop a pride in themselves and their nation on the basis of those ethical principles which underly all religion and upon which our state is based. But in addition to all these things, the teachers of Tanzania have to prepare pupils to live in the rapidly changing world where Tanzania will take its place as part of a developing continent. It is no use the teachers giving to their pupils the answers to the existing problems of our nation. By the time the pupils are adults, the problems will have changed. Instead, they have to reason, and to analyse the skills and the information they have acquired, and thus create new ideas and new solutions to new problems. Work of this nature requires from the students of this College a high degree of application in their work, a high degree of confidence in themselves, and also a desire for service. They are being asked to inculcate an attitude of service, and an attitude of enquiry into the minds of the young. They will only be able to do this if they adopt such attitudes themselves and if their character is above reproach.

While you students are here at this new college, you will have to show by your actions that you realize that you are being given the opportunity to train in the most modern and best equipped teachers’ college in this country. You must learn to use the facilities you have been given so that those who come after you will also be able to benefit from them. You must learn to be ready, when necessary, to assist in the manual work of sweeping and cleaning and maintaining the grounds of the college. You must recognize that the highest standard will be demanded from you and your work. Idleness or indifference will be inappropriate at this place, and I am sure none of you will make it necessary for the Principal to carry out his duty of severe disciplinary action against anyone who indulges in these two habits. In fact, we expect students at the Dar es Salaam Teachers’ College to develop a sense of professional pride which influences their behaviour and their whole attitude to work. I consider essential, for example, that some of your allowances, the allowances of students, should be spent on purchase of the items or equipments which a good teacher must always have. Such things as reference books, mathematical instruments, scissors, etc. You should not expect the Government to provide such tools for you in addition to your allowances, and when you leave this College you should possess, as your own, the things every teacher needs if his work is to be done properly wherever he is.
When students from other colleges have graduated they have a two years probational period before being confirmed in the Unified Teaching Service. This period would be a testing one during which young teachers may be challenged to the full. In particular, they may be appointed to any school in the country, wherever the need is greatest. I am sure that the graduates of Dar es Salaam Teachers’ College will not flinch from this duty. Indeed I believe that some, and many of the students here, will go further and volunteer to serve their probation as members of the National Service. (applause). That means that this idea is approved. If they do so, they will receive the normal three months National Service Training, and then as servicemen and women, they will teach wherever they are required under the normal inspection conditions that complete the practical aspect of their training as usual.

Your Excellency, I have spoken for longer than perhaps should have but I haven’t said all the things that I would have liked to say. I can only mention, in part, the Swahili workshop which will take place here shortly, despite my very great interest in improving the teaching of our national language. And I have not mentioned either our financial needs for phase two of the building programme here which will call for another 127,000 pounds. But perhaps it is better that we concentrate today on expressing our appreciation of the loan which we have already and we are rejoicing on the fine building.

Your Excellencies, Mr. Principal, Ladies and Gentlemen, this is the right time to declare the College open.
INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON AFRICAN HISTORY

[English - Opening Speech, the University of Dar es Salaam, 26th September 1965]

Mwalimu painfully argues that one cannot understand the present without understanding the past and vice versa. It is Africans themselves who can do this best.

“I am simply suggesting that the past and the present are one... We and our ancestors are linked together indissolubly.”

On behalf of the Government of Tanzania, and with a great deal of personal pleasure, I welcome you all to this Conference on African History. I hope that you will be happy in our University College, and that its facilities will assist you to have a successful conference.

Although you will spend most of your time on this Hill, however, I hope that the attractions of the campus, and of discussions with your colleagues, will not prevent you from seeing something of Dar es Salaam – and even of Tanzania – while you are in our country. If you require one, you even have an excuse for such excursions!

It so happens that today has been the final polling day in the first one-party elections of our United Republic. And, in a few days’ time, we shall embark on a further stage of the political evolution of our nation with the swearing in of the President – that is, assuming that the TANU candidate receives a majority of affirmative votes – and the inauguration of a new Cabinet. These events are at present probably classified in academic parlance as ‘political science’; but in a
few years’ time you will find them included in the history you have to write about and teach!

In fact, it is not only in jest that I suggest that these landmarks in the development of Tanzania are of interest to the conference delegates. Neither am I trying to seduce you away from your work, or implying a lack of interest in the subjects you will be discussing here. I am simply suggesting that the past and present are one; and that an understanding of both is necessary for the specialists of each time period. For any student of life and society, past and present are merely two aspects of a single thing. The continuity of life is maintained throughout – and despite – change, both in societies and in individual; although reformers sometimes wish it were not so, and revolutionaries pretend otherwise! Different as are the lives of modern Africans from those of our grandparents, still we and our ancestors are linked together indissolubly. Our present day attitudes and reactions cannot be properly understood without reference to the economy, social organization, and religious basis of the society of fifty years ago; and so on back through time. But equally, I believe that great light can be thrown on the recent past, and then backwards, by an understanding of the aspirations and attitudes of present day Africa.

To say this is not to imply that there is no need for specialists in history and the different ages and branches of history. It is simply a reminder that life is a single whole, and that knowledge is not gained if we hung it to ourselves like a prized personal possession. It must be thrown like a pebble into the pool of wisdom so that the soft matter and the ragged edges can be worn away, until only the hard grain of truth remains. It is the accretion of all these grains, from thousands of different sources as regards time and discipline, which builds a platform for longer vision, and which can ultimately increase our understanding of the phenomenon which is man, and the future he can make for himself. In this connection, therefore, no aspect of knowledge is unrelated to the others; past and present are fused, and the different academic disciplines are but segments of one whole.

Thus, it is true that this conference will gain greatly by the presence of people from so many different parts of the world, who have different specialties and methods of approach to the subject of African history. For you are not starting right from the beginning. Because of the work which has already been done,
there is one thing which this conference will not have to discuss. That is the contention that Africa has no history! The days when this was seriously suggested by intelligent men and women have now passed. Your problem at this conference is more likely to arise from the uncoordinated and sometimes undisciplined nature of the evidence; and from the number and variety of books and articles published in recent years.

The new consciousness that we have a history, and the amount of study which it needs and deserves, is not confined to Africa. The emergence of independent African states over the last two decades has meant that the rest of the world feels a need to understand this continent in a way which was unnecessary when we were simply colonial subjects. This new interest should not be dismissed as an aspect of neo-colonialism; on the contrary, it is an recognition that we in Africa are now equals whom the world cannot disregard. Conversely, as we Africans are involved in the world, and desire to take our full place in its councils, we must welcome this interest, and co-operate with it.

It is also true that we can benefit from this interest in our past. The fact that people from all over the world, and many different institutions, are involved in the work of rediscovering our history, means that there is a wide variety of experience and techniques which can be used in the investigations. We do not become confined by the traditional study methods of any one university or country; neither do we have to start from the beginning ourselves, or do the whole labour on our own.

At the same time, it is natural and right that Africa’s new universities and institutions should from now on take a leading part in this work. The primary sources are here, in Africa, and the primary interest is not really other people’s desire to understand us, but our own desire to understand ourselves and our societies, so that we can build the future on firm foundations.

I have said that the primary sources of our history are here in Africa, and I do so deliberately. This does not mean I am ignorant of the great amount of written material which is only available in the archives of other countries. Neither does it imply that I believe there are inexhaustible supplies of written documents in this continent only waiting to be found and studied. What I am really referring to is the mass of localized unwritten historical knowledge, which has to be searched for, collected, checked, and written into a comprehensive story.
This is a difficult and time-demanding task, and requires the cross-checking of many different kinds of evidence. It may be – you will know whether this is so – that new tools of historical research, and many different approaches, have to be used. But I hope that one of the things this conference will do is find ways in which the contributions of different academic specialists can be co-ordinate, and effectively used for historical purposes.

But whatever the method, the vital thing is that we should be able to develop a really African history. Up to now the world’s knowledge of this continent – and even modern Africa’s knowledge – has been drawn almost exclusively from the outside. Most people who study our history at educational institutions throughout the world, still learn of the ‘discovery of Africa’, and the journeys of the great explorers. They learn of the slave trade, and the European invasions; they analyse the economic motivations and effects – on Europe – of these events. But it is only in very recent years that the continuously changing pattern of African life, and the effect on that pattern of these external events, has really begun to be appreciated. And it is only when these things are looked at from Africa outwards that an ‘African history’ will develop. It is this task which has recently been begun, and which I believe this conference can promote and assist.

Further, your review of the historical writing and research of recent years can provide a basis for valuable expressions of opinion on what now needs to be done, and with what priorities. I believe that in this forward-looking discussion the Africans among you have a very special responsibility. Because they are of this continent, and concerned so intimately with its future as well as its past, the citizens of Africa should be able to indicate where our needs for historical knowledge press most heavily upon us.

But if Africans have special – though not exclusive – understanding in that field, the questions which have then to be formulated, and the means through which they can be asked, are matters which call for the combined experience and knowledge of everyone.

All this means that there are many fundamental questions which will have to be considered at this congress. What are the African concepts of the past? Of what objective value is the history which was passed from generation to generation in traditional societies, and how can it most accurately be collated? What is the
historical value of the artifacts of the more recent past in the light of this oral evidence, and vice versa? What of the historical writings of African Islam, which have been so neglected by European studies of this continent?

These are basic questions of interest to all Africa. I admit, however, that we in Tanzania are particularly interested in the possibilities of a combined literate and oral approach, because this appears to have great relevance to the re-discovery of our own history. It is possible that the Islamic Swahili Chronicles, together with the traditions of our non-literate tribes, could combine to give concrete evidence of a past about which we can now only conjecture from half-knowledge.

Accumulation of facts, however, is only part of the problem. There is also the necessity for interpretation of those facts – that is, for an attempt to explain their meaning. It is at this point that I think the conference could most easily dissolve into disputation unless the emphasis on Africa’s needs, and interest in African’s history is most strongly maintained. I am not saying that the ‘non-alignment’ of Africa’s policies is strictly applicable to your subject of discussion. But I am asking that those who adhere to the Marxist philosophy of history, and those who adhere to various Western philosophies, should both examine honestly the strict applicability of their approach to our problems. An exchange of pre-formulated views would be a waste of a great opportunity; what is required here is a discussion and a thinking aloud, by scholars of different persuasions, about the extent to which their own approach has proved valid and useful in the context of African evidence of history. If this can be done frankly, the future direction of African historical research and interpretation will derive great benefit from your meetings here.

The many questions about future work which will be raised at this conference should not, however, be allowed to mask the amount of lost historical knowledge which has been regained during the last few years. Your sessions which take stock of the results so far achieved will undoubtedly be fascinating, and will constitute a valuable professional exchange. But I hope that they will also be useful to teachers and members of the public who will attend your evening lectures, and to the educationalists of Africa who are among your conference members.
This is my final point. Important as are your discussions about techniques, and valuable as you will each find the exchange of information about results so far achieved, your work will have limited importance unless its results can be disseminated. It is the present and future citizens of Africa, and of the world, who must achieve the understanding which acknowledgment of African history can bring. The new knowledge, as it is acquired, must reach our schools and colleges in a form which is useful and understandable. The fact that this knowledge has gaps in it, which are filled with conjectures based on limited evidence, is no great problem. It can be a stimulus to interest and future work by an increasing number of African students. And it is when this happens that African attitudes, insights, and questionings, will really begin to shape the growth of African historical research and writing.

Ladies and Gentlemen, this conference grew out of an initiative promoted by the Society of African Culture. It was organized by the University College of Dare es Salaam, with the full co-operation of my Government. It was paid for by the Tanzanian Government with the help of a generous contribution from UNESCO. A large number of people have thus been involved, and we in Tanzania are very grateful to all those who have helped to bring the conference into being.

Perhaps, however, I should explain one thing. We in Tanzania have devoted what is for us a lot of time and money in organizing this gathering. We have done so for one reason only; because we believe that a knowledge and understanding of African history is important for the growth of our continent. We have not, Mr. Principal, invited distinguished guests from all over the world in the expectation – or hope – that they will finish with a declaration of support for conclusions and resolutions which we have already formulated. We have asked them to come and help in the search for knowledge; to help in the formulation of the right questions, and in the collation of existing experience.

On behalf of the Government, and – if I may change my hat for a moment – as Visitor of the University College, I thank you all for responding to our invitation. I give you our good wishes for a useful and successful conference.

Thank you.
CHAPTER 4
THE IMPORTANCE AND PLEASURE OF READING
THE IMPORTANCE AND PLEASURE OF READING

[English - Opening Printing Works and Book Warehouse, Arusha, 29th November, 1965]

Reading in our culture is often associated with laziness and idling. Yet if we are to develop, we have to cultivate literate citizens in Tanzania.

“It is a fact which we must recognize; that in dealing with the modern world, children in Europe have two big advantages over our own children. One is familiarity with mechanical thing; the other, and perhaps even more important one, is familiarity with books.”

From a social and economic point of view, it is better if our industrial development is scattered throughout the United Republic. In so far as there is a choice, we in Tanzania would infinitely prefer to see many small factories started in different towns of our country rather than one big factory started in any one of them. Such a dispersal means that we have served very many social problems arising from too rapid growth in any one city, and from the consequent break-up of all our traditional social organizations. It promotes agriculture in the different regions of our country by providing local markets of wage-earners, and a communication centre. And it spreads an understanding and familiarity with the possibilities and requirements of modern living and modern working.

But although I have no ambition to see out capital city – or any other town – become a great soul-less mass in which people live in isolation while crowded among their fellow citizens, there is only one way in which this can be avoided, and that is by having new industrial enterprises scattered throughout our nation.
... Now let me confess to a special pleasure that it is a book store and book printing works which we are today opening in Tanzania. Book production is economically important to us. We spend a lot of money on education and the greater the number of the necessary books which can be printed and published within the country, the less will be the short-term cost of this investment in people. We shall save foreign currency if our schools can be supplied with books which are printed here. When we pay for these books we shall also be paying wages to our own people and thus promoting further development within our territory rather than abroad. These are important factors and it was not without design that the Government, in Mr. Curtis’ words, dropped ‘certain broad hints’ to the printing company to encourage them to expand their operations in this country.

At the same time I have to admit to a personal pleasure at the thought of good book production taking place in our country. Stored in books is the accumulated knowledge of man and the earth he lives in, as well as the literature of different civilizations. In time I hope that our own African traditional stories and cultures will also be fully available in this form, and I was pleased to hear Mr. Moshi say that new books are being encouraged on these subjects. But in the meantime the books which are available can teach us, can inspire us, or can refresh our minds with the pleasure of a good story well told. Books can break down the isolation of our lives and provide us with a friend wherever we may be.

I think we have to try very hard in Tanzania to cultivate literate citizens. It is a fact which we must recognize, that in dealing with the modern world, children in Europe have two big advantages over our own children. One is the familiarity with mechanical things; the other, and perhaps even more important one, is familiarity with books. Too often in our own society a person who sits down to read is accused of being lazy or of being unsociable. This attitude we must change. When we get to the position where a man and wife can sit together in the evening each reading or reading to each other, and when their children are encouraged to learn out of school by reading books which are easily available, then we shall have made a big break-through in our development...
CHAPTER

5

THE ROLE OF UNIVERSITIES
Nyerere takes a very utilitarian view about the functions of universities, which is to serve the society in which they operate. Yet he is not saying learning for its own sake is useless, but that it is a luxury under certain conditions.

“The university function of extending the frontiers of knowledge is very important for humanity... We must not establish our new young countries institutions of higher learning which simply receive. They must give as well.”

It gives me great pleasure to welcome to this conference, and to Dar es Salaam, the delegates and guests of the World University Service. I am told that about 50 countries are represented here, and even more universities and university colleges. We are pleased that the progress of our University College buildings allows us to be hosts on this occasion; we hope that you will be happy and comfortable in these quarters.

Every time I myself come to this campus – which is fairly frequently – I think again about our decision to build here, and our decision about the type of buildings. Sometimes I wonder whether we made the right decision, although really I know it is too early for an answer to be given to that question. For the answer depends upon what the graduates of this University College do in the future, and to what extent their actions have been influenced by the expenditure of more than Shs. 50 million. In other words, the answer depends upon the future – and includes an immeasurable factor anyway!
Yet the question itself is an important one. It involves the whole problem of what a university could, and should, do in a developing society. For I believe that the pursuit of pure learning can be a luxury in society; whether it is or not, depends upon the conditions in which that society lives. Perhaps I am being foolhardy in making such a statement at a University gathering, but I am going to repeat it. When people are dying because existing knowledge is not applied, when the very basic social and public services are not available to all members of a society, then that society is misusing its resources if it pursues pure learning for its own sake.

If there are philosophy students among this gathering I suspect that they are already making mental demands that I define my terms. What do I mean by ‘pure learning’, and ‘for its own sake’. And if I hold these reservations about the function of a university in this developing society, why is it that I myself am proud to be Chancellor of the University of East Africa, and Visitor of this University College?

These are valid responses to my rather provocative statement, because one of the very important traditional functions of a university has been this pursuit of pure knowledge – knowledge about things which exist, or happen, just for the sake of finding out more about them. Indeed very many of the advances in the human condition rest upon the foundation of work done at universities which had no apparent relevance to man’s life on the earth. I believe that scientists divide their research into two categories – pure and applied – and it is the former which is normally carried out in universities while the latter may also be undertaken in industrial or agricultural complexes. Economists do not – as far as I know – make this same formal distinction, but reading some economists’ research papers about theoretical measurements of immeasurable factors it appears that in practice the same division exists! The men and women who seek to solve particular problems of science and society then sometimes use and develop these apparently useless pieces of knowledge, and as a result huge advances are made in dealing with very pressing problems of individuals and communities.

I have no doubt in my mind, therefore, but that the university function of extending the frontiers of knowledge is very important for humanity. I will go further, and say that in the course of time universities in developing countries must also make their contribution to the world of knowledge in this direction.
We must not establish in our new young countries institutions of higher learning which simply receive. They must give as well.

But in all things there are priorities, and we have to look at the immediate future, and the immediate present, and decide what it is that universities in our kind of society can at present most usefully give to the world of which we are a part. And it is my conviction that universities in countries like Tanzania have other urgent tasks to fulfil which will test their resources – human and material – to the utmost. I do not believe that they can at this stage pursue ‘pure research’ and ‘knowledge for its own sake’ without neglecting other functions which are for the time being more important.

Before I explain what I believe these other functions ought to be, let me make one thing clear. At any good university, some of the best brains of the day should be living together. And good brains cannot be turned on and off; a man who thinks about his work will not stop thinking at the end of his day, or when the students are on vacation. If he then finds it relaxing – or exciting, depending upon temperament – to investigate an apparently irrelevant matter, he should certainly be encouraged to do so and given use of such facilities as are available. And if this means that later he is able to produce a paper explaining, let us say, why certain fish change colour when taken out of water, then he deserves congratulation. My original statement was not that pure learning is useless; it was that it is a luxury under certain conditions. And a man who spends his spare time on this luxury is certainly entitled to our gratitude more than a man who spends his spare time on other equally luxurious, but less constructive pastimes.

Neither should my assessment of priorities be taken to imply that we expect from our university merely the dissemination of established facts. Whether in a developing country or elsewhere, a university does not deserve the name if it does not promote thinking. But our particular and urgent problems must influence the subjects to which thought is given, and they must influence, too, the approach. Both in university-promoted research, and in the content of degree syllabuses, the needs of our country should be the determining factor.

What are the problems we face in the discipline concerned? What are the obstacles which might prevent the achievement of a particular national goal, and how can they be overcome? Is a particular policy conducive to the attainment of the basic objectives of the society? These are the type of questions
to which the university can and should be giving attention. In these fields, university staff and students should be co-operating with Government and the people.

There are some people who would undoubtedly challenge this assumption that university should co-operate with Government. They would say that the task of a university is to seek for truth, and to ignore all other responsibilities, leaving it to those outside the university to accept or reject the result in their practical politics. Yet this is to say that a university could, and should, live divorced from its society. It implies, too, that there is an automatic conflict with Government – that Government is not concerned with truth! It is my conviction that this attitude is based on a half-truth, and has within it great dangers, both for society as a whole and for the University itself.

I fully accept that the task of a university is to seek for truth, and that its members should speak the truth as they see it regardless of consequences to themselves. But you will notice the words ‘to themselves’; I do not believe they should do this regardless of the society. A university which tries to put its professors and its students into blinkers will neither serve the cause of knowledge, nor the interests of the society in which it exists. But to try and deal objectively with a particular problem, and in a scientific manner to analyse and describe it – that is one thing. To move from that to an assumption that the consequences are irrelevant is entirely different. What we expect from our university is both a complete objectivity in the search for truth, and also commitment to our society – a desire to serve it. We expect the two things equally. And I do not believe this dual responsibility – to objectivity and to service – is impossible of fulfillment. In this I find support in the speech of the first Principal of the Dar es Salaam University College, Professor R.C. Pratt, who said when the campus was being opened:

“We must strive consciously and deliberately to assure that the life and work of the College is in harmony with the central positive objectives that underlie the national policies of our Governments… The University of East Africa must be a committed institution; actively relating our work to the communities it seeks to serve. This is in no sense in contrast to, or in contradiction of, the intellectual objectivity and respect for truth which must also be an essential feature of a
University. Commitment and objectivity are not opposites, are not in contradiction to each other. Rather the best scholarship is often a product of deep commitment…”

I believe, to pretend that a society can progress if it is based on falsity, or that the truth is so unimportant that it can be buried in intellectual tomes which have no relevance to the work of a people who are trying to revolutionize their conditions of life is a falsehood.

In fact, a university in a developing society must put the emphasis of its work on subjects of immediate moment to the nation in which it exists, and it must be committed to the people of that nation and their humanistic goals. This is central to its existence; and it is this fact which justifies the heavy expenditure of resources on this one aspect of national life and development. Its research, and the energies of its staff in particular, must be freely offered to the community, and they must be relevant.

Applied research, however, is only one aspect of university work. The dissemination of knowledge to undergraduates and other members of society is equally important. But it is not simply facts which must be taught. Students must be helped to think scientifically; they must be taught to analyse problems objectively, and to apply the facts they have learned – or which they know exist – to the problems which they will face in the future. For when a society is in the process of rapid change – which is a definition of a developing society – it is no use giving students the answers to today’s problems. These are useful mainly as a training ground; the real worth of the university education will show itself much later when these same men and women have to cope with problems which are as yet unseen.

Yet once again, the real problem in our societies is a different one. For universities all over the world have this task of trying to educate and expand the minds of their students. Universities in developing countries have also another, and in some ways, a more difficult problem. It is this same problem of commitment and it brings me back to the question I started with – the question of whether these fine buildings are really the right environment for our new University.
The library, the hostels, the lecture rooms and so on which make up this campus were all designed to enable the students here to work well – to concentrate their energies on learning and thinking. It is because we need young people to do this that we started the University College and devote a considerable proportion of our recurrent revenue to its upkeep. But anyone who walks off this campus into the nearby villages, or who travels up country – perhaps to Dodoma or into the Pare hills – will observe the contrast in conditions here and the conditions in which the mass of our people live. And the purpose of establishing the university is to make it possible for us to change these poverty-stricken lives. We do not build sky-scrapers here so that a few very fortunate individuals can develop their own minds and then live in comfort, with intellectual stimulus making their work and their leisure interesting to themselves. We tax the people to build these places only so that you men and women may become efficient servants to them. There is no other justification for this heavy call being made on poor peasants.

How can the reality of this responsibility be maintained all the time for students who live here? How can we ensure that they remain – or become – constructively concerned about the task of transforming our national poverty, so that they regard the conditions here as an interim in their lives and not as something to which they are entitled?

What all this really amounts to is not a question about buildings. These are the physical surroundings designed to assist efficiency. The real problem is that of promoting, strengthening, and channeling social attitudes which are conducive to the progress of our society. For, as I have already said, we in poor societies can only justify expenditure on a university – of any type – if it promotes real development of our people. And the buildings become relevant only because they could introduce one further factor dividing university students from the masses who sent them here. But they do not necessarily have this effect. The factors which really determine whether university students shall remain an integral part of a classless society or become members of an alien elite are much more subtle – and much more difficult to deal with.

In our traditional societies, every member was fully aware of his membership in the society – his responsibility to his fellows as well as their responsibility to him. All individuals lived the same sort of life; it was a hard one in which the need for co-operation was an obvious fact. The social institutions themselves
encouraged this psychology of interdependence, and it was part of the
environment in which every child grew up. Yet now we take certain of our
children and separate them from others by giving them opportunities for
secondary schooling which are not available to everyone. Later we choose a
still more limited number and send them to universities. And throughout this
process we have been taking the individual out of his community, and only too
often at the same time encouraging him to work hard by promises of individual
advancement if he does so. It is he, as an individual, who is stressed; it is he who
alone reads and learns and gets the opportunity for advance. This is inevitable;
all of us have different brains, and the complexities of a modern society demand
very many different kinds of skills – which require different individual training.

But with all this stress on his individual responsibility, how can we at the same
time safeguard the individual against the arrogance of looking upon himself as
someone special, someone who has the right to make very heavy demands upon
society, in return for which he will design to make available the skills which that
society has enabled him to acquire? In particular, what can a university do to
ensure that its students regard themselves as ‘servants-in-training’?

This is one of the most vital, and most difficult, of the students this ‘lesson’ is
almost unnecessary. They take for granted the fact that they should work with
their fellow citizens in National Service, in lonely up-country posts, and so on.
But unfortunately this is not true of all; and certainly as a body there is always a
temptation for students to regard themselves as a group which has rights
without responsibilities. We have seen how many groups of students demand
ever better conditions of study, ever larger allowances. They demand that they
should be treated separately from others when questions of National Service
arise – not in order to give more, but in order to give less. And most difficult of
all, they compare themselves as a group, and themselves as graduates
individually, with students and graduates of universities in the wealthy
countries of the world. Then they feel resentful if their conditions are worse, or
their pay is lower. And all the time the masses continue to live on an annual
income of about £20 per head per year!

A university in a country like Tanzania has to deal with this problem. It has to
meet the challenge – ‘Physician, heal thyself’. For if it is acknowledged that
only united effort for development will enable the transformation of the
underdeveloped nations of the world, then it must also be acknowledged that
the universities of those nations, their staffs and students, must also be united with the rest of those societies in that task. And this can only happen if the university men and women themselves feel their identity with their fellows – including those who never went to school at all. It can only happen if the university graduates merge themselves back into the communities from which they came, and transform them from within.

Many different techniques are used to strengthen and rebuild the relationship between university students and the other members of their society. Work camps, vacation work, National Service, voluntary nation-building and so on are all valuable methods for helping with this problem. Yet it can remain a problem unless the whole atmosphere of the university is one of giving service, and expecting service, from all its members and students; unless, in other words, the prevailing attitude is one of social responsibility. And this must not be the idea of ‘giving aid to the poor’. That arrogance has no place in Tanzania at any rate. It must be an attitude of wanting to work, in whatever work there is to do, alongside and within the rest of the community, until finally there is no more distinction between a graduate and an illiterate than there is between a man who works as a carpenter and his fellow who works as a brick maker. Graduates and illiterates would then accept their tasks as distinctive, and as making different demands on them, but as being in both cases but a part of a single whole.

Mr. Chairman, I have only dealt with a small number of aspects of the many-sided responsibilities of a university in a developing society. I have spoken inevitably out of Tanzanian experience of the needs and problems. But I want to close by saying how interested we in the Government are in the subject of your discussions this week. For we believe that our University College can play a very, very important role in our development. Despite the questions I raised we see no reason to revise our confident expectation that it will play this role. Already we have had valuable service from members of faculty; already we have young graduates in law working in our Government offices. And I can assure you that the Tanzanian Government is anxious for the constructive ideas and criticisms which our College, or any other academic institution, can give us.

For this is really what I have been saying. The role of a university in a developing country is to contribute; to give ideas, manpower, and service for the furtherance of human equality, human dignity, and human development.
CHAPTER 6

AHUTUBIA JUU YA ELIMU YA KUJITEGEMEA
Nyerere was at pain to note that in the past when opportunities were limited people were used to seeing primary education as preparation not for life but for advancement in further education and white color job. Yet, under expanded and democratized universal primary education, primary education can only be a preparation for life in the villages and not white color jobs in town.

“Na wazee wanasema: ‘Mwanangu mimi hakushindwa, mbona kakosa nafasi ya kuingia Form one?... Tutawafanyaje watoto hawa?... nenda na watoto wenu... Elimu ilikuwa ni utaratibu wa kuhama vijijini. Sasa madhali tunakusudia kwamba elimu ni ya kumsaidia mtoto wetu wote, lazima tuwaze kwamba elimu ni ya kumsaidia mtoto wetu huyu aliyesoma maisha yake hapa kijijini yaweze kuwa mazuri zaidi.”

Wananchi mtanisamehe nikisema nimekaa. Nadhani mtasikia. Sidhani kama mtashindwa kusikia.

Kwanza mimi vile vile ngingependa kutoa shukurani kwa nafasi mliyonipa kuonana na walimu wengi kama hivi iliyotumie nafasi hii kuleze moja katika mambo mawili, na na nafasi hii zimejelezwa, na nadhani tutapata nafasi, kama walimu watapenda kuniuliza uliza mambo fulani, ambayo hayaeleweki vizuri, nitajitahidi kadri nitakavyoweza kuyajibu.

Katika yale mawili tuliyoyataja lile ambalo ngingependa kulisemekoa ni la elimu, si la Azimio la Arusha. Azimio la Arusha nitaliacha. Kama kutakuwa na maswali juu ya Azimio la Arusha nitakuwa tayari kujibu, lakini nafasi hii
ningependa zaidi kuitumia kueleza mawazo tuliyo nayo juu ya elimu, na hasa elimu ya Primary. Si juu ya elimu nzima lakini hasa elimu ya primary.

Elimu ya primary kama mnayojuwa walimu wenzangu, mimi sikuwahi kufundisha katika primary kwa hiyo sijui matatizo yake ya kufundisha. Nimfundisha katika sekondari tu na nilianzia hapa hapa Tabora. Kwa hiyo najua matatizo ya sekondari skuli lakini siyo haya ninataka kuzungumza; wala si matatizo ya walimu ninataka kuzungumza; ni matatizo ya nchi.


kuhamisha mtu. Lazima iwe elimu ya kumuwezesha mtu yule mahali pale alipo, maisha yake yakawa mazuri zaidi.


kwa maisha yanayowezekana Tanzania kwa watu waliwengi na maisha yenye maisha ya kilimo. Hiyo inaeleweka.


Sidhani kweli tutatunga msahafu kutoka Dar es Salaam, ambao msahafu huu kila mwalimu atajaribu kutimiza kama msahafu unavyosema. Nadhani msahafu wetu utasema kitu kimoja tu:-

“Walimu watayarisheni watoto wenu kwa maisha watakayo kwenda kuishi katika vijiji vyao. Basi. Fullstop”.


Nimemaliza.

Asanteni sana.
CHAPTER 7

AHUTUBIA WALIMU JUU YA ELIMU YA KUJITEGEMEA
Parents want their children to continue with further education and to get paid jobs. They cannot understand how primary education could be terminal as specified in the Education for Self Reliance Document. It was Nyerere’s most difficult task to convince them otherwise.


Waheshimiwa walimu, nimewaombeni tuonane kwa sababu mbili. Ya kwanza niweze kuchukua nafasi hii kuwaelezeni mambo fulani fulani ambayo mmeshayasikia lakini si vibaya nikiyaeleza tena. Pili ninawapeni nafasi ninyi vilevile kama kuna mambo fulani fulani, pamoja na hayo nitakayoyaeleza, na hayo ambayo pengine sintayaeleza, ambayo bado hayajawa safi, hamjayaeleweni sawa sawa, muweze kuniuliza. Nitajitahidi kuyaeleza eleza na kuwasaidia kuyaelewa vizuri zaidi.

Ninafanya hivi kwa sababu kwa kweli tunaomba msadaa wenu walimu mtusaidie mkisha elewa haya mambo tunayojaribu kufanya katika nchi yetu. Mukisha elewa mtusaidie wengine nao waelewe. Kazi ya kueleza ngumu.
Mpaka taifa letu zima lielewe! Lakini kueleza walimu si jambo gumu, na kama walimu hawakuelewa, walimu wasipoelewa, basi itakuwa vigumu sana watu wengine kuelewa; na hasa walimu waelezwe na mwalimu mwenzao, halafu hata hivyo wasielewe? Litakuwa jambo la taibu kidogo. Kwa hiyo ninajua walimu mtalelewa haya nitakayoyasema na tunawaomba walimu mkielewa mtusaaidie maana kazi tunayojaribu kuifanya wananchi ni kubwa. Inataka maelezo.


Maana yake ni kwamba, tulipokuwa tunafundisha watoto wetu katika shule za primary, shabaha yetu likiwa ni kuwaingiza katika sekondari. Ilikuwa shule nzuri ni shule inayofaulu kupeleka watoto wengi katika shule ya sekondari. Mwalimu mzuri ni mwalimu anayewezesha wanafunzi wake kufaulu mthani wa kuingia katika darasa la sekondari. Mtoto mzuri ni mtoto anayeleta sifa kwa shule yake; ni yule anayefaulu mthani akaingia katika darasa la sekondari.
Yule anayeshindwa, kama tunavyosema ameshindwa, tunamwona mtoto mbaya; ameleta aibu kwa shule yake. Tulimtazamia ataingia darasa, na siku zile ilikuwa darasa la tano, na sasa nadhani Form One. Ameshindwa kuingia katika Form One! “Wewe mtoto umeleta aibu kwa sababu hukufaulu.”

Nasema shabaha yetu ilikuwa ni Form One. Shule safi ni shule inayoweza kupeleka watoto wengi katika Form One. Mwalimu safi ni mwalimu anayeweza kupeleka watoto wake wengi sana katika Form One. Mwanafunzi safi ni mwanafunzi ambaye ameweza kupenywa akaingia katika Form One. Wale wanaoshindwa, shule inayoshindwa tunailaumu, mwalimu anayeshindwa tunailaumu, watoto wanaoshindwa ndio kabisa, ndio kabisa tunaona watoto hawa kama wamefanya dhambi kutokwenda katika Form One.

Ni kosa kwa nini? Kwa sababu kwanza, tunajua hawawezi kuingia Form One watoto hawa. Mwaka jana, watoto wote waliomaliza darasa la saba, wale walioweza kuingia Form One, darasa la kwanza katika Sekondari school, walikuwa ni kumi na tatu kwa mia, ndio walioweza kuingia katika Form One. Themanini na saba kwa mia hawakwenda Form One. Waliomaliza masomo yao hapa hapa kwa sababu waliomaliza masomo yao hapa hapa.

Kwa hiyo ninasema tumekosa. Tumekosa vipi? Kwanza, kwa sababu hawaingii watoto hawa katika Form One. Wataingiaje Form One na hakuna nafasi ya kuingia katika Form One. Wataingiaje katika Form One na hakuna nafasi ya kuingia katika Form One. Wala haikuwa makuwepesi kusema kweli, ingawa ndivyo tulivyodhani sisi, haikuwa makuwepesi ya kuwapeleka watoto hawa katika Form One. Ilikuwa katika Form One. Ilikuwa watoto hawa wapate elimu ya miaka saba basi.

ifike. Siku ya siku ikifika, aha! Tunawagundua hawa kumi na watatu, tunawachagua wanakwenda katika Form One, hawa waliobaki, haya, rudini makwenu. Walimu wana wasiwasi, watoto wenyewe wana wisi wasi, wazee wana wasi wasi.


Hawezi kulima? Lakini wanauliza:- “Alime? Mtoto ana mri wa miaka kumi na mine tu alime?”


Wenzangu nyinyi mnajua sana habari hizi. Sasa nasema hivyo ndivyo ilivyokuwa siku zile kwa sababu hayo ndiyo yalikuwa malengo na makusudi

Kama elimu yetu sasa ni elimu aipate kila mtu, sio mchaguane chaguane watu wateule fulani wameteuliwa wao. Kama nia yake ni kuwa elimu ya kila mtu, basi ni dhahiri kwamba madhumuni yake lazima yatakuwa madhumuni tofauti na ile elimu iliyokuwa elimu ya mtu mmoja mmoja. Madhumuni yake lazima yawe si ya kumpeleka mtoto Form One. Lazima ni ya kumsaidia mtoto huyu kuishi katika kijiji giijii chake, na kukifanya kije kizuri zaidi kuliko kinalyokouwa kama ambapo aliwepo elimu ya miaka saba. Lazima hi ni ndiyo shabaha hasa ya kusomesha watoto wete.

Sasa hivi ndivyo tunavyojaribu kusema kwamba walimu tubadilishe shabaha ya elimu. Badala ya kufundisha huyu mtoto, akiingia standard one unaanza unafikiria Form One, na kufaulu kwangu ni kupenyesa huyu mtoto aingie Form One, mawazo yetu yawe, na nia ya watoto hawa shuleni iwe madhali elimu ni kuona kwamba watakapotoka hapa baada ya miaka saba, na miaka saba si midogo, watakuwa wameokota chochote shuleni hapa ambacho kitawasaidia kuishi maisha mazuri zaidi katika vijiji vyao, kwa sababu ndipo watakaporudi, kuliko hapa watoto wete hawa wasingesoma. Kwa hiyo tutawatayarisha watoto hawa kurudi katika vijiji vyao kule wanapokaa na kuendeshwa maisha mazuri zaidi, kwa sababu wamesoma, kuzidi maisha ya jana ya vijiji vyetu vei lipokuwa wenyeki wa vijiji vile haukujua kusoma, hawajui kuandika, hawajui ulimwengu wa sasa ulivyvo. Hiyo lazima iwe ndiyo shabaha ya elimu katika vijiji vyetu kwa sasa.

Hii siyo kwamba hawatapenya watoto fulani kuingia katika Form One. Watapenya. Wataingia. Ila shabaha haitakuwa juu ya watoto hao. Watapenya tuu hao kumi na tatu kwa mia, na madhali kazi zetu ni nyingi lazima kuna watu fulani fulani tutawachukua kama namna ile ile tulivyokuwa tunawachukua. Tutachukua wateule fulani na kuwapa elimu zaidi kwa sababu kama unataka mwalimu baadae aje afundishe watu, Watanzania wote wapate elimu ya miaka saba, ni dhahiri kwamba mwalimu huyu elimu yake yeye lazima ipite miaka


Mtoto huyu ameimaliza. Kashindwa nini? :Oh Kashindwa kuwingia Form One”.
Nani alisema watoto wetu wote hawa watatakwa Form One. Kwa hiyo lugha bado ni ile ile.


ni dhahiri kwamba lazima tuwaachie walimu na shule zenyewe kujua nini la kufanya kwa sababu vijiji vyetu havifanani. Ikiwa nia ni kumtayarishia mtoto kwa maisha ya kijiji chake pale, basi waachie walimu wa pale waone jinsi ya kumtayarishia mtoto kwa kijiji kile. Lakini itakuwa tofauti sana na kijiji cha kule, kwa sababu maisha ya kijiji hiki na kule hayafanani. Maisha ya vijiji vya Uhaya na maisha ya vijiji vya Unyakyusa, ingawa wote wanakula ndizi, havifanani. Maisha ya Umasaini na maisha ya Uzanaki, na wote tunakula sana nyama, vile vile hayafanani.


Kwa hiyo walimu lazima tuwaombeni tusijali sana sekondari school. Wale watoto wenu kumi na watatu waliopenya, na wataangaliwa vizuri sana, na mtauliza habari zao, lakini nasema walimu mjitahidi sana kujali vijiji kule wanakorudi watoto wenu walio wengi zaidi. Maana kule ndipo matunda yenu ya kazi yalipo. Matunda makubwa ya kazi muliyoifanya yatakuwa vijiji siyo
sekondari school, na ninyi walimu tunawaombeni mvujue vijiji, tena mtakuwa sawa na siasa yetu. Vile vile mtajua nini la kufanya katika shule kusudi kusaidia watoto hawa katika maisha ambayo mnayajua na mnashirikiana na wazee wao. Nasema ni vigumu sana sisi kutamka, ati tutamke kutoka Dar es Salaam, jinsi ya kutimiza siasa hii zaidi ya kuitaja na kuwaomba walimu hasa mtusaidie katika kuitimiza, na labda vile vile katika kueleza kwa kipana, si sana, kwa kueleza tu, bila kujazia mno, jinsi siasa yenyewe inavyoweza inavyowezesha


Hii habari tunasema kuhusu Ujamaa, makubwa sana hayo. Lakini tukiweza kumsomesha ili mtu tunayemsomesha elimu isiwe problem, ambalo ni jambo la kijinga sana kwamba elimu inakuwa problem, ikawa watoto wote hawa tunaweza kuwasomesha ikawa elimu inawasaidia kukaa katika vijiji vyao, hatutaogopa kusomesha watoto wete wote. Na haitachukua muda mrefu sana kabla vijiji vyetu havina watoto wapya kabisa. Watu wapya, wenyeji na wazazi wa vijiji vyetu watakuwa ni watu wenye elimu ya standard seven. Watakuwa wanaelewa kabisa nini kinachotakiwa, na nchi yetu itakuwa tofauti zaidi kuliko iliwyo sasa hivi na itakuwa vizuri saidi.

Waheshimiwa walimu, natumaini nimeeleza vya kutosha. Hilo nitaliachia. Lakini kama nilivyosema mwanzoni, kama mtapenda labda, kuniuliza maswali juu ya hilo au juu ya mambo mengine tunayozungumza sasa hivi katika nchi yetu, nitajitahidi kuyajibu.

Asante sana walimu.
CHAPTER
8
THE INTELLECTUAL NEEDS SOCIETY
The traditional thinking is that societies need the intellectuals in order to modernize and develop. This leads to arrogance and a sense of indispensability. Nyerere says this is all wrong. It is the other way round. Without the society to be served, intellectualism is meaningless and hollow. Intellectuals should put service first and self second, and be modest and practical.

“...Here in Africa we can use our skills to help people to transform their lives from abject poverty...but we have to be part of the society, we have to work from within it and not try to descend (on it) like ancient gods...”

... There is, in fact, only one reason why underdeveloped societies like ours establish and maintain universities. We do so as an investment in our future. We are spending large and disproportionate amounts of money on a few individuals so that they should, in the future, make a disproportionate return to the society. We are investing in a man’s brain in just the same way as we invest in a tractor; and just as we expect the tractor to do many times as much work for us as a hand-hoe, so we expect the student we have trained to make many times as great a contribution to our well-being as the man who has not had this good fortune. We are giving to the student while he is at the university, so that we may receive more from him afterwards. There is nothing altruistic about it; poor people cannot afford financial altruism. We have a right to expect things from university graduates and others who have had higher education of any kind; we do not just have a hope, but an expectation.
This, Mr. President, is not an unusual position, nor a peculiar demand made on Africans by Africans which is not made in other places. You know better than I do that two thousand years ago, Jesus said: ‘For unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required; and to whom men have committed much, of him they shall ask the more’.

What is it, then, that we require of those in our societies who have education? We require service to the community – and service in geometric progression according to the amount they have received.

There is no doubt, of course, that the knowledge which has been acquired at schools and higher educational institutions can be used almost exclusively for personal gain, with benefit to the society being a mere by-product. Indeed, it sometimes seems that we have organized our societies on this basis, as the temptation of the highest wages is so often connected with the least socially useful occupations. But even in the most needed positions, highly educated and skilled people can at present often abuse their trust if they have a mind to do so. It is not unknown for people to demand higher and higher wages, or better and better conditions, for using the training and the skill they have acquired at the expense of the society. Instead of accepting that they have a debt of service to repay, these individuals demand greater and greater differentials between them and the unskilled labourer, on the grounds that they are ‘key workers’ – that without an engineer no bridge can be built, etc.

Whether or not it is right, in any abstract terms, that an engineer should get more than a technician, and a technician more than a labourer – or even a President more than the people he represents – is not my concern today.

… But how far are we educated people going to take the demand for a higher reward, which we have already established? It is true that the bridge cannot be built without the engineer; but it cannot be built without the labourers either. Shall we always compare our wages and salaries with those higher ones that other people are getting – perhaps in the wealthy societies of America and Europe? Or shall we begin to compare them with the people who get much less for working as hard, although differently? Shall we, in other words, use the skills which society has enabled us to acquire, in order to hold that same society at ransom?
If we stop to think about our position in our society I do not think we shall do this. For the fact is that, as well as having special responsibilities because of the investment which was made in us, we also have special opportunities – a fact which is being increasingly realized. Africa today is an exciting place to live in; African development is an exciting challenge, and we have the opportunity to shape and to lead the response to that challenge. For, going back to my example of the bridge, carrying bags of cement, working in water, and so on, without any vision of what it is all about – which is the labourer’s fate – is not much fun. It is very exciting, however, to take part in the designing of a bridge and participate in its building according to the plan you have drawn up.

Graduates in the developed societies do not have such opportunities as we have in Africa, and such social satisfactions as we can have. A young man or woman there can certainly participate in raising the standard of living of his country; but he may well find that this means the difference between a coloured and a black-and-white television service – which is hardly calculated to give one mental or emotional stimulus! But here in Africa we can, by the use of our skills, help people to transform their lives from abject poverty – that is, from fear of hunger and always endless drudgery – to decency and simple comfort. We can help to relieve the women of the burden of carrying water on their heads for miles; we can help to bring light and hope to small children otherwise condemned to malnutrition and disease. We can make our own homes – that is, the homes where the masses of our people live – into decent comfortable places, where all the inhabitants can live in dignity.

But there is one essential qualification we have to fulfil if we are to receive this kind of satisfaction of a job well done. We have to be part of the society which we are changing; we have to work from within it, and not try to descend like ancient gods, do something, and disappear again. A country, or a village, or a community, cannot be developed; it can only develop itself. For real development means the development, the growth, of people. Every country in Africa can show examples of modern facilities which have been provided for the people – and which are now rotting unused. We have schools, irrigation works, expensive markets, and so on – things by which someone came and tried to ‘bring development to the people’. If real development is to take place, the people have to be involved. Educated people can give a lead – and should do so. They can show what can be done, and how. But they can only succeed in effecting changes in the society if they work from a position within the society.
Educated people, in other words, can only be effective when they are full members of the society they are trying to change, involved in its good and bad fortune, and committed to it whatever happens.

In order to do this the educated people of Africa have to identify themselves with the uneducated, and do so without reservation. Otherwise their best efforts will be wasted. We have found this out by experience in Tanzania. We have found that, if you want to introduce changes in a village most quickly, you do not necessarily go to the most educated person – or even to the Party or Government official. You go to the person whom the people of that village respect and look up to for leadership. When this ‘natural leader’ is the most educated man, progress is easier and better, for he has won the hearts as well as the minds of the people, and they feel that he is ‘one of them’. The next best thing is to the most educated person has a good relationship with the natural leader of that particular society; he can then influence development indirectly. But if the educated man is so arrogant in his knowledge, or so superior in his living standards, that the people are fearful of him, or hold him in contempt – in this case he would be better not to be there; for he will be a brake, not an accelerator, on development.

Of course, this does not mean that to be useful and successful in the work of national development, the university graduate, or the teacher, must always live in a traditional manner without using his greater knowledge for his own comfort. Nor does it mean that he must always conform to the majority views on everything. But his divergences from his community must be – and must be seen to be – adaptations of something people already understand. They must not be allowed to indicate a contempt for the majority or their way of life; they must include a recognizable basis of loyalty to the community. And when the educated person has reasons for his different way of life which arise out of his greater knowledge then he must be willing to explain this difference to those among whom he lives and works, that is, to his equals. If, for example, he always boils the water he drinks, and people can see the better health of his child, he must explain the connection between the two things when people ask, or as the occasion arises. And he must do this knowing that people may be disbelieving at first, and without appearing to have the attitude that they are stupid fellows who cannot even look after their own children.

For this acceptance of equality regardless of education is essential. And really we would be betraying our own ignorance if we imagined that only modern
technology, and modern knowledge, is of any value, or that it somehow bequeaths to us a superiority over our fellows who are not as lucky as we are. Africa’s traditional respect for the aged was not – and is not – stupid. It arose out of their accumulated opportunity to learn from experience of life and its problems. The assumption that uneducated local elders know nothing can lead to disastrous results. In Tanganyika, for example, £36 million was spent by our colonial masters on what was called the Groundnut Scheme – and now we import peanut butter! One of the contributory reasons for this expensive failure was that the ‘experts’ – that is to say, the educated fellows – found the average rainfall over a ten-year period in the relevant area, and planned accordingly. They assumed that, because the local farmers were illiterate, they could give no information about the regularity of the rains, year by year, or month by month. They assumed, too, that it was simple indolence which made people reluctant to cut down all the trees when planting a shamba. So large areas were cleared – and few nuts grew, but erosion began!

I did not give this example in any spirit of criticism of expatriate experts. Other examples could be given when local educated people are involved. I simply use it because it is the most expensive mistake we have experienced in Tanzania – or are likely to – and it makes one realize the importance of recognizing that we can learn from everyone. Knowledge does not only come out of books, or lecturers – or visiting Presidents! We have wisdom in our own past, and in those who still carry the traditional knowledge accumulated in that tribal past. And in particular, we should remember that, although traditional Africa was backward technologically, it cannot be described as having been backward in the harmonization it had achieved between man and his society. We would be stupid indeed if we allowed the development of our economies to destroy the human and social values which African societies had built up over centuries. Yet if we are to save these, we cannot afford the arrogance which our technical superiority tempts us to assume.

Mr. President, what I am trying to say is that we are all, educated and uneducated alike, members of one society, and equal human beings in that society. We can try to cut ourselves off from our fellows on the basis of the education we have had; we can try to carve out for ourselves an unfair share of the wealth of the society. But the cost to us, as well as to our fellow citizens, will be very high. It will be high not only in terms of satisfactions forgone, but also in terms of our own security and well-being.
But this means that university studies, and the university itself, are only justified in Africa if they – and it – are geared to the satisfaction of the needs of the society, the majority of whose members do not have any education. Work at the university must, therefore, be so organized that it enables the students, upon graduation, to become effective servants. For servants they must be. And servants have no rights which are superior to those of their masters; they have more duties, but no more privileges or rights. And the masters of us educated people are, and must be, the masses of the people.

For saying things like this in East Africa, and making demands upon our intellectuals which are consistent with these words, I have been accused of turning on my own kind – of being a kind of intellectual cannibal! It has been said that my education and my nature make me an intellectual, but now I am anti-intellectuals. If this is the case, I can only say that I have much company, for there are now many people – many ‘intellectuals’ – who adopt the same position as myself!

But in fact I believe such accusations are only made by those who have basically misunderstood the points I have been trying to make. And I certainly hope that this is not the impression I am leaving with you today. It is true that I reject the proposition that intellectuals are a special breed of men and women, by their very existence deserving privileges and rewards denied to others. But I do accept that intellectuals have a special contribution to make to the development of our nations, and to Africa. And I am asking that their knowledge, and the greater understanding that they should possess, should be used for the benefit of the society of which we are all members.

For we are all members of one another. Educated and uneducated are all citizens of one nation, one continent, and one world. Our future is inextricably linked, and intellectuals above all are dependent upon the society of which they are members. For the peasant can eke out a living on his own; he can grow his own food, make his own clothes, and shelter. The intellectual can do no more – and indeed may find it difficult now to do even that. And certainly without society he will not find much opportunity to use his intellectual abilities! It is for his own interests, therefore, as much as anything else, that the intellectual must use his abilities in the service of the health and well-being of society.
There is one final point I wish to make. I have been appealing to African universities and African university students – as well as to others receiving higher education – to be committed members of their society, and to design all their work for its service. I do not believe that this is at all inconsistent with the traditional function of a university, which is often defined as the search for truth. For I believe that society is served by truth. I believe that we need the universities, and their products, to stand up for truth as they see it, regardless of the personal consequences to themselves. Neither leaders nor masses are infallible; it may be that we are wrong – either through ignorance, or through malice. It is part of the task of those who are not burdened with day-to-day responsibilities to help us, and the people, to the best of their ability. And this may sometimes involve saying unpopular things if you believe them to be true.

But you will have noticed that I said the truth as it is seen should be spoken regardless of personal consequences. It would be sheer arrogance to speak the truth as you see it regardless of the consequences for society. The man who shouts “Fire” in a crowded schoolroom may be responsible for more deaths through panic than if he had said nothing – and certainly more than if he had quietly organized an evacuation. For the whole truth is known to none of us; we may have found out a new part of it, but we must not assume more.

Universities in Africa must try to deal objectively with the problems they investigate; they should analyse and describe them in a scientific manner; and from their accumulated knowledge they should suggest methods of dealing with them. But objectivity does not mean working in a vacuum. The university, whether it likes it or not, is part of the society. Both in the selection of the problems to be examined, and in the manner of dealing with them, this fact must be taken into account. It is part of that essential truth which a university has to promote.

Africa needs objectivity from its universities. We are dealing with new problems; we need all the light thrown on them that can be obtained. But the universities must be committed institutions too; committed to the growth and the development of our societies. They must promote committed service – and therefore honest, truthful and selfless service.

Mr. President:
Thank you.
CHAPTER 8

MSOMI ANAHITAJI JAMII (THE INTELLECTUAL NEEDS SOCIETY)
Nyerere urges the intellectuals to remember that developing countries invest in education because they expect consumerate returns. Education is not a private privilege but given for public good. Yet it does not mean that educated people are more important and so deserves better pay than the less educated ones. Indeed educated persons find their satisfaction and usefulness in the context of service to the people who equally contributes to humanity. There is no necessary contradiction between the search for truth and giving service to the people.


Watu wamepata kudai mishahara minene zaidi, au masharti bora zaidi ya kazi, kwa kutumia utaalamu na ujuzi walioupata kwa gharama ya wananchi. Badala ya kukubali kwamba wanadaiwa kulipa huduma kwa wananchi, watu hawa wanadai tena mapato makubwa, ili tofauti yao na wafanya kazi wengine iwe kubwa zaidi na zaidi, kwa kisingizio kwamba wao ni muhimu sana katika kazi hizo; eti bila ya injinia daraja haliwezi kujengeka, n.k.
Si nafasi yangu leo kusema, hata kwa nadharia, kama mawazo kama hayo ni sawa au si sawa. Sijui kama kweli injinia anastahili kupata pato kubwa zaidi kuliko fundi, au fundi zaidi ya kibarua; au hata kama Rais anastahili kupata pato kubwa zaidi kuliko watu waliomchagua. Lakini sisi tuliojaliwa kupata elimu tutaendelea kudai mapato makubwa zaidi kuliko yale tuli yokwisha kujipangia.

Ni kweli kwamba daraja haliwezi kujengwa bila ya injinia; lakini vile vile haliwezi kujengwa bila ya vibarua. Je, inafaa siku zote kulinganisha mishahara yetu na ile minene zaidi wanayopokea watu wengine ambao pengine wamo katika nchi zilizo kujengwa bila ya vibarua na tujengwa na kinywaji. Tunayeze muhimu siku zote kulinganisha mishahara mishahara yetu na ile minene zaidi wanayopokea watu wengine ambao wamo katika nchi zilizo kujengwa bila ya vibarua na tujengwa na kinywaji. Tunaweza muhimu na kujinga wale wengine ambao walo nafaa kujingwa bila ya vibarua na tujengwa na kinywaji.

Kusema kweli, kuna sababu moja tu inayozifanya nchi changa kama zetu zijenge na kuendesha vyuo vikuu. Tunaweke rasilimali kwa manufaa ya baadaye. Tunatumiwa fedha nyongeza na kuendesha vyuo vikuu kwa wengine ambao walo nafaa kujingwa bila ya vibarua na tujengwa na kinywaji. Tunaweze muhimu na kujinga wale wengine ambao walo nafaa kujingwa bila ya vibarua na tujengwa na kinywaji.
watamdai zaidi.’ Tunadai nini basi kwa wale wenzetu waliajaliwa kupata elimu? Tunadai huduma kwa wananchi, na huduma ambayo ukubwa wake utalingana na kiasi cha elimu waliyoipata.

Ni dhahiri kwamba mtu anaweza kuitumia elimu aliyoipata shuleni au katika chuo kwa faida yake mwenyewe binafsi, na faida nyingine kwa wananchi zikapatikana kwa bahati tu. Na kwa kweli wakati mwingine inaonekana kwamba utaratibu wa nchi zetu ndivyo ulivyo, kwa sababu vishawishi vya mishahara ya juu vimewekwa kwa zile kazi ambazo hazina faida kubwa kwa wananchi kwa jumla. Lakini, hata katika zile kazi za kuwahudumia sana wananchi, mara nyingi watu wenye elimu au utaalamu wanaweza kutumia vibaya dhamana yao, wakipenda.


Watu wenye shahada katika nchi zilizoendelea hawana na nafasi basi kama hizo, kama tulivyovu sisi katika Afrika; wala hawawezi kuwa na ridhaa ya moyoni kama tunavyoveza kuwa nayo sisi. Kijana wa kike au wa kiume katika Afrika anaweza kuwa na hakika ya kushiriki katika kuinua hali ya maisha ya wananchi katika taifa lake. Lakini anaweza akagundua kwamba kushiriki kwenyewe kunasaidia tu kuleta tofauti baina ya kionambali cha rangi na kile kinachoonyesha picha nyeusi na nyeupe, ambazo shabaha yake pengine hata siyo kusisimua mawazo ya wananchi.

Lakini hata hivyo bado katika Afrika tunaweza, kwa kutumia ujuzi wetu, kuwasaidia wananchi kuleta mapinduzi katika maisha yao yaliyo ya kimaskini.

Ili waweze kufanya hivyo itawabidi Waafrika wenyewe elimu wachanganyike kabisa na wenzao wasiona na bahati ya kuwa na elimu, na wafanye hivyo bila kusita sita. Laa sivyo, juhudi zao zitapotea bure. Katika Tanzania tumeyao hayo kwa vitendo. Tumeona kwamba ukitaka kuwa mtu mwenye elimu ya juu kuliko wote, au hata kiongozi na Chama au wa Serikali. Unamtafuta mtu ambaye wananchi wa kijiji kile wanaoishi unani wi bundu mpya kua ni kiongozi. Kama kiongozi humu anayekubalika, na wananchi ni mtu mwenye elimu, basi maendeleo huwa mazuri zaaidi na ya haraka zaaidi, maana anaweza kuwaona kwa miyo na

69
kwa mawazo pia, na wakati huo huo wananchi wanamwona kuwa yeye ni mmoja wao. Kama mtu huyo hakupatikana, basi wa pili anayefaa ni huyu mwenye elimu anayesema vizuri na yule kiongozi anayekubali katika sehemu ile. Hivyo anaweza kutumia ujuzi wake na kuleta maendeleo. Lakini kama huyu kijana mwenye elimu ana majivuno kwa sababu ya ujezi wake, au yukohabili sana na wananchi wengine kwa namna anavyoishi, hata wananchi wengine ama wamwagope ama wamuharuni. Ingekuwa bora zaidi kama kijana huyo akingulikuo wapo kabisa, kwa sababu atasimamisha badala ya kusukumama bebe maendeleo.

Lakini kusema hivyo maana yake si kusema kwamba mwalimu, au mtu ye yote mwenye shahada ya Chuo Kikuu, akitaka kufanikiwa katika kazi yake kwa sababu ya ujuzi wake ulio mkubwa zaidi. Wala maana yake si kusema kwamba mwalimu, au mtu ye yote mwenye shahada ya Chuo Kikuu, akitaka kufanikiwa katika kazi yake kwa sababu ya ujuzi wake ulio mkubwa zaidi. Wala maana yake si kusema kwamba mwalimu, au mtu ye yote mwenye shahada ya Chuo Kikuu, akitaka kufanikiwa katika kazi yake kwa sababu ya ujuzi wake ulio mkubwa zaidi. Wala maana yake si kusema kwamba mwalimu, au mtu ye yote mwenye shahada ya Chuo Kikuu, akitaka kufanikiwa katika kazi yake kwa sababu ya ujuzi wake ulio mkubwa zaidi.

Maana ni jambo muhimu watu kudhani usawa bila ya kujali elimu waliyoipata. Na kwa kweli tutakuwa tunadhirihiisha ujinga wetu sisi wenyewe tukidhani kuwa elimu na ujuzi wake ulio mawazo ya wananchi wa kujali elimu waliyoipata. Na kwa kweli tutakuwa tunadhirihiisha ujinga wetu sisi wenyewe tukidhani kuwa elimu na ujuzi wake ulio mawazo ya wananchi wa kujali elimu waliyoipata. Na kwa kweli tutakuwa tunadhirihiisha ujinga wetu sisi wenyewe tukidhani kuwa elimu na ujuzi wake ulio mawazo ya wananchi wa kujali elimu waliyoipata. Na kwa kweli tutakuwa tunadhirihiisha ujinga wetu sisi wenyewe tukidhani kuwa elimu na ujuzi wake ulio mawazo ya wananchi wa kujali elimu waliyoipata. Na kwa kweli tutakuwa tunadhirihiisha ujinga wetu sisi wenyewe tukidhani kuwa elimu na ujuzi wake ulio mawazo ya wananchi wa kujali elimu waliyoipata. Na kwa kweli tutakuwa tunadhirihiisha ujinga wetu sisi wenyewe tukidhani kuwa elimu na ujuzi wake ulio mawazo ya wananchi wa kujali elimu waliyoipata.
walijualo kwa sababu hawakupata elimu ni mawazo ya kijinga na yanaweza kuleta hasara kubwa. Kwa mfano, katika Tanzania bara wakoloni walimwaga shilingi milioni 720 kulima karanga – lakini leo bado tunaagiza mafuta ya karanga kutoka katika nchi za nje. Moja ya sababu ya hasara hiyo kubwa ni kwamba mabingwa, yaani wale watu wenye elimu, walifanya hesabu ya wastani wa mvua katika kipindi cha miaka 10 katika sehemu ile, basi wakatayarisha mpango wao. Walifikiri kwamba, kwa sababu wakulima wa sehemu ile walikuwa hawakupata elimu, wasingeweza hata kidogo kutoa habari zo zote za mvua za sehemu ile: mwaka hata mwaka, au mwezi hata mwezi. Vile vile walidhani kuwa wananchi walikuwa wavivu tu walipoacha wasikate miti yote walipolima shamba. Kwa hiyo wakalima mashamba makubwa sana, na nakavuna karanga kidogo sana; lakini mmomonyoko wa udongo ukaanza!


Mheshimiwa Rais, ninalojaribu kusema ni kwamba sisi wote, wenye elimu na wato na taifa moja, nasi tu sawa katika taifa hilo. Tunaweza kuza kujitenga na wenzetu kwa sababu ya elimu yetu tuliyoipata; tunaweza tukajimegea sehemu kubwa zaidi kutokana na mapato ya taifa letu. Lakini gharama ya kufanya hivyo, kwetu sisi wenye we na kwa wananchi wenzetu,
itakuwa kubwa sana. Itakuwa kubwa si kwa sababu ya kupungukiwa maendeleo yetu tu, lakini vile vile kwa sababu ya kuhatarisha usalama wetu na maisha yetu.

Lakini maneno hayo maana yake ni kwamba mafunzo ya chuo kikuu, na chuo kikuu chenyewe, yanaweza yakastahili tu katika Afrika kama mafunzo hayo, na chuo hicho, shabaha yake ni kutimiza mahitaji ya wananchi, ambao wengi sana hawakupata nafasi ya elimu. Kwa hiyo lazima chuo kikuu kiwe na muundo utakaowawezesha wanafunzi kuwa watumishi wenye manufaa, hapo watakapomaliza masomo yao. Maana lazima wawe watumishi; na watumishi hawana haki zinazozidi mabwana zao. Wana kazi nyingi zaidi; lakini hawawezi wakawa na marupurupu zaidi au haki zaidi. Na mabwana wa wato waliosoma ni wananchi; na lazima iwe hivyo.


Maana sisi wote tunahusiana, kila mmoja kwa mwenziwe. Wale waliosoma na wale wasiosoma, wote tu raia wa taifa moja, bara moja, na dunia moja. Maisha yetu ya siku zijazo yameunganika kiasi ambacho hayawezi kutenganika, na wale waliosoma zaidi kuliko wengine, watategemaa sana wananchi wa mahali,


Lakini mtaambua nimesema kwamba kweli lazima isemwe jinsi ile ile inavyonekana, bila mtu kujali yatakaswala yeye binafsi. Ni kiburi cha ovyo mtu kuropoka yale anayoyaona kuwa ya kweli bila ya kujali matatizo yatakaswala wananchi. Mtu anayepiga makelele “Moto! Moto!” katika darasa lililojaa watoto anaweza akasababisha vifo vingi zaidi kwa msukumano na wasiwasu kuliko yule ambaye aliuona moto akanyamaza; na kwa vyo vyote lazima atasababisha vifo vingi zaidi kuliko yule ambaye atawatoa watoto darasani kwa utaratibu. Maana hakuna hata mmoja wetu anayejua ukweli wote; tunaweza tukagundua sehemu mpya ya ukweli, lakini hatuna haki ya kujidai kwamba tunajua zaidi.

Lazima vyuo vikuu katika Afrika vijaribu kutatua kwa ukweli matatizo wanavyoachunguza. Lazima wayachambue na kuyaeleza kitaalamu; na
kutokana na ujuzi huo washauri jinsi ya kuyatatua. Lakini ukweli maana yake siyo kufanya kazi au kufikiri kana kwamba hapa hakuna binadamu. Kipende kisipende, chuo kikuu ni sehemu ya taifa; wakati wa kuchagua mambo ya kuchunguza, na wakati wa kutatua matatizo yenyewe, ukweli huo lazima ukumbukwe. Hiyo ni sehemu ya ule ukweli ambao chuo kikuu lazima kiutatue.

Afrika inahitaji ukweli kutoka katika vyoo vyake vikuu. Tunapambana na matatizo mapya, na tunahitaji ujuzi wote unaweza kupatikana katika kuyatatua. Lakini vile vile vyoo vikuu lazima viwe vyombo vilivyojitoa kutumikia taifa; vijitoe katika kutafula maendeleo ya nchi zetu. Lazima vito huduma ya kizalendo, na kwa sababu hiyo itakuwa huduma ya kweli na ya moyo.

Mheshimiwa Rais, asante.
CHAPTER

9

THE JOB OF TEACHERS IS REVOLUTION
THE JOB OF TEACHERS IS REVOLUTION

[English - Address to teachers, Dar es Salaam, 31<sup>th</sup> January, 1969]

Nyerere is shocked by the phenomenon of Africans running away from Africanness. They want to be much to Europeans and Asians. They want acceptance and integration. Or at worst, just replace them in positions of Power. But Nyerere wants a real revolution and is turning to teachers to do that job of creating a new African.

“We have no choice but to build a new Tanzania with people who have no weakness but who have a spirit and purpose… Creating a new African is the job of teachers. We have to create an African with confidence… give your pupils’ knowledge that will make them despise weaknesses. If you fail to do this as teachers you are also a bunch of exploiters getting salaries for doing nothing at all.”

We are always talking of change or revolution. But why do we have to change Africa? The most meaningful or key sentence in the Arusha Declaration is that one which says: “We have been exploited enough, we have been despised enough and we have suffered enough. This is because of our weakness, so it is a must that we have to make a revolution, so that we are no longer despised, exploited or humiliated.”

The Arusha Declaration hinges on the weakness and poverty of the African. If you look at the history of the races, there is no race that has been despised, and continues to be despised, exploited and humiliated as the African Race. There is no equality in the world if there is weakness and we Africans cannot travel in the same boat in the course of the evolution of human history if we remain in
this state of utter poverty and weakness. Because of our weakness, we shall only remain to be dragged along and we shall hinder the progress of the world. Our greatest weakness is that of spirit and the mind. This is the problem of our generation. Our grandfathers and forefathers did not have this problem. The problem came about as a result of our confrontation with other “superior” races. Our grandfathers tried to fight them but failed. So we live with this weakness and it is a reality.

Even when we were struggling for our Independence a few years ago, the aim of many of us was to replace those who had been ruling us. We have been the underdog and it has been taken as a misfortune to be an African. In Zanzibar the Wangazija have refused to be called Africans. Even today, people adopt foreign names in place of their African-sounding names. For example, “Athuman” calls himself “Outhmann”; one man in Rufiji has recently changed his original name “Mngumi” to “El’Mug’humi”.

This does not only exist in Africa where her leaders try to run away from African-ness. It exists in other countries like the United States of America. The Africans were in a situation where the Europeans, the Asians and the Arabs were and still are at the top of the ladder. During World War II some Africans in Tanganyika refused to be called Africans. Because of lack of sufficient food during the war, rice was only served or sold to Arabs and Asians, so if one could prove that he was an Arab this was a great achievement. To be called a “Black European” was a great tribute. “Thank you my Arab” – an African mother would say to her son or any other African if he did something good and worthy of her gratitude.

This is the way we have been brought up. The foreigners have always made us believe that we are not capable of doing anything on our own and we have accepted it. This affected all of us – the farmer and the worker – and today it embraces the educated and the non-educated, those who hold top or key posts in the country down to the ordinary worker, and those in industry and business. Wherever there is a Black man, he is confronted with this problem.

Biologically one is born of two parents, but traditionally the child is daughter or son of the father. Many Africans were sent to America in millions of numbers. Millions died in the Atlantic, and millions died during the wars to capture them from the African soil; but the fact is that millions reached America. But even in
a case where one is born of a European father and African mother, the mother (slave) and the child are despised because they have African blood. The two cannot be accepted in that society so long as they are Negroes. Even where the Negro is very white in colour they try to trace his distant origin, that is Africa, and despise him accordingly. Because of this the Negroes refused to be called Africans. They do not want to be reminded that they came from Africa let alone being called Negroes or Africans because to be called an African means you have consented to be despised. To be called an African or Negro is a reason for being denied ones rights and equality. To be reminded of Africa is a dirty thing. You are being reminded of poverty, stupidity and weakness. Africans have nothing.

The struggle of Negroes in America and we Africans on the continent of Africa is the same; we are all seeking integration. We ask ourselves: “Why don’t they accept us?” But this is our struggle. Why not ask: “why don’t they leave us free?” So long as they allow you to sit with them or share anything with them you think you are in heaven! Our struggle was not aimed at making ourselves free but rather to be embraced by them: the question is: “Why do they refuse to accept us?”

When we started TANU in Tanzania we had a little support – underground support – from African civil servants because many of them were annoyed not by colonialism but because the master denied them certain rights. They wanted to take over posts held by the colonial masters. They wanted to become District Commissioners, Provincial Commissioners, and perhaps for others to become Governors. If they were teachers they wanted to be called “Masters”, not African teachers as the colonialists used to call them. During the colonial period African teachers had to put on a “Kanzu” and a Cap (so called ‘kitunga’). The African teachers did not like this; they wanted to dress and look like their “masters”, that is the European teachers. The question was: “Why don’t they let us look like them; why do they discriminate us?” this alone annoyed the Africans, so when TANU said we shall kick them [the colonialists] out, the aim of our people - particularly the educated Africans, was merely to replace the Europeans.

In America it is even worse. Up to now the Negroes are fighting (or asking) for integration. The Civil Rights Movement is based on this struggle for integration. I heard that the new President, Mr. Nixon, has appointed Negro
Assistants to represent Negroes in the Republican Government. This has been broadcasted to the world, and you will find that there are some Negroes in America who are rejoicing at this achievement. They think that by having their people (fellow Negroes) appointed to such posts, the whole Negro population is pushing ahead. They are happy because they are beginning to be accepted into the places of the whites. This is the aim of the N.A.A.C.P. (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) – to get Certificate of Equality through integration. Before Black Power, the N.A.A.C.P. was a movement aiming at making the whites say to the Negroes: “You are now equal to us”. This is the Certificate. They ask for this certificate from the semi-gods certifying that now you Negroes are now accepted in the club of human beings.

This is our first weakness. How shall we get out of it? This is what we are discussing here now. All Africans must get out of it wherever they are because of the torture and humiliation that they have suffered. Our position is worse than in Asia. Look at the way the whites are despising us in South Africa. In South Africa, for example, the Japanese are not “coloureds”; they are honourary whites. They are accepted in the club of whites. I think one day the Chinese might be accepted into the club – but their case is different.

Our second weakness is poverty. Right in the midst of our continent, a quarter of a million whites are controlling four million Africans. We are shouting to [Harold] Wilson: “You must use force; force is the only solution to the Rhodesian problem.” This makes the English laugh. “Whose force?” They ask: “Use my force on your behalf?” People do not have to beg for their independence – they take it. It is foolish to ask somebody to use force on your behalf. Those are the words of a weak or poor man. You see a procession of African leaders going to ask for force! These are childish and foolish words. There are now 38 independent African countries. All these now ask for dignity and equality. But where five people can control four or five million others, there is no such a thing as equality in such a society. Even if the 5 million prayed and prayed equality will not come, for if they were equal at all it would be a question of sending five from their group to deal with the former five.

When 40 million British are controlling 500 million Asians you cannot say that the two are equal. How can they be equal when 40 can tell 500 to “shut up!” and they shut up. It is not today that China has had 800 million people. She has had millions of people for a long time but they were there in quantity not in quality –
they were there in great numerical numbers like locusts. But locusts can invade someone’s shamba crops and feed as they like. The Chinese were exploited; their country was divided up into numerous regions, and their leaders then were prefects of the exploiters. It is foolish that when they are exploiting you to go to them with bowls asking for equality! Equality is never asked for. If you believe that we are created equal that is enough. What you have to do is to prove that we are created equal, not to ask for equality.

In America they go to court to ask for equality. The N.A.A.C.P. (that is before Black Power) was there to go to the court to ask for equality. They collected money and then went to the Courts to accuse thieves of equality. The judge would work on their nerves sarcastically and say: “Now I grant you equality as enshrined in our Constitution. According to our Constitution you Negroes and us (whites) are equal”. The Negroes go home contented because they have won the case for equality. But where do they go back to? The same poor and miserable condition. But now some of the Negroes have begun to realize this dilemma. They now realize that they are 30 million. It is no wonder that even where there are 30 million chickens, the whole world will know that there are some 30 million chickens somewhere. Now when there are 30 million human beings somewhere, they must be able to say that they are 30 million and whoever fails to recognize them will soon regret the terrible mistake he has made. This is equality.

Likewise we in Africa must stop making resolutions. We have to get rid of this weakness. If we do not get rid of it we shall be the biggest and best exploiters in the world because we shall be a bunch of beggars and we won’t contribute anything to human civilization. We shall be a bunch of copyists, because as long as you feel that you are weak you will copy like apes. If we do not get rid of this, we shall be the biggest exploiters of civilization. We shall be copying Russians, Chinese, Americans and Germans.

Secondly, African must be developed. African has a lot of wealth and for anyone to exploit her completely dry he must be really strong and must have really huge mirija (straws). It is this wealth that is making the minority whites so powerful in South Africa. We must exploit this wealth to give us material power and spiritual power, which apparently we do not have.
But here in Tanzania, unlike China or Russia, we have not attained our independence by revolution – through the furnace of the bullet. Those countries, even the small ones, which have come out through this furnace have emerged out of it with strength. We got our independence by saying, “Uhuru wananchi” (Freedom Countrymen”) …To get independence the way we got it had its own advantages and disadvantages. Since our situation was different, our revolution has to be different. We have no choice but to build a new Tanzania with people who have no weakness but who have a spirit and purpose.

This work has to be done by you teachers. Creating a new African is the job of teachers. We have to produce an African who will not say: “I cannot do this and that”. We have to create an African with confidence. I urge you teachers to give your pupils knowledge that will make them despise weakness; make their hands ready and able to exploit Africa for Africa. If you fail to do this as teachers you are also a bunch of exploiters getting salaries for doing nothing at all. Your teaching should produce strength; otherwise you will teach to produce clerks as the colonialists did. You will not be teaching fighters but a bunch of slaves or semi-slaves. Get your pupils out of the colonial mentality. You have to produce tough people; stubborn youths – who can do something – not hopeless youths. We ask you teachers to lead this revolution.

But although we say that this weakness lies with the poor Africans, it also exists among the property-owning African. The foreigners led him to believe that as and when they left, he would go on amassing as much wealth as possible. So we must alleviate him from this weakness also.

In America you have many black capitalists. Wherever an effort is being made to get rid of this problem, it can be termed a revolution. But here in Tanzania that is not all. It has to be more. We have to carry out two revolutions at one and the same time. Ours should not only be aimed at giving the African confidence. Otherwise we would be creating another kind of weakness, that of African exploiters. The majority of our people – farmers and workers – would be exploited.

Our revolution is unique. The Chinese do not have to bother with a similar problem. The worker in Europe today does not know what it is to be exploited or to be under a colonial master. He therefore cannot understand our problem.
There is another revolution – that of the farmer. This is a social revolution. Where capitalism was greatly advanced you had a huge number of workers. Those of you who have cared to read about socialism know that as the proletariat numerically increases under capitalism, the spirit to destroy capitalism is built up by the situation itself. This is not true with us here. What is true here is that because of our humble situation and background, everyone of us – even the farmer and the worker – aims at becoming an “Indian” or “European” – becoming rich at the expense of the other. Because our industrial sector is poor we do not have “workers” but nonetheless we are forging ahead. Those of you who are teaching in the towns are workers, so you should familiarize yourselves with the situation even though it is different from the European one. You should also make an effort to learn history, because a history of Tanzania is on the making.

Our main transformation has to be carried out in the rural areas where the farmers live. You will discover that sometimes we do not have some of the advantages which the others had – say as they had in feudal societies. We are very far behind. We go about asking for food merely because our agriculture is very primitive. In the development of capitalism, agriculture was modernized. Ours is really primitive except in the sisal industry and a bit in wheat growing in Western Kilimanjaro. “The majority of our farmers use the primitive implements that Adam used a long time ago. They use the weeding hoe. For this hoe to transform our living standards: to give us enough food, clothes and shoes to put on and a surplus for sale for school fees; to build roads and build a small army to confront the Portuguese, is not something we can pin our hopes on. This hoe is an enemy; we have to get rid of it in this country. The hoe is a symbol of weakness and poverty. You have to tell pupils in the schools that they have to go and transform our agriculture. If we do not transform our agriculture we shall be nowhere”. There are only two ways of doing this: through large scale agriculture – either a big farm owned by one person (which is compatible with capitalism), or the same farm owned by many people who work on it and share the proceeds. We in Tanzania have chosen the latter.

You teachers can help us in this revolution and this is why instead of being only teachers of youths you also have to be teachers of the Nation. We shall therefore change your functions so that you shall no longer be regarded as only directors of primary and secondary education. Your ministry will have a section for Adult Education. If there is to be a revolution in education, it has all got to be in your hands.
You have also got to change your attitude towards education. You should not only aim at teaching your pupils how to pass examinations. What is the meaning of an examination? It was a means of asking for a certificate of exploiters. This is an education aimed at getting a piece of paper. This is what I did at Edinburgh where I worked for an M.A. Some of us work for M.A.’s and having got them we pin them on the wall in our houses for everyone to see. Having got and framed our certificates, we go on with our deeds which reflect slavery. Such an education is not aimed at a revolution. If one does not get this piece of paper he cries “Oh! I haven’t got it!” All his thinking is geared towards an Examination – not towards changing his country. If you teachers go on preparing our youths merely for examinations you will be true colonial teachers. You must be teachers who teach people to change Africa. To change Africa you don’t have to give the pupil a certificate. By looking at the pupil you should know that wherever he goes he can “shake them”, that is he can do something good for the country.

Work for revolution. Do not fear revolution. Those who fear revolution are exploiters. When exploiters hear of a revolution they cry: “Mama wee, mama wee!” Those who fear change are satisfied. They doubt change. But a poor man will ask for change. He cannot tolerate the status quo because he is suffering. A poor man cannot be a conservative. Those who cherish conservatism are those who have something. If a rich man is told that the poor are holding a meeting he begins to worry. They fear change because it will destroy their established structure for exploitation. Whoever opposes change is somewhat better off. When a government calls for change the capitalists will say the government is cheating, but a poor man accepts change and is ready to take chances. He can even afford to be cheated. The poor man has nothing to lose but his poverty. So you teachers should not fear change: you should not remain conservative.

When we talk of change or revolution in education, teachers begin arguing: “Oh! You will lower standards!” But whose standards? They are colonial standards – and of how much use have they been to us? If these standards were good and relevant to our situation, we would not be talking of weakness and poverty today. We must be able to see what is good for ourselves and only in this way can we change. You teachers therefore must accept to be revolutionary teachers, not teachers to make people go to sleep. You have certificates showing that you have the ability to make people understand, so if I were sure that your abilities to teach would help bring change in Africa, and not bring
sleep that will benefit the colonialists; I would rest because you would no doubt do it.

It is my hope that during your stay here in Dar es Salaam you will be discussing change. Go back, I repeat, and teach the adults, not only pupils in your schools. There are no other people in the villages who have the ability to teach. If your job is to teach the youth, who will educate the adults?

Even if you are working in the village your job is to bring about African Revolution. You are carrying out your duty for the whole of Africa. Because history has given us Tanzania, we have to eradicate weakness and poverty in Tanzania. But we are not working for Tanzania alone. We are also working for Africa because of the suffering we have experienced as Africans. I would like every teacher when teaching to remember that as Africans we have been tortured and humiliated and to forget that rubbish that he is working for a salary.

You are working for Africa and secondly you are playing your part in a world-wide revolution. A situation where the rich exploit the poor will go. All exploiters will be dealt with in the world.

One honourable man (I do not know who he was – perhaps it was Mr. Wilson) once said probably God loves the poor more, otherwise he would not create so many of them. If you as teachers do not lead the poor African, when that day comes when there will be one to lead them out of poverty and misery you should agree to step down and accept to be led by an army of poor Africans. And I will be happy to see you trodden upon because you were useless as leaders. You must lead the poor. After all, you are all sons and daughters of the poor. None of you comes from a rich family.

Your duty is to the nation, to your parents and the world and, I add, your duty to God is to lead the poor. To see Africa’s poor men suffering or being tortured without doing anything on your part to help them is a big sin. My hope is that this is what you are going to do – help the poor.

Thank you.
CHAPTER 10

THE OBJECTIVES OF ADULT EDUCATION
THE OBJECTIVES OF ADULT EDUCATION

[English - Declaration of 1970 as Adult Education Year, Broadcast, 31st December, 1969]

Many people merely and passively accept the status quo as God given. They do not work hard to change their circumstances for the better. Yet adult education can be a crucial tool for changing the mindset and propelling people to take action against poverty, diseases, and ignorance. Nyerere’s trust in the power of adult education to bring about change was unwavering.

“... education is something that all of us should continue to acquire from the time we are born until the time we die... We want to improve our lives and maintain our freedom. We shall only be able to do this if we apply ourselves to learning as much as possible and as quickly as possible.”

The importance of adult education, both for our country and for every individual, cannot be overemphasized. We are poor and backward and too many of us just accept our present conditions as “the will of Gods,” and feel that we can do nothing about them. In many cases, therefore, the first objective of adult education must be to shake ourselves out of a resignation to the kind of life Tanzanian people have lived for centuries past. We must become aware of the things that we, as members of the human race, can do for ourselves and our country. We must learn to realize that we do not have to live miserably in hovels, cultivate with inadequate hoes (jembes), or suffer from “many diseases; we must learn that we, ourselves, can change these things. The first job of adult education is to give us the ability to reject bad houses, bad jembes, and preventable diseases; it must make us recognize that we have the ability to attain better houses, better tools, and better health.
Of course, many people already know this. What they need to learn is how to bring about improvements in their lives. They need to know such things as the fact that dirty water makes their children ill, and that they can avoid such sickness by working together to bring clean water to their village, or even just by boiling water before drinking it. In other words, the second objective of adult education is to teach us how to improve our lives. We have to learn how to produce more on our farms and in our factories and offices. We have to learn about better food, what a balanced diet is, and how it can be obtained by our own efforts. Every housewife must learn that good food does not mean European food, and good cooking does not just mean European cooking. We need to learn about modern methods of hygiene, about making furniture for ourselves out of local materials, about working together to improve the conditions in our villages and streets and so on.

But learning these skills is not enough. For we can only accomplish these things if all members of the nation work together for our common good. The third objective of adult education, therefore, must be to have everyone understand our national policies of socialism and self-reliance. We must learn to understand the plans for national economic advancement, so that we can ensure that we all play our part in making them a success, and that we all benefit from them.

But what is adult education? Quite simply, it is learning – about anything at all that helps us to understand the environment we live in and the manner in which we can use and change this environment in order to improve ourselves. “Education is not just something that happens in classrooms. It is learning from others, and from our own experience of past successes of failures. Education is learning from books, from the radio, from films, from discussions about matters that affect our lives,” and especially from doing things. The question of learning by doing is very important. The best way to learn sewing is to sew; the best way to learn farming is to farm; the best way to learn cooking is to cook; the best way to learn how to teach is to teach; and so on. A child learns to walk by walking not by reading a book on how to walk. We learn from the experience of doing.

Learning from experience should not be difficult for us to understand. In our traditional society, we did not have schools as we have now. But we learned from our parents and other elders about the society we lived in, about the methods of farming, and so on. We learned about plants and animals which
were useful and which were dangerous. We learned which trees were useful for making bows or axe-handles or canoes; we learned which trees were useless for these purposes, but were very good for making charcoal. We learned how our tribe governed itself - and, indeed, we took our places in that government. This was education about the tribal society we lived in, even though there were no formal schools and no teachers.

But our education was very limited, and it often discouraged us from asking ourselves questions and thinking out new ways of doing things. What was important, and what is still valuable, is that education in our traditional societies was part of life, not something separate, which a person took part in for just a short period in his lifetime. A man’s education continued throughout his whole life; and this is how it should be, even these days. But we now live in very different kind of society; we live in a village or town, as part of Tanzania, as part of Africa, and as part of the world. So we have very much more to learn now – and a much wider area from which we can learn. We must begin to ask questions about our lives, and to search for our own answers.

Yet, it is still true that the first education anyone ever gets is from his parents and his brothers and sisters, as he grows from infancy into childhood. When our children go to school, at the age of seven, they have already learned to walk, to have good manners, to do useful jobs around the house or farm, as well as many other things. This can be called basic education. It is something everyone receives, without being conscious of it.

Second, there is formal education at school. Unfortunately, we are still not able to provide a place in school for every Tanzanian child, even for seven years of primary education. We must, and we shall, expand these opportunities as fast as we can – and, as you all know, we have decided that we must shift the emphasis from expanding secondary education to expanding primary education during the next Five Year Plan. Still, it will take a long time before we achieve universal primary education; those who receive it now are fortunate, and must use it as a basis for further learning of their own.

Adult education is the third stage, and it can cover many of the subjects learned at school for those who never had the opportunity. It applies to every one of us, without exception. We can all learn more. Those who have never been to school, those who have just attended primary school, and those who have attended secondary school or university – there is much more that everyone can
learn about our work and about areas of knowledge that they were not taught when they were at school.

I know that there are some of my literate fellow citizens who never read at all. Their purpose in going to school was to get a certificate, which they could use to get work. After getting the certificate and using it to obtain employment, they just put the certificate on the wall so that everyone could see it. But they never use the knowledge of reading and writing; they never read at all. This is a big mistake, arising from colonial attitudes of mind.

A very pleasant thing about adult education is that we can learn what we want to learn – what we feel would be useful to us in our lives. At school, children are taught the things that we adults decide they should be taught. But adults are not like children who sit in classrooms and are then taught history, or grammar, or a foreign language. As adults, we can try to learn these things if we wish, but we do not have to do so. Instead, we can learn more about growing a particular crop, about the government, about house-building, about whatever interests us. We can build on the education we already have, using the tools of literacy, a foreign language, or an understanding of scientific principles. Or, if we never went to school, we can start by learning about the things of most immediate importance to us – better farming methods, better child care, better feeding. We do not even have to start by learning to read and write.

For literacy is just a tool; it is a means by which we can learn more, more easily. This is its importance. It enables us to read the instructions that come with a bag of fertilizer, it enables us to read about new methods so that we do not have to rely on a teacher being near; it enables us to study our Party policy until we really understand it. And if we have not yet had the opportunity of learning to read and write, we can still learn – and we should still learn, if we do not want to be left behind as we make progress.

For I repeat, education is something that all of us should continue to acquire from the time we are born until the time we die. This is important both for individuals and for our country as a whole. A country whose people do not learn, and make use of their knowledge, will stay very poor and very backward. The nation will always be in danger of losing its independence to stronger and more educated nations, and the people will always be in danger of being exploited and controlled by others.
This means that “education is very important to a country like Tanzania. We want to improve our lives and maintain our freedom;” we shall only be able to do this if we apply ourselves to learning as much as possible and as quickly as possible. Many of our farmers realize that a neighbour who does not keep his shamba (field) clean is both a disgrace and a danger to the whole village. He and his children live in poverty and sickness, and sooner or later the other villagers get angry with him because the weeds and insects from his plot spread disease to their shambas. Let our country not be like that farmer who, by his laziness, antagonizes neighbours who are bigger and stronger than he is. For the rest of the world is advancing all the time. Other countries are using new methods of production and are organizing themselves for their own benefit. They will not wait for us! Unless we determine to educate ourselves we shall get left behind again; we shall be at the mercy of other nations and peoples. Independence that is subject to the decisions of other peoples is not independence; it is an illusion.

We must change our conditions of life ourselves; and we can learn how to do this by educating ourselves. We must recognize that there is no use in demanding that someone else do something about it. Nor is there any use in the citizens simply sitting back and waiting. The Government and the Party are simply organizations of citizens – a coming together of people for certain purposes. Neither the Government nor TANU can do anything apart from the citizens; nor can these organizations do everything that has to be done in our country. Every one of us, by improving his own education, can begin to make improvements in his own life and, therefore, in the lives of us all. By educating ourselves more, each one of us can help to make our country stronger and our children’s lives better.

But as well as being students, we all have to be willing to be teachers. We have to be willing to teach whatever skills we have by whatever methods we can – by demonstration and example, by discussion, by answering questions, or by formal classroom work. If we all play our part, both as students and teachers, we shall really make some progress. I would like to remind you of the promise of TANU members; “I shall educate myself to the best of my ability and use my education for the benefit of all.”
CHAPTER

11

ADULT EDUCATION NEVER STOPS
Nyerere’s unwavering belief in the power of adult education is reflected in declaring 1970 Adult Education Year for Tanzania. The year generated a lot of enthusiasm and experimentations in different ecologies and districts. Nyerere was merely acknowledging the achievements made.

“Let me emphasize again that everyone, whether literate or not literate, should go on to learn more, and that everyone who has had an opportunity to learn something should be willing and anxious to teach it to others... There is no useless knowledge, no useless learning. There are only priorities of learning.”

In December 1971, mainland Tanzania will have been independence for ten years. Some of you will remember that during our struggle against the colonial government, I said that in the first ten years of governing ourselves we would do more for the progress of our country than the colonialists had done during their whole period of governing us. It is not for me to say whether we have fulfilled that promise or not. But it is our intention to honour the completion of this first ten years of self-government by inviting many guests to our celebrations. These will include some of the many British friends who worked in Tanzania in the past, so that they may see for themselves the progress we have made. These invitations will not be sent in any spirit of reproachfulness. Their purpose is to enable us all to celebrate together the things which we have been able to do.
I hope that in the New Year we shall continue with our efforts to implement all our policies of socialism and self-reliance; build and to strengthen the ujamaa villages; to expand our economy; to increase still further the political consciousness in the whole country; and to strengthen the defences of our country. In this past year we have made great progress in all these matters. But it is not my intention to talk about these things today. Instead, I want to remind you again, as I did last year, of the importance of Adult Education.

For, as I said last year, Adult Education is something which never stops. Whatever level of education we have reached, we can go on; there is always something new to learn. And if we have not begun to learn about the modern world, we can begin now. For education is like a big hill which climbs to the skies and gives a view over the surrounding countryside. And all of us can climb at least some of the way up, so that all of us can gradually extend our vision and learn more of the things which affect our lives, or which can be made to help our lives. In fact, we are like the people of olden times who used to climb the nearby hill - or a tree if there was no hill – to see what was passing, or what was approaching, so as to be ready to welcome the guests, or to protect themselves against invaders. We who live in the twentieth century world, in which the activities of all the countries affect all the others, need to go on climbing this hill so as to get away from the danger of floods, to get away from the disease and misery we used to live in, and to take advantage of all mankind’s knowledge for our own welfare.

You will remember that 1970 was designated as Adult Education Year, and that on the 31st December, 1969, I said that Government and Party would put a great deal of emphasis on this aspect of our activities during 1970. This has been done – although I repeat that we have only just begun.

Adult Education Officers have been appointed in every District of the Mainland, and have spent some months being trained in their new jobs. For something like six months now, they have been working in their Districts organizing courses, and helping to co-ordinate the educational activities of all the different Ministries of Government, as well as co-operating with TANU and voluntary agencies in their area. Their purpose has been to increase the educational opportunities open to adults, particularly in the rural areas. In some Districts they have done very well, and adult education is making good progress.
On a national level, our activities have been assisted by an Advisory Committee on Adult Education, and similar committees have been set up in most Regions and Districts. Further, in many of the classes organized, it has been possible for the Government to provide adults with text books, pencils and paper, just in the same way as this kind of equipment is provided for the use of children in school. We have done this, and used your tax money to buy these books and papers in order that no individual should be prevented from learning because of shortage of money. The Ministry of National Education will continue to expand its work and to improve the helps it gives to adult education.

It is very early to say what we have achieved in this past year. But in the first nine months, there were 324,664 registered adult students in official classes. Some of these people had taken or were taking more than one class, and the kind of things they were learning were very varied. A large number of people were in literacy classes. But others were learning arithmetic, history, politics, agriculture, economics, health, child-care, Kiswahili, English, or other subjects, including drumming, dancing or sports. This is a good beginning, and in Adult Education Week there were very good displays in very many areas.

Let me, therefore congratulate all those people who have attended classes over the past year, and who have therefore improved their knowledge and their understanding of the world we live in. Through the expansion of such activities until they cover the whole population, we shall equip ourselves better for the struggle to improve our lives, both materially and spiritually.

As I have already said, Adult Education means adults learning about anything which interests them. It is possible to learn from talking with others, from the example of others, from the radio. But a tool which is essential if anyone is to make very much progress, is the ability to read and to write. Literacy is almost the first step up this hill of modern knowledge, and it is the key to further progress.

We have had many literacy campaigns in the past, and many adults are now able to read and write for themselves, although as children they never had a chance to go to school. We must increase this number, for a socialist Tanzania cannot be created if some people are very highly educated and others are completely illiterate. The illiterate ones will never be able to play their full part in the development of our country – or of themselves; and they will always be in
danger of being exploited by the great knowledge of others. Therefore it is necessary that we should plan to overcome the existing high level of illiteracy. We must help as many of our people as possible on to this first step up the hill; afterwards they will be able to climb further by using this basic knowledge to read and study more.

We have done quite well recently, especially as we have used experience gained in earlier campaigns, so that the learning is more interesting and relevant to adults. Thus, in the first nine months of this year, almost 200,000 people were attending literacy classes.

This is very good. But it is not enough. In the coming year we must all, everywhere in the country, make further efforts. But in six Districts I am asking that a very special effort should be made so as to eradicate illiteracy completely. These Districts are Ukerewe, Mafia, Masasi, Pare, Kilimanjaro and Dar es Salaam. In these Districts I hope that every citizen will be able to read and write by 9th December 1971. That would really be an achievement to be proud of!

I believe that this objective can be attained in all the places I have mentioned. Ukerewe and Mafia are both quite small districts – indeed, in Mafia there are only about 17,000 people living, altogether. The people of Ukerewe have already made a good start; in the nine months ending in September this year, 18,000 people in that district were registered in literacy and other classes. On this basis, and with the help of Government and TANU and all the educated people living on the island, it should be possible to overcome illiteracy in the next eleven months.

In Mafia, the problem which has to be overcome is one of attitudes, and I want to appeal particularly to the people of Mafia to recognize that they must play a full part in the development of Tanzania. In that island, not even all the school places are taken up, and the attendance at adult classes is very poor. In addition, whereas in other parts of the country men and women go happily to one class in order to learn together; in Mafia I hear that there are still attempts to segregate women, and to prevent them from taking advantage of the educational opportunities which are provided. The people of Mafia, in fact, are getting the reputation for being the most backward in our country. I challenge them all to show that this reputation is false, and to ensure that every person in the island can read and write in Swahili within the next year.
Masasi and Kilimanjaro have been included in this list for very different reasons. Both are districts in which the general level of education is above average for Tanzania. This means that it should be quite possible for the combined efforts of all those who are educated, working with the Government and Party, to ensure that every single individual can read and write, and can celebrate our tenth anniversary by writing his own little essay on what independence has meant.

Dar es Salaam has been included in the list because it is a shame if long-term inhabitants of our capital city cannot write their own name, read the newspapers, take advantage of the library facilities, and so on, which are all more easily available here than elsewhere. But because it is such a large city, perhaps it is more necessary to have a deliberate plan for adult education in Dar es Salaam than it is in other areas; there is not the same sense of community among large groups of people as among small. But the town is made up of streets and ten-cell units; people work in factories and offices. If every literate trade unionist, office or works foreman, ten-cell leader, religious leader and so on plays his part, we can overcome this problem. Every such person should find out which of his co-workers are illiterate, persuade them that it is their duty and their opportunity to overcome this backwardness, and then ask the District Education Office or their TANU Office for help with teachers and equipment. Up to now, when we have organized literacy campaigns in Dar es Salaam, we have had more teachers available than people who were willing to learn. I hope that, within a few months, I shall be hearing complaints that there are not enough teachers – for that is a problem which I believe we can easily solve on a voluntary basis in the capital city.

Pare District has been included in the list of Districts to be challenged because the people there have shown themselves to be so energetic and so anxious to learn. Even so, it will not be easy for that district to achieve the target, because many of its people still live in inaccessible and isolated areas in the mountains. But I believe that, with this challenge, the people of Pare will demonstrate to us all what can be done despite the difficulties, and I express my good wishes to them for their efforts.

Having presented this challenge, let me emphasise again that everyone, whether literate or not literate, should go on to learn more, and that everyone who has had an opportunity to learn something should be willing and anxious to teach it to others – whether formally in classes, or informally. All of us should
use the facilities which are available. We should read newspapers and magazines, like Ukulima wa Kisasa, and Nchi Yetu. We should use the library facilities – and in this connection I would remind you that villages in the rural areas can acquire book boxes from the National Library Service when they can show that they have someone responsible and reliable to look after the books which are lent from our national store. All that has to be done is for the village to decide to write to the Tanzania National Library in Dar es Salaam and to explain how many people are in the village, where they can keep the books, and who will look after them. You will find the Library is only too anxious to help.

There is no useless knowledge, no useless learning. There are only priorities of learning. As a nation we have said that our priorities must be learning about agriculture, about better health, greater skills for production, and greater understanding of our national policies of socialism and self-reliance. In these areas whatever help is possible will be given. But this is a very wide field and each man and woman, once literate, can determine his own priorities – he can choose for himself what he wants to learn next. He can also use his literacy to learn other things, from a foreign language to the movement of the stars in the universe – there are books, at least in English, about everything! Or he can read just for enjoyment – to read stories about our past and about the lives of other people, just as we once used to listen to story-tellers or travelers as they visited our villages and sat around the fire of an evening.

Let me sum up. We must increase the production of goods of all kinds in Tanzania and we must develop our nation along socialist lines so as to enable every man and woman to develop in freedom and without being exploited. In the rural areas this means we must increase the numbers of ujamaa villages, and we must expand the co-operative production in all of them. But we must also begin now to organize our own social and cultural activities in these villages and in our towns and hamlets. Even though we must still give first priority to production, we can begin slowly to benefit from the greater social life and greater cultural life, which living in villages and working together makes possible.

Let us make sure that, when we celebrate the tenth anniversary of our national freedom, we are all doing so as citizens who are developing themselves at the same time as they are developing our country.

A Happy, Peaceful and Developing New Year to you all.
MUSOMA RESOLUTION: DIRECTIVE ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF “EDUCATION FOR SELF-RELIANCE”

[English - The National Executive Committee Meeting of TANU, Musoma, November 1974]

Nyerere, was rather disappointed that the revolutionary education for self reliance was not succeeding, both in attitudes to menial work and structurally in integrating work as part of education. He attributes this to adherence to some mythical international standards types of examination. He advocates more revolutionary changes.

“Work has to be Part of Education, Abolition of Direct University Entry, Diversification of Secondary Education, Universalization of Primary Education and the Introduction of Continuous Education.”

Introduction

Education means training, knowledge, skills or wisdom; and by “educating a person’ we mean teaching or guiding him in obtaining knowledge or skills, hence education is something which has got a particular purpose, and this purpose, as stated in TANU’s booklet entitled “Education for Self-Reliance” is:

“to transmit from one generation to the next the accumulated wisdom and knowledge of the society, and to prepare the young people for their future membership of the society and their active participation in its maintenance or development.”

100
But such a purpose is so general that it could be uttered by any country whatsoever. Therefore, for its implementation to be successful, particularly in a developing country such as ours, it is necessary to analyse this purpose much further so that emphasis may be placed where it is most appropriate.

In other words we can state that the main purpose of education is to enable man to liberate himself. By this we mean enabling him to get rid of any such obstacles as may deprive him of his complete freedom to control his environment.

Two such obstacles which man needs to struggle against are his ENVIRONMENT and OPPRESSION. Hence, the type of education which is suitable for a country such as ours is that which enables a person who acquires it to struggle against his environment in order to eradicate poverty, ignorance and disease, and enables him to work in collaboration with others using his or other people’s knowledge or any other resources available such as land or water. Likewise, education ought to enable whoever acquires it to fight against oppression, and the only way of doing this is to establish socialism (since socialism is a commitment to the belief in the equality of human beings); similarly, education ought to enable the one who gets it to acquire a scientific mind. A scientific mind is one which is in the habit of always looking for the real factors which give rise to occurrences, for instance, suggesting witchcraft as a cause for sickness is unscientific, because there is no truth in it. Education in our country must inculcate the scientific habits of mind, that is, the desire to know and to respect the truth.

In 1967 we agreed to call this type of education “Education for Self-Reliance” and we decided to implement it. How far have we succeeded in its implementation?

**What we promised to do**

In our 1967 policy statement on Education for Self-Reliance, we said that the education which is provided in our primary schools ought to be self-sufficient and should not be merely a preparation for entry to secondary schools, because we knew that the majority of the pupils would not obtain places in those schools.
Similarly, we said that our secondary schools should not be preparation grounds for our young men and women for joining the University or other institutions of higher learning, but rather they should prepare these young men and women for work, particularly in villages, as well as elsewhere where they might be required for the general development of our nation. In short we said that the purpose of teaching in our primary and secondary schools should be to provide complete education, that is to provide the knowledge and attitudes which would enable a student to live profitably in a developing socialist state, and not to focus almost entirely on entry to the higher levels.

We also stated that the education so provided should be for the benefit of the masses, since we would otherwise have no justification for taxing them in order that only a few may be educated.

Moreover, we agreed that in all our schools we should ensure that some of the pupils’ normal activities should aim at producing goods, including food, which will be used by the school members concerned, as well as boosting the national economy. In fact we stated categorically that all students in our schools should participate in communal productive activities as part of their normal training during their school days; this was not to be an optional function aimed at merely helping them to improve their physical fitness.

Consequently we recommended that the examinations which are used as a measure for a student’s success or failure should be restructured, in order to bring about a combined assessment covering both the student’s performance in the theoretical work and his performance in practical productive work which he does throughout the year, either for his school or for his village.

Where we got stuck

It is recognized that the process of changing completely an established system of education necessarily takes a long time before the results can be seen. For instance, those pupils who entered Standard I in 1967 are only now completing their primary education, and similarly those who entered Form I have only recently completed their secondary education; hence it may be too early to pass judgement as to how much we have succeeded or failed. Nevertheless we must accept that most of our objectives have not been achieved. We certainly have not liberated ourselves from the inappropriate system of education which we inherited.
It is true that we have succeeded in making substantial changes, with regard, for instance, to the syllabus which is used in our schools and colleges. In the present school syllabus emphasis is placed on those aspects which reflect a Tanzanian perspective. Similarly, every effort is being made so that students learn by doing, and wherever possible, issues which are relevant to the national policies have been included in the teaching materials.

Very often, however, it has appeared that both in our thinking and in our actions, we have been unduly influenced by “International Standards”. It seems that some of us are not ready to accept that a Tanzanian youth has been properly educated if his educational qualifications or certificates are not recognized by certain foreign countries. That is to say, we have not succeeded in liberating ourselves mentally, nor in having self-confidence, nor in selecting that which is most suitable to our objective conditions instead of continuing to ape the systems of other people whose economy and mode of life is totally different from ours.

Another constraint in our efforts to implement the policy of education for self-reliance has been our failure in transforming our schools so that they become part of the economic set up; in other words, we have failed to make our students appreciate their obligation of being productive through agriculture and by other means, for their own benefit and that of their school. Therefore even if in our teachers’ training colleges production activities are increasingly being expanded as part of the training provided in these colleges, in order to enable their graduates to implement the policy of Education for Self-Reliance when they start teaching, yet so far very few schools or colleges can actually show that such self-reliance activities have in fact greatly reduced the financial burden carried by the Government in running their institution.

Similarly, up to now we have totally failed to rid ourselves of the unfortunate habit of giving more esteem to someone who has high education. Up to now, for instance, for most of us any pupil who does not obtain a place in a secondary school is considered as having “failed”, instead of acknowledging that he has successfully completed one level of education, namely primary education. And it is obvious that such thinking will remain in people’s minds until we agree to change our system of employment whereby salary scales depend on a person’s educational qualifications. This is one major error which we have allowed to remain uncorrected without asking ourselves why. In our employment policies,
performance in the classroom has been the only yardstick. For instance, in the Government and parastatals, employees’ salaries are graded according to the type of certificates they possess, that is whether a person has a Form IV Certificate, a Form VI Certificate or a degree. Likewise the University chooses her undergraduates only on the basis of their performance in the National Form VI examination. Therefore, in both these cases, whether it be for purposes of employment in government or for entry to the University, we have continued to judge a young man’s ability only by looking at the examinations he passed. We do not bother to enquire about his commitment, general behaviour or any other such quality.

That being the situation in which we are, what steps can we take at the moment? In other words, what new and revolutionary methods should we adopt which will enable us to achieve this fundamental objective of Education for Self-Reliance in our country?

**Expansion of Primary Education**

The 16th National Conference of the Party held in September 1973 expressed concern at the large number of vacant places in primary schools at that time. The conference noted that only 48.6% of all children of school age were attending school although 55% of them could in fact have been enrolled if all the vacant places had been filled. It is obvious that the situation is totally different at the moment, since the masses in the whole country have responded so well to the Party’s call to live in planned villages. Consequential upon the coming together of people in planned villages, the need for school places has increased spectacularly; every parent with a child of school age wants his child to obtain a place at the village school. Hence it is going to be extremely difficult, and indeed there will be no justification whatsoever for only a few of the children in the village to be given places while the rest are left out. Hence the National Executive Committee is duty bound to give appropriate guidance to the government on how to handle this problem.

Accordingly, it is hereby resolved that within a period of three years from now, that is, by November, 1977, arrangements must be completed which will enable every child of school age to obtain a place in a primary school.

It is understood, of course, that the implementation of this directive is not going to be an easy task. It requires very careful thinking and planning, and devising
new teaching techniques; but similarly it is not an undertaking that necessarily requires a lot of funds. It is something which can be implemented without involving large expenditures of money, if certain changes are made in our existing system and practice.

In the existing system, primary school teachers are those who have completed Form IV and have had a further two years of teacher-training (these are known as Grade A teachers), or those who completed primary education plus three years’ teacher-training (these are called Grade C teachers). Within the existing system, if one was to ask what can be done to increase the number of teachers so that more children in our villages can go to school, the reply will be that the only way out is to increase the number of teacher-training colleges, so that more teachers can be trained. Such increase can only be brought about either by expanding the existing colleges or building new ones. Similarly if you ask how we can increase the number of places in our primary schools, you will be told that the only way is to increase the number of classrooms, either by building new schools or expanding the existing ones. And it is not only educational administrators who think that way, even the parents, and the people in general see this problem in this manner. Obviously, such solutions would require the use of very large sums of money.

But surely there must be alternative ways which would achieve similar results without necessarily involving the use of enormous funds. One way of increasing the number of pupils without building new classrooms is to use the existing classrooms in turns: some pupils attend classes in the morning and others in the afternoon. It is understood that even if you managed to do that, you still would need to increase the number of teachers so that they can also teach in turns. One way of increasing the number of teachers without necessarily increasing the number of teacher-training colleges is to use some of the students in the higher classes, particularly secondary school students to teach pupils who are in lower classes. Such an approach is not new in the education field, for it was actually tried in this country several years ago and it is in fact being practiced today in some other countries, such as Cuba.

It is clear that the tremendous successes which have been achieved in our adult education programmes have been brought about by the use of revolutionary techniques in the implementation of these programmes. Therefore, in order to attain our declared objective of Universal Primary Education as quickly as
possible, an objective which has now become an urgent necessity because all
the children are living together in planned villages, we must change the
existing procedures and practices in our primary education system.

**Expansion of Secondary Education**

In the National Development Plan which ended in June this year, the policy
guidelines regarding higher education (be it secondary, technical or university
education) was that it should be offered only for the purpose of satisfying the
demands for high level manpower needs for our development. Hence
admission to secondary schools was programmed in such a way that admission
was offered only to that number required to satisfy the manpower projections
for secondary school graduate. In fact, Forms V and VI were introduced in our
secondary schools for the sole purpose of preparing students for university
entrance.

In our present situation, we need to re-examine this premise. Last year, 1973,
for instance, a total of 106,000 pupils successfully completed primary
education. Of these, only 18,500 or 8% were selected for entry to secondary
schools. Estimates for this year, 1974, show that only 6% will be able to obtain
places in Form I. That being the real situation obtaining at the moment, it
behoves the National Executive Committee to consider very seriously the need
to expand secondary education so as to enable more pupils who complete
primary education to obtain places in Form I and continue with secondary
education.

The problems which arise immediately concerning the pre-requisites for
implementing such a decision are similar to those already discussed in
connection with the expansion of primary education, namely, more teachers
and more classroom. But the solution is also the same as that proposed for
primary education. We have to make use of students in the higher forms to teach
those who are in the lower forms.

**The Need for Specialised Technical Education**

The 16th National Conference of the Party held in September 1973 directed
that: “in order to accelerate our economic development… there is a need of
continually modifying our education system in order to place greater emphasis
on scientific and technical education.”
The National Executive Committee is happy to note the preparations already undertaken by the Government in the implementation of this directive, namely, the introduction of a two year course in technical education for those standard seven leavers who do not obtain places in secondary schools or other training institutions. The Committee notes that the course contents will include training in technical skills, agriculture, animal husbandry, home economics and accountancy.

The National Executive Committee also notes that plans are already in hand for enabling each secondary school to specialize in one or more of the following subjects; technical education, agriculture, commerce and home economics.

The Executive Committee approves of these plans and directs that they should be implemented without delay. Technical education not only better prepares our young men and women to be self-reliant and more useful to the nation after they have completed their studies, but it can also enable our schools to earn an income which will partly satisfy their own needs, instead of relying entirely on the Government to provide for all these needs.

**Entry to the University**

Under the present system, the selection of candidates for admission to the University is based entirely on the candidate’s performance in the Form VI examination. Once the Form VI examination results become known, the candidates are arranged by computer in order of merit, according to examination results, and the selection is made on that basis alone.

In the 1967 policy statement of Education for Self-Reliance, it was categorically stated that secondary education should cease to be regarded as a pipeline to the higher levels of education, including University education. Instead, secondary education should be self-sufficient in equipping its graduates with the necessary tools for actual productive work which will contribute to national development. But it appears that we were not successful in making this objective clearly understood, and so it has not been implemented. On the contrary, at the time of writing the Second Five Year Development Plan in 1969 (that is a whole two years after adopting the policy of Education for Self-Reliance), we were still saying that Forms V and VI in our secondary schools ‘exist largely to prepare individuals for University
entrance”, and that therefore those who do not go to the University after Form VI “represent a waste of educational investment”!

The National Executive Committee considers that the time is now ripe for changing this system, which is completely inappropriate and unsatisfactory in our circumstances.

The system must be changed so that the formal school education will end at the secondary level (for those students who reach that level). Thereafter all students will either go into direct employment or training for employment.

Such a system is the most relevant in our circumstances. University education is actually adult education. But the way things are at the moment, even though there is a scheme for admitting mature-age students, it remains a small scheme intended to help just a few adult persons a year, and probably the University would not regret if the scheme was discontinued. Therefore, even the University itself considers that its prime duty is to train youths who come straight from the sixth form of the secondary school. Even from the students’ point of view, Form VI is not seen as a terminal point but merely as a transit stop on the way to the University. Hence, most Form VI graduates regard themselves as not being ready yet to sign up for permanent employment. Similarly on the part of employers, that is the Government and the parastatals, they too regard these youths as not being available for employment yet (except perhaps on a temporary basis), since it is generally assumed that they have not yet completed their studies; that they still have to go to the University.

Therefore, there is first of all a need to revolutionise our own attitudes in this regard. We have to liberate ourselves mentally. The attitude we should adopt is that once a Tanzanian student completes the final class in his secondary school, he has completed his formal school education, in other words, he has reached a terminal point, and he is therefore ready to start work in order to serve the nation which enabled him to attain that level. This ought to be the understanding of all students, parents as well as employers.

But this does not mean that the University will cease to exist, or that university education will no longer be provided; not at all. University education will continue to be given, but on a different basis. When students complete their secondary school education, they will start working on a permanent basis. In
the course of their work their behaviour, attitudes and commitment will be recorded and assessed annually by their heads of divisions, as is normal practice for all employees. Subsequently, some of them will probably apply for admission to the University. Where that happens, selection will be made on the basis not only of the applicant’s performance in the Form VI examinations, but will also depend on the availability of positive reports and recommendations from the employer regarding the candidate’s character and work discipline, as well as reports on him from the relevant Party Organs regarding political consciousness and commitment to National policies.

This means that selection for university entrance will no longer depend merely on the candidate’s ability to read and memorise what he has been taught, but other factors will also be considered such as his good character, attitudes, industriousness. Hence, the passing of examinations alone will not guarantee a place at the University. In order to qualify for admission, a person will now need a combination of intellectual ability and proved commitment to serve the people.

It is understood that certain problems will arise in the implementation of this scheme. For instance, in the first few years when students will not be joining the University directly after Form VI, there may be a shortage of students needed to fill the places available at the University, and this will mean that the Government’s present high-level manpower plan will be disturbed. Also, under present arrangements, when a public servant obtains a place at the University, he continues to be paid his full salary for the whole period which he spends at the university. If that arrangement continues the cost of educating students at the university will be exorbitant, since in addition to meeting the cost of a student’s board and lodging, the Government will also have to pay his full salary for all the years he will be at the university. All these problems are known, but they can be easily solved by appropriate new decisions.

Furthermore, the problem of not having enough candidates to fill university places will not be too serious because as a result of the Party’s efforts to get people into the habit of learning more and more, the number of adults who undertake private studies right up to the level of qualifications required for entry to the University has increased in recent years.
Work to be Part of Education in all Educational Institutions

Earlier on we reminded ourselves of the decision we made in 1967, whose aim was to ensure that in all our schools, work becomes part and parcel of the students’ learning activities. This again is neither strange nor new in education systems, for there are countries today which are successfully operating that kind of system, such as Cuba. In Cuba, a student’s daily time-table includes three hours of manual work and a worker’s time-table includes three hours of study. In other words, work is an integral part of learning activities and study is part of work.

This is the most appropriate system for a country such as ours. We took a few steps in this direction when we issued instructions that adult literacy classes should be conducted during normal working hours, and that they should be considered as part of the normal work schedule. It is obvious that there are sound reasons for extending this arrangement to our schools and other institutions of learning so that work becomes part of their normal routine. As a nation, we have no excuse whatsoever for failing to give a chance to the thousands of our able-bodied young men and women to participate fully in the production process, particularly those who are in secondary schools and other institutions of higher learning. We have not given them an opportunity to combine theory with practice, and in so doing we have made our students believe that they have a right not to work.

Combining education with work is one of the important strategies of hastening our country’s development. But because of the persistent wrong attitudes that a student has no obligation to work until he completes his studies, that is when he “starts” work, it often happens that even during school holidays our youths do not see the need of working, except perhaps for the purpose of obtaining some pocket money to be used when the students go back to school: and at the moment it appears that this attitude has permeated the whole nation – the Party, the Government, the Parents – all of whom appear to feel that this is as it should be, and so it continues to be…

The National Executive Committee now directs that our educational system should be restructured in such a way that everyone attending courses will have to do some work as part of his training. The Committee urges the government to formulate concrete plans for the implementation of this directive as soon as
possible. We have often declared that we will get rid of our poverty through our own efforts, that means each one of us, and we surely cannot say that students are excluded from contributing to the national efforts in the struggle to eliminate this poverty.

But this question of making work to be an integral part of education has a more fundamental purpose than that of producing for the purpose of meeting part of the cost of running a school or any other institution concerned. We have already stated that the basic aim of our education is the development of socialist attitudes. A socialist is a worker. Therefore by introducing work in schools we are building socialist habits among the students. A student who refuses to sweep his room, for example, or wash his plate after a meal, puts himself in a class of people who live on the work of others, which is incompatible with socialism. Hence when we say that work should become part of education, we are talking about creating the socialist habit of wanting to work.

The Question of Examinations

That issue of combining education with work naturally leads to the closely related issue of examinations.

In the field of education, examinations were designed in order to measure the student’s level of understanding of the subjects which he was taught. Examinations are also used as a tool for selecting a few out of many, whenever the needs arises, so that only those with a higher level of understanding are chosen. Since what is measured is the knowledge of the subjects taught, normally examinations are set according to the content of what was taught in the classroom. A student is required to answer given questions in a specified period of time on a chosen day. In such a situation the student is, as it were, ambushed. If we are now saying that classroom instructions must be combined with work outside the classroom and the sum is what should constitute the education that a student will get, there is an urgent need for bringing about changes in our examination system.

For instance, we have already referred to the decision made in 1967, that our primary education ought to be self-contained and complete in itself; meaning that it should fully prepare our youths so that they can live usefully in our villages and towns once they complete standard seven. But then the
examination which is being set at the moment for pupils completing primary education is a purely selection process for those who will enter into secondary schools. That examination is not set in order to find out whether the pupil has actually obtained the type of education which will enable him to be useful in his village or wherever else he will be. Therefore if we are really serious about attaining the objective of education for self-reliance, which we set for ourselves, we must think of a new examination structure.

We have to get rid of the ambush type of examinations. At the moment we are placing too much emphasis on written examinations. The purpose of examinations should not be limited to measuring a student’s progress. Examinations should also enable us to find out whether a student has secured the type of education which will enable him to be of use to his village, or in whichever place he will be living after completing his studies. The National Executive Committee agrees that a student’s progress has to be measured, but the existing examination system encourages interpersonal competition, whereas students’ progress can be measured without necessarily involving them in a competition for individual excellence. The National Executive Committee therefore directs that the excessive emphasis now placed on written examinations must be reduced, and that the student’s progress in the classroom plus his performance of other functions and the work which he will do as part of his education, must all be continually assessed and the combined result is what should constitute his success or failure.
CHAPTER

13

AZIMIO LA MUSOMA
NA WAJIBU
WA WALIMU
AZIMIO LA MUSOMA NA WAJIBU WA WALIMU

[Kiswahili - Azungumza na Walimu wa Shule zote Mkoa wa Dar es Salaam, 8th February 1975]

The Musoma Resolution was obviously controversial. The pace for the attainment of universal free education was seen as slow and thus sowing down the pace of national development. He had to explain why the target date was reduced from 1989 to 1972. Nyerere took trouble to painfully explain why and how that could be achieved.

"Tukiziendekeza hizo gharama tutapata taabu sana. Watoto hawatasoma. Itachukua muda mrefu sana kabla watoto hawajasoma... Ukimaliza elimu ya sekondari umenaliza elimu yako. Unakwenda ama kufanya kazi au unakwenda katika Chuo kinachofundisha kazi... kuna kipindi katika maisha yako cha kusoma halafu baadaye kuna kipindi cha kazi. Haya mawazo si mazuri..."

Nyerere is set to enforce the implementation of the Musoma resolution on the integration of work with education by the abolition of direct entry to the university and the vocationalization of secondary education. Strategically, he thinks the teachers can help the situation by changing attitudes and mind set.

Alichukua nafasi hiyo kufafanua maagizo mengine kutoka Mkutano wa Chama wa Musoma.

Waheshimiwa walimu, kwanza kabisa ningetoa shukurani shukurani kwamba mumenipatia nafasi kuja kufanya moja ya kazi zangu, nayo ni kusaidia


Baadaye tumekubaliana tuanze kupanua zaidi elimu ya msingi na kabla ya hapo tukakubaliana kwamba elimu ya msingi kwa kweli badala ya kuifanya kama vile ilivyokuwa mwanzo, ambayo ilikuwa ni ya miaka minne, na ni wachache walikuwa wanapata na elimu ya msingi. Tukakubaliana kwamba kWila atakayepata nafasi ya elimu ya msingi asome miaka saba kamili. Basi nasema tumejithidi kupanua na sasa watoto wengi wanasoma.


Sasa tunayo matatizo, na tatizo moja ni lile lile kwamba tuna matatizo ya gharama za elimu. Kila tunapozungumza kuwa lazima watoto wote wasome, halafu tunachukua vitabu tunapiga hesabu ya gharama zake, na tunapiga hesabu zinatutisha. Tunatishwa na gharama za kusomesha watoto wote.


Tulikuwa tuna mpango mpaka 89, kufikia mwaka 89 watoto wetu wote wawe wamepata nafasi ya kusoma, na Waziri ananiambia sasa tulikuwa tumo katika jitienda ya kuona labda tupunguze badala ya 89 iwe 84, ndio watoto wetu wote waweze kusoma. Lakini ingeweze kana kabisa kwamba kwa utaratibu ule
ule hata 84 hiyo tungeweza tu kufika kwamba hawasomi. Sasa Chama kinasema tuongeze mawazo kubisa la kaa, kabisa, kabisa. Tuzitazame hizo gharama tuone muda mrefu zaidi la kujunga mahimia yake tukakubaliana kwamba kufika mwaka 77 Novemba; Novemba 77 watoto wote wanaostahili kuingia darasa la kwanza waingie, asibaki mtoto mwaka 77. Sasa tunao mwaka huu; tumege sehemu kubwa sana, mwakani tumege sehemu nyingine kubwa, na mwaka 77 tuwamalize. Hiyo ndiyo kazi tuliyotumwa na hivyo tumejiombea muda mrefu zaidi na muda zaidi watekelezaji maana kwa kweli nadhani kuna waliotaka Novemba mwaka jana (kicheko). Lakini watekelezaji tukajombea muda maana wengine tulikuwapo wathimizaji la kujenga la kujenga la kujenga. Tukajombea muda zaidi na muda zaidi tukaweza kujingia sana Novemba 77. Sasa huo ndio uamuzi wa Chama na wajibu wetu ni kutekeleza, na lazima tutekeleze. Lazima kufika Novemba 77 watoto wote wanaostahili kuingia darasa la kwanza waingie, darsa la kwanza waingie.


Namna moja ya kulieleza hili gumu. Hapa walimu; walimu wengine nyie vijana lakini wako walimu wengine niwaonao ni wazee wenzangu (kicheko). Kwa hivyo wao haya nitakayoyasema watayaelewa lakini ninyi vijana pengine hamtaelewa mimi ninasema nini, lakini wenzangu wataelewa. Mimi nilipokwenda kusoma darasa la kwanza, wakati huo ambao sasa inaonekana...


Ilikuwa taabu kidogo kuwasomesha kwa sababu namna ya kuwasomesha hao unasoma kwanza wewe, kicheko, halafu unakwenda kusomesha. Kwanza unasomaa; somo hili unalielewa wewe, tena kwa korobo, (kicheko), halafu unakwenda kusomesha. Ukipata mwanafunzi mkorofi zaidi, anayeelewa upesi unamzima! (kicheko); akikuuliza maswali na wewe huko hujafika unamjibu hivyo hivyo; ila yeye haelewi. Unamwambia ngoja tutafika huko lakini bado hatujafika huko, (kicheko); hatima yake mnaafika huko.


Kadhalika tuweze kuwatumia watoto wa madarasa ya juu katika shule za kati. Nchi nyingi zinafanya hivyo. Mimi nilipokwenda Cuba juzi juzi nikagundua kumbe wanaweza hivyo. Sasa nasema kubwa katika haya tuliyoamua ni kwamba tujitahidi kutumia watoto wa madarasa ya juu kufundisha watoto wa madarasa ya chini, na kwamba kufanya hivi tunaweza kupata walimu wengi sana na watafundisha.

Lakini huwezi kumpa kazi mtoto ile ambayo haiwezi. Unaweza kumpa kazi ambayo anaweza; kazi ambayo mwalimu una hakika kabisa huyu nikimpa kufundisha, hesabu au jiografia, huyu kijana anaweza akefundisha katika darasa la pili, na walimu wanaweza wakamsaidia, labda na kumkagua pindi wakipata nafasi. Kubwa lililoamuliwa katika Halmashauri Kuu ni hilo na

122
matumaini yetu ni kwamba nadhani walimu wataliona, watalielewa, watalikubali, na kwamba tunaweza kutumia wanafunzi kusaidia kufundisha wanafunzi wenzao tukapata walimu na likatupunguzia gharama, na likatupunguzia hofu ya kwamba tutashindwa kusomeshia. Imefanyika huko nyuma. Watu wamefanya na wamesomesha, hivyo nasema walimu wa certificate huko nyuma walikuwa na elimu hizo za madarasa manne. Sioni kwa nini sasa tusiweze ambapo sasa elimu yetu ni nzuri.

wengi ambao hawakuweza kufika darasa la tatu. Unataka kuwalinganisha na wa siku hizi ambao wote wanakwenda mpaka darasa la saba. Hili si kweli.


Jambo lingine ambalo labda ni geni zaidi ambalo Halmashauri Kuu inalisema ni kwamba tunazogazidi hizi za kusoma:- shule ya misingi, shule za sekondari, halafu Chuo Kikuu, na vyoo vingine. Ingawa sasa tumefanya jithiha cubwa

Tunataka wazo hili sasa likubalike. Ukimaliza elimu ya sekondari umemaliza elimu yako. Unakwenda ama kufanya kazi ambayo mafunzo yake yatatoka

125
hapo hapo katika kazi, au unakwenda katika Chuo kinachofundisha kazi. Basi tunataka hilo likubalike. Tunataka kwanza likubalike hilo kwamba nia ya kuwapa watu elimu ya sekondari sio kupata kupata watu wa kwenda University. Nataka hilo likubalike.


Katika kujieleza nimepata habari kwamba bado halijieleweka kabisa. Yaani ati inavyoaminika ni kama vile tulivyokuwa na utaratibu mmoja wa kwenda National Service. Na mpaka sasa tunao utaratibu mmoja wa kwenda National Service. Sasa unaambiwa hutakwenda kwanza University hata umekwishapata


‘'Ninyi hao hao mliokuwa mnamwambia wewe kipindi hiki cha maisha yako ni cha kusoma, kula, na kulala; ninyi hao hoo kijana akija akionekana bado namna yake ni ile ile; anataka ile ile bado; hata kusoma sasa hasomi kwa sababu amekwishapata certificate lakini sasa anaendelea na kula na kulala; ninyi hao hoo mnaanza kumlaumu. Mnasema njia wa siku hizi kazi hawataki, wavivu”. Lakini mlimfundisha lini kazi au tabia ya kazi? Miaka kumi na sita mlikuwa mnasema yeye kipindi chake cha kazi hakijafika. Anaanza sasa. Sasa ninasema mkiwa na taifa la namna hiyo mtapata taabu. Hakika hawa wasomi wa juu hawatafanya kazi. Tena mnawaambia wanaosoma masomo ya juu, hao mnawaambia ninyi ndiyo viongozi wa kesho kwa hiyo someni, kuleni, laleni, (kichoko). Sasa viongozi wa kesho hawa hiyo ndio namna mnawatayarisha? Kwanza mnawatayarisha kwa kiburi kabisa. Watakuwa viongozi wa kesho. Lakini kazi hapana. Wakati wao wa kazi utafika. Sasa hawa viongozi wa juu hawa watakuwa hamkuwafundisha kazi, ama kazi, ama tabia ya kazi. Mnajisemea maneno tu. ‘‘Sasa mtakuwa ama taifa ambalo viongozi hawaijui kazi wala hawataki kazi, na wanao watu wengine. Hao ndio wanaojua kazi. Lakini nao nitashangaa ikiwa nao watataka kazi. Kwa sababu mimi sijuwi kweli kama watu wanaweza kupenda kazi katika taifa...


Najua hata wafanyakazi tukikaa nao sasa hivi ukiwaambia habari ya kusoma
nao watadhani kama tunawaambia mchezo mchezo hivi. Mpaka juzi nadhani
Rashidi amewatisha maana amesema wasiposoma watafukuzwa kazi. Nao
wana mawazo kwamba tukiwaambia kusoma ni utani utani hivi. Eh!
Hatuwaambii jambo la dhati mpaka tutishane. Haya ni mawazo ya kijinga ya
kikoloni hivi, ya hovyo dovyo hivi. Kwa hiyo wasomi lazima tubanane nao
wafanye kazi, na wafanyakazi tubanane nao wasome kusudi tuwe ni taifa la
wasomi na wafanyakazi. Tunasoma, tunafanya kazi, na tunajitahidi sana
kupunguza tabaka hizi za kijinga kijinga. Sasa hiyo ndio maana kubwa ya
Azimio la kazi. Ina maana kubwa na maana ya kudumu.

Iko maana ndogo vile vile ambayo nayo nitaieleza. Elimu ina gharama. Iko
gharama. Gharama hizi zinatokana na kazi. Kama hii si kazi ya wale
wanaosoma, lazima itakuwa kazi ya watu wengine. Inawezekana kweli
wanaosoma ni watoto wadogo hawawezi kugaramia elimu yao. Lakini
hatusomeshi watoto wadogo watupu. Kila tunavyoendelea, muda wa kukaa
katika shule unakuwa mrefu zaidi. Na hili ni jambo jema. Hili si jambo baya
maana kuna kulea watoto. Lazima walewele na elimu ni sehemu moja ya kulea
watoto. Tofauti moja kubwa sana baina ya wanyama na binadamu ni kwamba
wanyama wengine kipindi chao cha kulea na kifupi sana na wengine hakuna.
Kuna vinyama vingine kakizaliwa moja kwa moja kinaanza kukimbia kimbia
na wengine wanachukua muda mrefu, na mtoto wa binadamu anaweza kwa
mtoto wadogo watoto. Ofauti moja kubwa sana. Unawezakana kupunguza tabaka
hivi za kijinga kijinga. Kwa hiyo watafuta watu wetu wengine nayotaka
wkuliza utani utani hivi. Hivi vyote vinaanza shule vana na miaka saba,
unamlea shuleni kwa miaka saba, hvoyo ano miaka kumi na minne. Ataongeza
miaka mingine sita ya shule ya sekondari, hvoyo ano miaka ishirini. Na
mingine mitatu sasa Chuoni. Kijana wa miaka ishirini na mitatu. Haiwezekani
kuwa gharama za elimu yake ziwe zote zinatokana kwa watu wengine. Na
kila mtakavyosomesha wengi, tutakuwa nao wengi sana. Shule za sekondari
zitakuwa nyangi sana. Sasa wote hawa, majitu mazima, yana maguvu, yana
afya, halafu hayatoi contribution ya elimu yao. Inatoka wapi? Inatoka kwa
watu wengine. Kwanini itoke kwa watu wengine. Kwa hiyo watafuta watu
wengine na wanawezekana kupunguza tabaka hivi za kijinga kijinga.
CHAPTER

14

MAANA YA ELIMU
MAANA YA ELIMU

[Kiswahili - Hotuba kwa Wakuu wa Shule za Sekondari Nchini katika Chuo cha Kivukoni, Dar es Salaam 1975]

“Madhumuni ya Elimu yabadilike kutoka Kujitafutia Sifa kwenda kupambana na vikwazo vya maisha.”

Mwalimu is battling with the purpose of education. He seems to be thoroughly frustrated by the lack of change in attitudes and mind set from elitism to a more egalitarian perception of the aims of education to enclose menial work. “Walimu wanagoma kufanya kazi za shamba maana sio kazi yao waliyosomea. Wamesoma kufundisha darasani”.

“Sasa iko elimu hii ya prestige. Walimu ninawaomba lazima muipige vita elimu hii ya prestige. Elimu si kitu cha prestige... Elimu ni kitu cha kumkuza binadamu tu. Kumwezesha kupanua uwezo wake. Anawiri.... Elimu kazi yake ya kwanza, na kubwa zaidi, ni hii ya kupambana na mazingira yanayomzua binadamu kuflower, ku blossom, kutaka akafikia hali yake ya mwisho.”

Jamani intellectuals tumeji-indoctrinate. Tumejipiga kasumba ya kusema tunakubali elimu ya wote, na ukinibana kabisa nasema, “honestly I am telling you I love my brothers and I want all of them to get an education”. Nitasema hivyo. Halafu nitaambiwa “in that case what?” Nitakataa kazi. Mimi nifanye kazi like this priest? He is a good priest, a good Roman Catholic priest. A believer. Na Injili ile anaiamini kabisa kabisa. But he will not work. Kazi ni ya watu wa chini.


Sasa duniani, kama hivyo ndivyo, elimu kuna namna nyingine ya kusema. Elimu ni kitu cha kutusaidia katika mapambano ya maisha. Mapambano ya


pale. Halitaki. Binadamu analibomoa. Siku hizi tunalibomoa, (ilikiwa linabomolewa kwa baruti); sasa leo wanabomoa kwa nuclear explosion.


Halafu bahati mbaya, lazima tupambane na binadamu wenzetu kwa sababu si mawe tu yanayotuzulia kufikia utukufu wetu; na miti, na manyama ya porini. Hata binaadamu wenzetu wanataka kutuzuia kwa sababu wanataka wao wafikie utukufu. Sisi wengine tusifike utukufu.


nikushike mkono tusaidiane. Lakini la hilitaki hilo, hata angalau wewe utembee kwa uwezo wako mwenyewe na mimi nitembee kwa uwezo wangu mwenyewe. Wewe fikia utukufu wako mwenyewe na mimi nitafikia wa kwangu. Lakini mgongoni bwana!!


Bwana nimeshamaliza (kicheko) (makofi).

**Kujibu Maswali**


Hasomeshi kwa sababu amekwishazitenga kazi hizi mbili. Ameshazitenga. Ameshazitenga na moja ameipa heshima na nyingine ameipa fedheha.


Wengine wanaweza wakaamua wakatoa mikono mifukoni. Kama wenzangu ninavyowatania, hasa ikiwa mtu wa kamera akiwa karibu, unaweza ukatoa mikono mifukoni lakini bila kubadili actually yale mawazo ya dharau ya kazi!


Aksanteni sana.
CHAPTER

15

AHUTUBIA WABUNGE KWENYE UKUMBI WA KARIMJEE, DAR ES SALAAM
AHUTUBIA WABUNGE KWENYE UKUMBI WA KARIMJEE, DAR ES SALAAM

[Kiswahili - 1978]

‘Mwalimu Akwama Kuzuia Kuandikishwa kwa Shule Binafszi za Malipo.’

Baada ya kulielezea suala la kuandikishwa kwa shule binafszi mara tatu, analazimika kuwaeleza wabunge kama wana CCM maana ni jambo la sera. Wananchi hawakubaliani na sera ya Chama na Wabunge wenye wananashindwa kuielezea sera hiyo. Mwalimu anataka kupanua elimu msingi kwanza. Watu wanauliza:

Wanasemaje? Kwamba kama wananchi wenye, kwa sababu ya kutaka kuwaelimisha watoto wetu wenye, tunao uwezo, tunaweza tukachanga, tukajenga shule, tukachanga, tukalipa karo kuwasomesha watoto, wanasema tusifanye? Ha!

Na viongozi wanasema: Eti bwana.’

Ndugu spika na ndugu wabunge, kwanza ningepeenda kusema, ingawa ninasema katika kikao chenu hiki hapa mnaposema, mnaposhughulika na shughuli rasmi za ubunge, na ingawa ninasema na wabunge, kwa kweli ninasema na wanachama wa C.C.M. sikuja rasmi kuja kusema na wabunge. Unapoomba rasmi kuja kusema na wabunge Ndugu Spika ipo mikogo yake. Kwa hiyo sikuja katika hali hiyo. Nimekuja kusema na wanachama wa C.C.M. lakini kwa kweli ingawa nimekuja ki-C.C.M, nimekuja Kiserikali vilevile, kwa sababu jambo ninaloliezea litakuwa jambo ninaloliezea na kujitetea Kiserikali.


Eh! Sijui kama walikubali. Lakini iliikuwa lazima tulieleze jambo hilo. Sasa hili linafanana kidogo na lile. Kidogo linafanana na lile:-

“Wanasemaje? Kwamba wananchi wenyewe kwa sababu ya kutaka kuwaelimisha watoto wetu wenyewe, tunao uwezo, tunaweza tukachanga, tukajenga shule, tukachanga, tukalipa karo kuwasomesha watoto, wanasema tusifanye: Ha.”
Na viongozi wanasaema, “Eti Bwana.”


Katika hizi mbili ndogo kubwa, ya pili ni ndogo. Wala sitaieleza. Nitaitamka tu, sitaieleza. Shule hizi ni vituo. Ni vituo. Tunasomesha watoto wetu,


Hawa wa serikali hatukuwapo wengi. Lakini kuja wenzetu katika serikali wakasema:-

“Ninyi Mwalimu huko katika Chama mnapokaa hasa mnakadiria uwezo wa utekelezaji au mnaota tu? Mnaamua tu mambo. Hivi kweli watoto, tunaweza kusomesha watoto wote mwaka 77? Uwezo huo wa kusomesha watoto mwaka 77 tutautoa wapi huo?”

Hata wengine hao tunaozungumza nao mambo ya misaada wanasema:-


Sasa mimi ninasema jamani, hata kama tungekuwa tumeandikisha themanini kwa mia; hata kama tungekuwa tumeandikisha themanini kwa mia, wamebaki ishirini kwa mia Hao ndio tufagie fagie mwakani, ingekuwa tunastahili kujivuna kabisa. Lakini wanasema wanadhani tumeandikisha 97 kwa mia. Tumeandikisha wanasema hivi sasa. Huo ni uchaguzi.

Mwanzoni tumeamua kwamba katika hiki kipindi kinachokuja, tuliamua makusudi kabisa kwamba, tukazane na upanuzi wa shule za sekondari zitupe uwezo kufanya mengine tunayoyataka. Tumefanya kwa miaka kumi na mitatu. Tunao vijana wanabiliza na Form I na Form VI. Hivi wengine siku hizi eti wanakuwa hawana kazi. Tumeanza kufika mahala vijana wa Form IV wanatabafa kazi kama Standard Seven. Ndiyo. Hatukukaa bure huko nyuma.


vitatokana na uwezo huu. Hivyoo vyako hasa unavyosema ni vya ziada vinatoka wapi? Na kama Chama hakikubali kulishika jambo hili, kulitia maanani, tunajidanganya bure.


Tumepima uwezo wa nchi nzima. Tumeupima. Tumewaambia wananchi:¬

“Tazameni wananchi. Tutawasomesha watoto kwa miaka saba. Tutajenga madarasa mazuri. Tutatoa vifaa safi, na tutajitahidi kupata walimu safi”.


Sasa hoja nyingine ninayopewa, Ndugu Spika, ambayo kwa kweli inanikera, na ninajibu kwa kuimarisha lakinani inanikera. Inanikera kweli. Wanasa hivi hao wapingaji, wanasa:

“Kwani elimu yenyewe hii ya miaka saba kwani elimu bwana? Mtoto wa siku hizi akimaliza miaka saba hata kusoma hajui. Kwa hiyo afadhali tuongeze ongeze kidogo.”


Tumeamua jambo safi. Elimu miaka saba. Mataifa mangapi ya namna yetu, nasema Ndugu Spika, kama kweli tungetekeleza jambo hili, kama kweli

Sasa tuwaambie hivyo wananchi. Si jambo jema kwenda kwa wananchi, najua nasema ndugu zangu wengine, kwa sababu jambo lenyewe ni tamu, najua ndugu zangu wengine wamestuka tulivyosema hivyo. Lakini kuna wengine wanaelewa hawataki. Wanawaambia wananchi:-

“Wananchi uwezo mnao wa kujisomesha zaidi na sisi tunapenda mtumie uwezo wenu huo lakini serikali haipendi.”


Wenzetu Zanzibar, wamepitisha mpango watatoa miaka kumi na miwili. Sisi tumekubaliana tutatoa miaka saba. Hii ya ziada tunaitaka kwa sababu moja tu. 

Basi. Kesho na keshokutwa, uwezo wa taifa utakapoonzeka, na ndiyo maana nasema hii siasa siyo ya sasa hivi tu, ni ya kuelelela, kesho na keshokutwa uwezo wa taifa utakapoonzeka ukawa ni mkubwa kwamba tunaweza kufanya zaidi, unachotaka kufanya ni kuongeza hii ya wote. Ni kuiongeza mwaka mwingine iwe miaka minane: ni kuiongeza mwaka mwingine iwe miaka tisa. 


Ndugu Spika Aksante sana.
CHAPTER

16

THE PURPOSE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF AGRICULTURE
Mwalimu took advantage of this opportune moment to reiterate his utilitarian view of education. He narrates all the possible purposes of an agricultural university but the practical angle and immediacy of outcomes pervades all messages.

“This University must be answering the needs and solving the problems of Tanzanian agriculture and rural life. This university should begin by asking who its students should be... the greatest need is for students who want to be farmers, to work with farmers, and to help farmers.... This university should be looking for mature students.... Had I not been admitted as a mature student I would never have received a university education.”

Mr. Chairman of Council; Councillors; Members of the University; Friends.

It is appropriate that we should, this year, establish the Sokoine University of Agriculture on the firm foundations of the Morogoro Campus of the University of Dar es Salaam. We thus give a further indication of agriculture’s importance as the cornerstone of Tanzania’s economic recovery and resumed growth. For we decided to set up this University after lengthy discussions in many institutions and committees. And for its best administration, we now have an extremely good and helpful Report from a Tanzanian Study Team, which I commend to the Council and Staff, and to the relevant Ministries, for consideration and implementation as far as possible.
Even the name of this University was carefully chosen. It commemorates our late Prime Minister, Edward Sokoine, whose commitment and service to Tanzanian Agricultural Development challenges the University which bears his name to ever greater service. And we called this a University of Agriculture, and not of Agricultural Sciences, because this University is intended to be practically oriented, that is, a place of practical learning and research.

The Sokoine University of Agriculture is intended to be directly useful to our farmers and our nation, now, as well as in the future. It must be professionally oriented; and the professions concerned are those which encompass the knowledge, the understanding, and the skills, to do a practical job in our rural areas. Thus, the main objective of this University is not abstract research, or the training of academics who can write learned treatises. Certainly we hope that it will do those things, for we expect – and we demand from both staff and students- rigorous scholarship and scientific research. But they are not what the University will be judged by during the next twenty years or more.

The major purpose of this University is the development and transmission of skills and practical expertise at the highest level. And the skills and expertise required are all those necessary and useful for the transformation of our rural areas – a transformation which can only take place on a firm base of agricultural development and increased production. Thus, the concern of the leaders of the Sokoine University of Agriculture should not be the attainment of degrees comparable to those of the Colleges you may have attended in the U.S.A. or elsewhere. It should be the giving of service to our agriculture, and our rural people, comparable to (or better than) that which those colleges give to their own hinterlands.

This University must be answering the needs, and solving the problems, of Tanzanian agriculture and rural life. Its aim must be, firstly, to contribute towards improved production and therefore improved standards of living for the people who live and work on the land or in connection with the land. And secondly, through that route, as well as through its contribution to national planning, this University must aim at making a major contribution to the economic development of Tanzania.

These purposes require that this University should give education and training appropriate to peasant agriculture and life, to cooperative farms and village
development, and also to commercial farming. All these use our land and resources, so they have needs and problems in common. But each method of organisation has needs and problems peculiar to itself. And all exist in Tanzania, and are likely to do so for the foreseeable future.

The emphasis must be on practical development. And this requires new departures in Tanzanian education. For until now we have no tradition or experience of training farmers. The Faculty of Agriculture, Forestry and Veterinary Science of the University of Dar es Salaam did not train farmers. And the various Ministry of Agriculture Training Institutions do not do so. All have been training future Civil Servants, and awarding them Degrees, Diplomas, or Certificates. Now I am asking this University to rescue us from the absurdity of an agricultural country which has no institutions where people can learn to be farmers, or better farmers. Some of the people you train will still become Civil Servants in the future, and will require the necessary qualifications. But your real purpose is to help us in the training of farmers, and in the education and training of experts who are both capable of training practical farmers and willing to do so.

Extension workers neither get, or deserve, the respect of the peasants or commercial farmers unless they can answer the practical problems which these are having to cope with, and can demonstrate – both by their own example, and by using their own hands and brains – how to get better results. Teachers at the Ministry of Agriculture’s Training Institutes – some of whom will be recruited from this University – must have the same abilities at a higher level. They too must have an understanding of practical farming; they must be able to teach practical skills and to explain how to deal with a problem which is presented to them, even if it is new or local. Even research workers can do better and more practically oriented research if they know both the needs and the constraints of our farming community.

Thus, I am suggesting that as well as teaching about the importance of such things as soil analysis, this University should also be teaching the simple and relevant skills necessary to analyse soil. I am also suggesting that you should be developing simple tools which the ordinary farmer can use for such purposes, or spreading a knowledge of them if they already exist. I am told, for example, that the Korean experts do soil analysis to the level necessary in the villages, right on the spot there they are working with our farmers.
Secondly, this University will have the Faculties of Agriculture, of Forestry, and of Veterinary Science, and maybe other Faculties later on. But farming is not divided like that. The aim of all farmers is to get the maximum possible return from their land and their labour. That is the need of the nation also, with the additional requirement that farming practices should not damage the national environment on which future generations will depend. And, as a general rule and certainly in our villages, mixed farming – involving arable cultivation, pastures and animal husbandry, and some tree growth – is both practiced now and appropriate. Our farmers therefore need to have knowledge of all sectors, and – which is especially important – an understanding of their inter-relationships, and how each can assist the best development of the other.

Thirdly, and as an extension of my second point, agriculture must be defined by this University in its widest possible sense. For anything which affects farming practices and output, and most things which affect the quality of rural living, must be incorporated in your work.

One example is obviously the implements our farmers use, or could with advantage use. And that involves their design, their manufacture, and their maintenance – with emphasis on what can be provided, developed, and maintained, with the human and economic resources of Tanzania. Small farmers, cooperative farmers, and large-scale farmers, need different kinds of tools. Appropriate technology must be recognized by you for what it is – the technology appropriate to different circumstances of use, and the different levels of technical knowledge prevailing in different agricultural sectors. All must be of interest to this University; Agricultural Engineering is certainly an integral part of the work you have to do.

But let me stress: The majority of our farmers are peasants. Combine harvesters are awe-inspiring to the uninitiated, and have a glamour for the agricultural engineer; it is true that we can use a few in places like Basuto, and that our larger and more successful cooperatives will need them. But the more important implements for us are the ones which can be useful to peasants or the small village cooperatives. That means simple tools, tools which do not depend on imported fuel, which can be repaired (and preferably even manufactured) in the villages or small towns, and which do not require advanced mechanical skills for their maintenance or efficient use.
In its technical training, management training, and all other aspects of its work, the University must emphasize the development of self-reliant agriculture, in an increasingly self-reliant nation. We have to reduce the import dependence of our economy because with the existing international economic order nothing else is viable. And as agriculture is the basis of our economy, that means keeping the import dependence of our agriculture as low as possible.

Of course an increasingly self-reliant agriculture is not just a responsibility for this University. But the University can help our development towards that direction, and must do so. For we have to increase our agricultural production in circumstances of ever-decreasing foreign exchange reserves. Agriculture has to provide adequate and reliable supplies of food and raw materials for our industries; it also has to contribute very substantially towards earning the foreign exchange necessary to meet our other requirements, such as education and health and all the other services of a modern state. And as far as possible crops have to be produced in places where they can be accessible without increasing still further our transport problems and other foreign exchange costs.

In addition, our agricultural development needs to be directed towards reducing our dependence on the rains by the expansion of drought-resistant crops and of irrigation. But these developments too, have to be made without greatly increasing agriculture’s dependence on imported machinery, fuel, or technical services. It does not help very much to reduce dependence on the unreliable weather by increasing dependence on something else which is beyond our control.

Again, because agriculture is central to our national development, we need from this University some people who are expert in what I believe is called ‘agricultural macro-economics’. But we need very many more who can be good, practical farm managers, and who possess a knowledge of ‘agricultural micro-economics’ among the many other attributes of a good farm manager. For let us accept another reality: few people farm for fun; good farming demands hard physical work and mental effort.

While the return a farmer gets from his land and labour certainly depends upon his technical skill, it is very greatly increased by good farm management. This is true for a peasant farmer, a village cooperative, and for a commercial farmer.
And all are interested in the net benefit obtained from their work and their inputs. One does not have to be a capitalist or a monetarist to recognize this.

Nor should sociological questions be regarded as irrelevant to this University. You can only succeed in persuading people to change their current methods of production if you understand what these are, and how they are integrated into their social structure and beliefs. For however theoretically beneficial a new method of production may be, it will bring no result if the people believe it will adversely affect another vital aspect of their lives.

Such problems have to be tackled by first understanding what underlies the resistance; and secondly by seeing whether the resistance can be reduced by adapting the technology, or by acceptable changes in the other relevant aspects of their life - patterns. Sociological knowledge is essential, especially for the majority of Tanzania’s agronomists, animal breeders, vets, and foresters who will be working with our peasants.

Let me add that one aspect of this – and of the integrated nature of rural knowledge is a willingness to learn from the peasants. There have been many cases where so-called modern scientific methods imported from temperate areas have proved to be less productive than traditional methods, or to cause unacceptable damage to our soils. The practice of deep ploughing on fragile tropical soils, and of opposing inter - cropping on small farms are but two examples of this. We need to study the traditional practices, and where the circumstances in which they developed have changed, see how they can be adapted to the new conditions. There was the traditional practice of slash and burn, cultivate and move on; now that we live in settled communities we have to show the peasants that the modern equivalent – equally within his own control and more productive - is the use of compost, green manure, and animal manure.

Similarly, we have to understand the existing societies in order to help the gradual move towards cooperative production. For while individual peasant farms are now the most important productive units in our agriculture - and must be treated as such – the future lies in larger farm units on which better implements can be used economically. For a socialist country this must mean the expansion of village cooperatives; an Agricultural University in a socialist country must make a contribution to that development.
Fourthly, the University must have a farm – a productive farm. In Morogoro alone, you have 3.550 hectares of land; you also have some forest land. Some of this large area is needed for particular demonstration plots, and for research. But there is enough land for a working farm in addition - or for more than one. If they are to learn to be farmers, or to train farmers, it is essential that students should be able to see a productive and commercially successful farm in operation – and that they should be able to work on it. Moreover, the University Farm should be applying all the beneficial results of research done at this University and elsewhere in Tanzania, so that its output per acre is high for all the crops it produces.

The University Farm must have management systems appropriate to the size of its unit or units. It must be run on strictly commercial principles, as a self-accounting unit which operates in accordance with all the laws and conditions which prevail elsewhere in Tanzania. There must be no scope for excuses that it is making a loss because of its importance to University Research or teaching or feeding. On the contrary, the Farm must make a profit and contribute directly or indirectly to the foreign exchange earnings of the country. It must do this through the efficient production and sale of its food and other crops, either to the University or to other national institutions.

Mr. Chairman: there is one other major need of Tanzania which this University must try to meet. It is that of being involved in the whole network of Agricultural Extension and Research in our country.

The Sokoine University of Agriculture inherits a useful ‘Centre for Continuing Education’. That must be enlarged, and expanded in function, so that the direct influence of this University extends throughout this region and is felt also in the rest of the country. Its out-reach must help to disseminate research results. Research which ends up in books or learned papers may add luster to an academic reputation; it only contributes to the purposes of Tanzanian Universities if the knowledge gained is spread and used. Already we have accumulated much useful knowledge about how to improve agricultural production; but too little of it is applied by our farmers or promoted by out Agricultural Officers and Field Assistants. Sometimes it is because these do not know the research results, even about the most productive spacing, intercropping systems, composting practices, and so on, to say nothing of more advanced knowledge.
Underlying almost everything I have said so far is the expectation that the staff and students of this University will give service to the people of Tanzania. The University must contribute to this by encouraging students towards attitudes of service to the farmers – especially the peasant farmers – and to fostering an identification with them and their interests. For it is not enough to train people in the skills and understanding necessary for efficient service; we need graduates of this University who will use their skills for Tanzania and its people.

Courses under the title of Development Studies are certainly not a complete answer. Sometimes they have the disadvantage of leading people to believe that ‘Development Studies’ covers questions of ideology so everyone else can ignore them, or alternatively, that a study of socialist theories is all that is required. In fact Development Studies courses are intended to help students to understand the purposes of Tanzania and the environment in which our country has to make a living and develop. That is essential for all University students. But it is not enough.

For it is certainly necessary to understand the malign influence of external factors on Tanzania’s development. But ideological teaching has to free us and inspire us to work out what we can do in the face of these things, and how we can do it. The external circumstances we are contending with are not going to change in the near future; we have to learn to cope with them.

What I am suggesting is that everyone involved in teaching, administering, or governing the Sokoine University of Agriculture has to involve themselves in promoting attitudes of service. And it has to be service needed by Tanzania in the light of Tanzania circumstances and aspirations. These attitudes can be promoted by force of example – by real dedication to teaching, to research, to spreading research results in a form which the people needing it can understand, and to helping the surrounding farmers and other rural workers. They can also be promoted by the way the University is organized, and the demands which its structures make upon our nation.

Let me therefore turn briefly to questions relating to the membership and administration of this University.

First, I suggest that this University, in consultation with the Ministries of Education and of Agriculture and Livestock Development, should begin by
asking who its students should be. Let us have another look at this in the light of
the practical emphasis which I am advocating. Certainly they need to be people
who can show evidence of sufficient academic ability to benefit from the
science-based courses – and whose command of English is sufficient for them
to understand what they are reading and express what they have learned. You
will need a few academic ‘high fliers’. But I suggest that the greatest need is for
students who want to be farmers, to work with farmers, and to help farmers.
Your selection criteria should reflect this purpose.

I am aware that this may mean less First Class Passes in your Degrees – and I
am not suggesting that you should reduce your standards of academic
excellence. What I am saying is that your job is to spread and enlarge
knowledge so that our agriculture improves and our lives improve, and that you
will therefore be judged – in Tanzania and elsewhere – by whether you
contribute to reaching that goal. Your objectives should not be sacrificed to
Class Lists.

In particular I suggest that this University should be looking for Mature
Students, not making it difficult for them to enter. People with farming
experience and who want more knowledge should be looked upon as a gift to
you. I am not impressed by the argument that Mature Students rarely get good
Degrees and sometimes have to be helped to get a pass in the basic sciences
because they do not have the grounding. Give them help in such subjects as
mathematics! Make it your duty and privilege to do so. If you chose wisely, and
give them assistance when they need it, Mature Students will help to keep this
University practically oriented.

Let me add that what I am saying applies to all the University of Tanzania. It is
absurd that it should be more difficult for Mature Students to enter Universities
in this country than it is in America or Britain. That only shows lack of
self-confidence on the part of the Universities themselves. As I have said
before, had I not been admitted as a Mature Student I would never have
received a University education.

Secondly, your library. I entirely agree that a good library is essential to the role
of this University, and I therefore do have great sympathy with the immense
problems which you are facing in this respect. I wish I could give you a firm
promise that – as recommended – two million Tanzania shillings in hard
currency will be allocated to Library rehabilitation every year for five years, and an appropriate amount annually.

But we cannot usefully allocate foreign exchange which we do not have. All I can say—and I do say it—is that the Bank of Tanzania will be asked to recognize University Library needs as one of the national priorities, and that we shall do what we can to help—including putting this need to friends who offer to help Tanzania.

But there is no reason that I can see why this University Library should not be designated as a National Library of Agriculture, as suggested by the Study Team. This means that Agencies would be required to deposit documents, and publishers deposit books, related to agriculture, natural resources, and allied areas. At least let this Library be a centre for all the information relating to agricultural questions which is collected in and with the assistance of Tanzania. And I urge that books and documents be treated with great care, made accessible to students and researchers, and also protected well. Anyone willfully damaging books or documents of this University Library should be dealt with in the harshest possible manner—if necessary barred from access to its resources, with all the consequences which follow from that in a University.

The provision of teaching and living accommodation is another very expensive aspect of University life. I appeal to you, as this University expands, to insist upon designs which are functional, and simple, and low cost. Do not approach these questions with pre-conceived notions of status being dependent upon the size and type of offices or houses. There are some buildings—such as the library and laboratories—which need to be strong, designed to last hundreds of years with proper maintenance, and capable of future expansion. But not all building which is done here needs to be looked upon in the same way.

We do not want to build slums, but good architecture does not have to be expensive or grandiose. It can be attractive while still being functional and meeting the circumstances of the people for whom it is being created. Let architects accept the challenge of building for a country which is both poor and ambitious.

Staff and student housing, for example, must be designed and built so that its capital and maintenance costs are low. In Tanzania we have a Building
Research Unit; could we not adopt some of their plans and techniques for low-cost housing, rather than just thinking in terms of unique (and usually European based) designs for hostels, flats, and so on? What is necessary are places where people can live in clean conditions, and where they can study. The simplest and cheapest student and staff housing on this campus will have many advantages over the desperate search for suitable accommodation outside, which also involves transport and other problems.

Finally: I ask that the Administration of this University should be simple, and cheap. Keep the number of faculties and departments to a minimum, and the bureaucracy at the lowest possible level. More administrators and what are called “supporting staff” do not necessarily mean better administration and service; often the reverse is the case, for Parkinson’s Law is valid in Tanzania as well as elsewhere.

The administrative and academic structure must be such that individual responsibility for jobs is clear, so that persons can be held accountable for their actions or lack of them. And I would add, that while student and staff involvement in the running of the University is necessary, democracy must not be carried to the lengths where it becomes an enemy of efficiency. This is an educational institution, not a representative body, and people must be required to work at their jobs, not to spend all their time on committees. Nor should we be selecting teachers and administrators on the basis of their popularity rather than their competence in their work.

Mr. Chairman of Council: Friends. This is a new University. Make it new! Learn from the experience of Tanzania’s first University – adapt the good things to your particular needs and do not copy the bad ones. Remember that the Sokoine University of Agriculture is financed by the peasants and workers of Tanzania, and that these are poor people. Remember also that our national objective is Socialism and Self-Reliance, and that your work should be directed towards those purposes. Our needs are great. We ask for your service.

You have my good wishes, and my full support, in the task ahead of you.
CHAPTER

17

TWENTY YEARS OF EDUCATION FOR SELF RELIANCE
TWENTY YEARS OF EDUCATION FOR SELF RELIANCE

[English - Address at the CHAKIWATA Symposium, Marangu Teachers’ College, 12th September 1988]

Mwalimu is tenaciously holding on education for self-reliance as the best system that can lead to mental liberation and national development. Yet he notes that some leaders have not fully embraced it.

“Educationists seem to be a little afraid of its implications, and many members of society, including some leaders have been unable to free themselves from the mental attitudes to education inherited from colonialism.”

Mr. Chairman, Fellow Teachers, invited Guests.

First, let me thank you for postponing your symposium so that I could join you at its opening. I wanted to do so for two reasons. First, as teachers you are among the front-line workers in the building of a socialist Tanzania as defined in the Arusha Declaration. Secondly, I believe that Education for Self-Reliance is not only the best, but also the only strategy by which this country can provide a good education for its young people; yet we have not been implementing it in its fullness. Educationalists seem to be a little afraid of its implications, and many members of society – including some leaders – have been unable to free themselves from the mental attitudes to education inherited from colonialism.

If I were writing Education for Self-Reliance now, in 1988, there are only two changes I would make. First is a correction. Education for Self-Reliance states: “it is going to be a long time before we can provide Universal Primary
Education in Tanzania”. We have provided it since 1977. As a consequence, whereas we had about 825,000 children attending primary school in 1967, we now have about 3,200,000 children attending 10,302 primary schools. As a result of this achievements and the parallel success in virtually wiping out illiteracy among adults, Tanzania is now a literate nation. A major achievement indeed!

Secondly, therefore, I would now give more emphasis to education in science and technology, and to general training in skills. Our productivity – as people and as a nation – is suffering very badly through the lack of skilled people and the absence of any widespread understanding of scientific principles and their relevance to life. Equally important, I am told that more than 360,000 young people are completing primary school, and thousands more completing secondary school, without having any particular technical skill which can help them to begin immediately productive work in the society; there is a danger that they will become frustrated because they feel ill-equipped for anything except wage employment as unskilled workers – which is not available.

Our failure to emphasize science teaching, of all kinds and at all levels, and especially our indifference to technical and vocational training, is the greatest failure of our educational system. How can we hope to be self-reliant as individuals, as schools, or as a nation, without a deliberate effort to acquire the skills required for progress in an environment which is changing rapidly both nationally and internationally? I would like to think that this Symposium will consider this question, and that you will include in your conclusions some practical recommendations about how the present abysmal science and skills education can be very rapidly improved. For while we have abolished the first kind of illiteracy, we have done very little – almost nothing – to tackle our technical and skills illiteracy. Our total dependence on imported machinery and spare parts, the speed at which such things as imported vehicles, factory, machines, and electricity and water supplies equipment, break down or become useless is directly related to our illiteracy in technical skills in a Technological Age. We cannot hope to develop a modern nation unless we tackle this problem.

**Purposes of Education and our Actions**

Education for Self-Reliance defines the purpose of education. It says that it is, firstly, “to transmit from one generation to the next the accumulated wisdom
and knowledge of the society…” The knowledge which we pass on from one generation to another must include the skills which are necessary for self-reliance. But it is not enough simply to pass on the skills of the old Tanzanian society. The skills which are necessary for self-reliance are constantly changing.

The African peasants of yesterday, with their horizons limited by lack of transport or modern technology, had skills appropriate to the kind of society in which they lived. But those skills are no longer adequate for the literate peasants of today. These new peasants, in addition to whatever traditional wisdom and skills they can learn from their elders, need scientific and technological skills in order to build the new kind of society they need and want. It is the accumulated wisdom and knowledge of the wider society – the world society – which must be transmitted to them. In practice, however, we have largely ignored Tanzanian traditional knowledge as well as failing to impart the basic scientific knowledge needed to understand current world technology – and we have failed to teach the skills of either kind of society.

The second purpose of education is said to be to “prepare people for their future membership of the society and their active participation in its maintenance or development” – in our case it has to be development! We have defined the kind of society we want to build: a socialist one based on three principles – human equality and respect for human dignity; equitable sharing of the resources which are produced by our efforts; work by everyone and exploitation by none. Such a society does not yet exist in Tanzania. We are still engaged in trying to build it, and doing so in conditions of great underdevelopment and in a very hostile international environment.

But teachers are the trainers of the builders of this new society. Whether that kind of society is ever created therefore depends heavily upon you, the teachers of Tanzania. The pupils will be influenced by your personal example, by what you teach and the way you teach it, your attitudes and the manner in which you deal with others, and your own clear desire to learn from anyone who has anything at all to teach you. Yours is a heavy responsibility.

But the education of any human being comes from life and although schools are important, they are not the whole of a child’s life. Teachers will be most successful in inculcating particular attitudes and ideas when these ideas are
predominant in a society, and are propagated by parents, as well as being supported by all the actions of Government and the Party. The problem comes when the teachers share reactionary ideas which are also prevalent in the society!

Thus, for example, Education for Self-Reliance points out a reality that the majority of our children will receive only primary school education, which must therefore be a “complete education in itself”, and a “preparation for the life which the majority of children will lead”. Yet it is still normal – among teachers as well as parents – to talk of some 96% of our children as having ‘failed’ the Standard VII exam because they are not accepted into a secondary school which does not exist!

When primary school teachers talk in this manner, it means that they do not understand what they are supposed to be doing. For good primary school teachers, who are trying to carry out our educational policy, will regard themselves as failing only if their pupils leave school without being capable of two things; of developing into self-reliant persons who contribute to society; and of using their primary school education as a basis for the acquisition of more knowledge through their own efforts. When our teachers judge their pupils – and therefore themselves – by the number who get into secondary schools when there are only places for about 4% of them, then they are dooming themselves to a belief in their own failure as teachers! I suggest that this Symposium should look again at this matter. Teachers must themselves face up to the reality of Tanzania’s underdevelopment before they can expect either their pupils or their community to do so.

You are not helped when it is suggested that there should be rewards for schools which do exceptionally well in Standard VII exams – meaning those who get the highest number of pupils going on to secondary school. Friendly competition among schools is not bad. But it should be competition either about which schools do best in equipping their pupils to lead a good life in Tanzania when they leave that school regardless of whether they immediately get more formal education, or about which school contributes most to the local community in the spirit of self-reliance. It should not be a competition about Standard VII results.
There is, however, one examination – the new one at Standard IV – which can be used as an indication of a teacher’s or a school’s success. For that examination tests basic literacy in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and in the future technological advance will make it increasingly difficult for an illiterate person to be a useful citizen. Yet the Minister announced in his Budget Speech of 1988/89 that in the last year only 58.7% of the children passed this exam – i.e. had learned enough to benefit from teaching in Standards V, VI, and VII. I stress that this is not a competitive examination: it is possible for every child to pass. Such poor results indicate that something is seriously wrong in our primary schools; I hope this Symposium will be considering what the problem is, and what should be done about it.

**Problems for Schools – and Teachers**

Being this critical does not mean that I am ignorant of the difficulties faced by teachers – including those who are teaching in the first four standards. Without books you cannot teach a child to read; unless the child has slates to begin with, and then paper, it cannot learn to write. And I know that there is sometimes a shortage even of chalk in schools. These very basic teaching essentials just have to be made available. The question is how they will be paid for, and that is not one which concerns teacher alone – although they cannot ignore it. I am sure you will be discussing this matter.

But more than books and paper are necessary for a good primary school. You need serviceable buildings which are properly maintained. Desks, tables, chairs are essential for teachers and pupils. You need ‘teaching aids’, especially for small children, and some simple equipment for basic science as well as maps for geography, and so on. If you are to teach science and skills of any kind, you must have the basic tools – and the training in those skills, whether it is improved agricultural practices or some simple principles of building better houses. In secondary schools more advanced equipment is essential if they are to be effective. There is a need also for teachers’ housing – at least in the rural areas. There are grave shortages in all these areas.

All these things cost money – some of them need foreign exchange; and Tanzania is a very poor country with an immense foreign exchange problem. It is no good just leaving these problems to Government, which can only raise more money by increasing the tax burden on already poor people. Certainly it is
legitimate for citizens, the Party, and the government itself, to ask whether the present allocation of only 5.7% of the budget for education is a real reflection of our socialist principles. But those of us who ask this question must be prepared to say what other expenditure should be cut, or what feasible tax revenue has been ignored.

And in any case, our economic condition being what it is, we have to ask ourselves what we – all of us – can do about these devastating shortages.

There are things we can do. They will not solve the basic problems, but they can help to alleviate them. For example, Teachers’ Colleges should make still greater efforts to teach their students how to improvise, to make educational aids or do repairs out of local materials, and to use whatever things are likely to be available in our villages and towns for the improvement of their working and living conditions. The Chakiwata Newsletter could perhaps do more to publicise ideas which have been found practical by existing teachers. We need to share ideas about how to deal with our problems.

But the community in which schools exist cannot escape some responsibility. Constantly asking parents to buy this or pay for that is self-defeating; sooner or later they will stop sending their children to school because they cannot provide what is asked for. Silver and gold they have none: what they do have is their labour. That they can often provide: labour to build a new classroom, or a teacher’s house, or to paint walls or repair a roof. And the village or urban ward could, by community effort, also provide desks, chairs, and tables, for primary schools.

Further, the Party must be more active in supporting our schools, and in particular our primary schools. These provide the only formal education for over 95% of our people; it is our national education. They also provide an absolutely essential base for any child who goes to secondary or technical school. If our primary school education is poor in quality, all our education will be poor, and we shall be cheating the child, the parents, and the nation by expanding secondary schools or increasing their number.

Yet while many primary schools in Dar es Salaam are without desks, have inadequate numbers of books and so on, we take pride that seven secondary schools in the city began double sessions last year so that they could increase
their intake. In addition, double sessions were introduced into seven other Day Secondary schools in the country, where I suspect that primary schools are also gravely deficient in essential facilities. I do not know if the number of teachers for Form I of those schools was also doubled, or whether some teachers are expected to do two days work in one for six days every week throughout the school year!

Apart from that, ten new government secondary schools, and thirty-three new private secondary schools were opened last year with Government approval! Where do we get the teachers from? Already our secondary school teachers have classes which are too big for proper teaching, and in some of the science subjects we often cannot provide any teacher at all. And many of these new Private Schools are the result of public collections supported by – or even initiated by – Party leaders and other prominent public figures! At the same time, public expenditure on education, as a proportion of the Budget, is decreasing not increasing. I know the Biblical tenet: “… unto every one that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance: but from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which be hath”. No one has suggested that it is part of our Party’s Programme!

These are not plans for teaching, but for cheating! And who are we trying to cheat? For this is like stealing from yourself. What will it benefit a child if he or she goes from a poor primary school to an even poorer secondary school, without facilities or even an adequate number of teachers? What we are doing is upgrading primary education for a few, and then pretending that it is Secondary Education. It would be a greater service to the people of Tanzania, to the children of Tanzania, and to education in Tanzania, if public collections were made and used for the up-grading of our primary schools. Our leaders should look again at their responsibilities to the mass of our people.

Education for Self-Reliance says: “The only choice before us is how we allocate the educational opportunities, and whether we emphasize the individual interests of the few or whether we design our educational system to serve the community as a whole. And for a socialist state only the latter is really possible.” It also says: “In Tanzania the only true justification for secondary education is that it is needed by the few for services to the many…. ” Something which is secondary education only in name is a deception of an innocent child as well as being useless as a preparation for future service to the community. We are training for frustration and alienation.
There are many other problems with which teachers have to contend, and which I am sure you will be discussing this week. Housing is a serious one. When a teacher is settled in a particular area, it is reasonable to encourage him or her to build or buy a house. But especially in rural areas it is essential that there be a large core of teachers’ houses around every school. Providing them is as much a responsibility of the village as is the building of the school itself. The teacher can be asked to pay rent, but somewhere to live is essential if good work is to be done.

Another genuine problem is that teachers’ wages are often not paid on time, and rarely if ever paid at the school or in a manner where the teacher can get them without absenteeism. Teachers have a right to demand that the administrators consider them, and their work, rather than the greater convenience to administration of requiring each teacher to go to the District Headquarters to collect the money due to them.

Conversely, teachers must themselves be disciplined, and insist upon discipline among their colleagues. It is not always because they are collecting their wages that teachers are absent from class. I know that parents tend to exaggerate the actions of bad teachers, and ignore that hard work of good ones; even so, there are too many reports of indiscipline among teachers for this problem to be ignored. A great deal depends upon the Headteachers or Principals, but they need the backing of other teachers, of the Teachers’ Association, and of the Ministry, as well as the active support of the parents and local Party leaders.

Being a teacher is an honourable, and very demanding profession. No educational policy, however good, can succeed without a well-trained, constantly up-dated, and disciplined professional cadre. The majority of our teachers do try hard to do a good job inspite of the immense difficulties which they face. For their own sake, as well as that of Tanzania, they must help to ensure that all teachers, without exception, fulfil their responsibilities to the best of their ability. The true guardians of the professional honour of Tanzanian teachers are our teachers themselves.

**Self-Reliant Education**

Right at the beginning of my speech today I said that Education for Self-Reliance is the only type of good education which Tanzania can provide for its
children and young people. Many of our current problems have arisen because we did not accept the fundamental implications of the policy change which this educational strategy implies.

I must again quote from that document. “Schools must become communities – and communities which practice the precept of self-reliance. … There must be the same kind of relationship between pupils and teachers within the school community as there is between children and parents in the village. And the former community must realize, just as the latter does, that their life and well-being depend upon the production of wealth – by farming or other activities. This means that all schools… must be economic communities as well as social and educational communities”. “This is a suggestion that …. the school community should consist of people who are both teachers and farmers, and pupils and farmers. Obviously, if there is a school farm, the pupils working on it should be learning the techniques and tasks of farming. But the farm would be an integral part of the school – and the welfare of the pupil would depend on its output…” These paragraphs go on to say that the school accounts would reflect its productive output, and could not be balanced without that resource input – for it could be money earned, or the value of essential work done.

Education for Self-Reliance goes on to stress that the productive work has to be integrated into the school work, and vice versa. Basic science lessons and practical experience at work would reinforce each other: arithmetic lessons can be drawn from additions, subtractions, and percentages etc. which will be part of the account keeping; planning the work in the productive unit can become part of other lessons; and so on. Self-Reliance in Education is not simply a matter of allocating ‘periods’ to something called ‘Self-Reliance’, it is a whole approach to education, an acceptance throughout all activities that schools are simultaneously economic and learning communities.

There are very few, if any, primary or secondary schools where this policy has been applied to the full. The Minister of Education recently gave figures of the value of production in educational institutions: in total they came to about 3% of the present very low recurrent budget for the Ministry of Education. This 20 years after the policy was officially adopted! Yet all our educational institutions are suffering badly from lack of resources, to an extent very much greater than if this policy of Education for Self-Reliance had been practiced.
What is wrong? Virtually every rural school has a ‘school farm’, and every urban school some other kind of productive activity. Yet these are not integrated into school life. Watch children as they work on the primary school farm – for the teachers are rarely there, and even less rarely joining in. Usually one gets the impression that the children regard this period – and it is a ‘school period’ – as an opportunity to gossip or enjoy time in the open air away from books. Certainly they do not regard the farm as ‘theirs’, or their welfare as depending upon the work they do on it; they do not regard their farming activities as being related to other lessons in the school – for in truth they are not related.

Nor do the parents view the school farm positively, as something which will help their children prepare for a future life: indeed too many of them believe that their children are simply being used as labourers for the benefit of the teachers. They believe this because neither they nor their children are involved in planning the work or the allocation of its output. They therefore think that what should be productive activity is merely a means of wasting time which should be spent studying. And I believe that many of the teachers themselves have the same attitude; to them the farm is something forced on them by ‘the authorities’ – and all too often, a way for getting the children out of their way for a while! They do not see it as essential both for educational purposes and as a means of providing the school with its essential equipment.

A few of our secondary schools do better, I get too little opportunity to visit our schools, but I know of one which has its farm organized so that planning and allocation of the output, as well as the work itself, is done by the students with very little teacher intervention and the Head just getting the meeting minutes and the accounts. The students learn democracy in practice and develop their own abilities at the same time as they earn and learn; their academic lessons are to a considerable extent made relevant to their production, and vice versa. That school has built two laboratories, two classrooms, and at least two teachers’ houses; it also provides all its own maize for school meals and much of its other food. It even hired a part-time teacher in a subject for which no teacher had been provided by government. And its examination results are well above average!

However well organized they are, Day Secondary Schools will be able to do less – and need to do less. Primary Schools will need more active leadership
from the teachers. But the principle is the same everywhere: schools must become communities – productive as well as learning communities. As they do so they will be teaching the basic tenets of cooperation – of living together and working together for the good of all. The students will learn to value each other for what they do, and not for the accidents of being daughter or son of this or that leader, or having this or that luxury in their homes. They will be getting an education which prepares them for active participation in a developing socialist society.

Primary schools which organize themselves on the basis of maximum self-reliance will also, inevitably and necessarily, be more integrated into their local community. For there will be some kinds of work which the school cannot do for itself and has to call upon the village; conversely, their work can contribute to the success of village plans. For example, the school can take on the responsibility for raising a nursery for a planned wood–lot or afforestation drive – and get paid something for every seedling prepared. This would be cheaper for the village at the same time as it helps the school – and both would realize their common membership of the larger village community.

**Conclusion**

A sense of belonging to a community is important for the psychological health of every human being. And a strong community spirit is essential for the health and security of every society. Our education system must promote this sense of community, of belonging together, and all having both responsibilities and rights in the group. Building the school community into a conscious unit is part of that work, but because school is inevitably a temporary community from which the children will graduate, its members must feel the school to be part of a wider community to which they also belong.

In tribal society community consciousness was acquired by osmosis – it was drunk in with mother’s milk, and was an inescapable part of the social environment. People of my generation therefore often sought modern education in order to help their own village or tribe. As education broadened our horizons, the sense of community widened; it become in turn a consciousness of rights and obligations in relation to Tanganyika (or Zanzibar), Tanzania, Africa – and so on. But the base of the spiral of community consciousness continues to be the village or area where we were born and brought up.
Despite the very much greater mobility in modern Tanzania, and the consciousness of wider horizons which modern technology brings to all of us, it is still true that in our villages the sense of family and community – that is of belonging – is strong. The modern disease of rootlessness has not caught up with most of us yet: Our education system must support and enhance that community spirit in order to prevent that modern disease from taking hold; it is a very real individual and social problem in most Developed Countries. And the danger is there – we can already see signs of it in Dar es Salaam. For our villages are increasingly becoming integrated into the larger society – the District, Region, Nation, continent, and world. And the sense of community, of belonging, is now threatened by the individualism of aggressive international capitalist economic, as well as the greater opportunities for individual intellectual and economic development which now exist in Tanzania. It is in our schools, both primary and secondary that the sense of obligation to serve as well as be served and to cooperate rather than compete must be built up.

In the towns of Tanzania the sense of community has already been very greatly weakened. Your people who have been born and brought up in urban areas often feel no deep senses of belonging to the village from which their family comes – sometimes they are like a fish out of water if they visit it! Nor has there been time for a genuine urban community to grow up – itself in any case a difficult thing given the number of people involved. But even in towns – or perhaps especially in towns – our schools can and must help to develop community spirit. They can do it by creating a school spirit, and by deliberately creating links with the parents, the local party organisation and other constructive groupings which exist (or can be promoted) in the immediate locality. They can do it by promoting a habit of cooperation within the school which the pupils will take with them when they graduate.

Mr. Chairman. We need to be much more active and deliberate in the implementation of the policy of Education for Self-Reliance. But the base on which this can be done now exists. We have built that base by our work in education, and through progress in the development of our country.

Right now Tanzania is experiencing very severe economic problems, and therefore our education system is having problems also. But the solution in both cases is Self-Reliance, and the spreading of skills which can make self-reliance a progressive and development promoting approach. We have to
make the very maximum use of the resources we have as a people, a nation, a
town or village, and a school. We have to accept the reality, that we are
Tanzanians who live in a poor and undeveloped society so that we cannot live
like people from the Developed Countries, nor have the comforts which the
citizens and those nations take for granted.

But we need to accept two other realities also. First, that we have a society
which has been made strong by its unity, and which can be made stronger and
less poor on the basis of cooperation, of working together for the common
good. And secondly, that in Tanzania we now have a literate people who are
therefore able to learn the new skills they need if given the chance, and many
thousands who have received a secondary or even tertiary level education
which can be used to promote faster national development is the future on the
basis of Self-Reliance.

The teachers and educationalists of Tanzania have created this greatest
resource of any nation-educated people. I thank you for your work, and remain
confident that you will help our country to continue our progress and overcome
all our present difficulties.

Thank you.
CHAPTER

18

ADDRESS AT THE TWENTY FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM
ADDRESS AT THE TWENTY FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM

[English - 1st July 1995]

Nyerere repeated the call for a university to be relevant, functional and fundamentally linked to the society it is supposed to serve. That was the only justification that a government would reduce resources in some sectors so that the University continues to function. But Nyerere never gave up upon the more creative functions of a University.

“But a university can only fulfil its functions if it is the hub of, and a stimulus for, the kind of scientific thinking which is a necessary preliminary to constructive action. But a university must have untrammeled freedom to think and to exchange thoughts, even if the thinking leads some of its members to become unorthodox in their conclusions.”

Mr. Chancellor, Mr. Vice Chancellor, Members of the University, Your Excellencies, Other friends.

There is sometimes a dispute about when a living thing began its life, so perhaps I should start with a little history! Today we are celebrating the 25th Anniversary of Dar es Salaam University; but by the time of its birth in 1970, the main buildings of this campus already existed; the Arts and Science faculties were operating; and among us today there may be some people who can claim a connection with this University in the academic year 1961-62!
What is now the Law Faculty of this University accepted its first 14 students in October 1961; it was based in what is now the building of the Institute of Adult Education in Lumumba Street, a building which had originally been put up by TANU to be its new Headquarters. They were the students of Dar es Salaam University College – a constituent part of the University of East Africa. Three years later, they were – if my memory is correct – awarded Degrees from the University of London. But it was in 1964 that the first Graduation Ceremony was held – by which time there were also BA graduates in Economics, English Literature, History, and other Arts subjects. By 1966 the graduates included some who had earned BSc degrees; they were, I think, degrees awarded by what had become the University of East Africa.

Thus the inauguration of this University in 1970 marked in a sense, the graduation of the Dar es Salaam University College. But I am pleased to say that it has continued to cooperate closely with the simultaneously ‘graduated’ new Universities of Kenya and Uganda; all three University Colleges went into University status at the same time. There is still close informal cooperation between the universities of our three countries; now there is also some exchange of students between Tanzania and Zambia.

On each of those occasions – and in annual reports for a decade afterwards – we have been able to record expansion in the numbers of students and staff, of courses offered, and from the services of a few non-Tanzanian members of staff, the day has long passed when our country had to depend upon expatriates for its teachers in all Faculties and Departments and at almost all levels. Yet we were very lucky in those we had here in 1961 and the following early years; under the leadership of Professor Pratt from Canada, they laid an excellent foundation of learning, teaching, and research for our University. And they trained good Tanzanian staff to take over from them – many of whom have by now trained and passed over to their own successors.

There was another thing which earlier years of this University had in common. From October 1961 until 1985 no major ceremony took place on this campus without a formal speech from me as the Chancellor. Since that
time, students and staff have been spared my tendency to use University occasions to deliver a lecture. Thus, I can only assume, Mr. Chancellor, that the decision to invite me to deliver a speech today, on our 25th Anniversary, was made “for old times’ sake”. I suggest that those who do not share such nostalgia take comfort in the certainty that I shall not be making a speech at the next major University anniversary – in the year 2020.’

Mr. Chancellor: the University has, over the last 15 years or so, been experiencing difficult times. Our Anniversaries are not now occasions for boasting about expansion and smooth progress. I do not think these difficulties are over. But nor do I think that they are surprising. They reflect the economic difficulties of our country, and also to a lesser extent the rapid changes which have been taking place in our social and political attitudes and structures. Thus the University’s difficulties reflect the link between the University and the Society in which it lives and operates – about which I spoke so often in my speeches. Time and again I urged the need for the staff and students to remain conscious of that link, albeit that the context was different. Then I was urging that academic decisions and student activities should be determined in the light of the responsibilities which that link implies for the University and for its staff and its students.

Now, however, it is not necessary to remind the University about the link between itself and the larger society. The economic tribulations and the associated political choices of our country have forced that link into the daily consciousness of the University. For the effect of these things has been painful – here as elsewhere. In practice they have reduced the academic capacity and the real choices available to staff and students. The Library is inadequately provided with new books and journals; through their limited salaries or grants, so are the staff and students. Necessary equipment is often not purchased; useful research often cannot be financed; valuable extra-curricula activities by students are made – at the least – very difficult because there are no funds. And although the amount of money contributed under cost-sharing by the students’ parents, guardians, or villages, constitutes only about 20% of the total cost of their education here, still it is – to most of them – a very large sum to find each year, despite the loan arrangements made by Government. And because it is so much smaller, the
same per capita contribution constitutes only 15% of the unit cost of a student’s education there.

Let me make it quite clear. In saying these things I am not making any political comment about the economic tribulations, nor about the political, economic, or social choices which our people – through their elected governments – have made. The link between the University and the national economy has always existed – from the beginning in 1961. The difference arises from the fact that until about 1980 our economy was growing; from a desperately low level, and painfully slowly but still quite definitely, the National Income per head was improving year by year. The University – alongside all other institutions in our society – could operate in the confidence that its budget would not decrease in real terms; it could hope to share in the slight increase in national wealth by getting a little extra money to use for its work.

For various reasons that slow but steady improvement in our national wealth ceased; for many years it went into reverse. In other words, Tanzania got poorer. Not surprisingly therefore, the University’s Budgets have decreased in real terms. For the Government to have exempted the University from the general contraction in public expenditure would have meant that cuts in allocations to other purposes – including unquestionably good and necessary purposes – would have been even greater.

I am saying that most of the really unpopular decisions affecting the students and staff here have their origin in the facts of our national economy. The Government had to make choices about how to distribute reductions, not gains, in our national wealth. That same task would have faced any government which had been in power during those years of economic decline. Different governments, or different priorities, could at best have meant little more than a slightly different distribution of recurrent revenues. And even in that respect, a government’s choices are limited by past commitments – and often by the realities of international economics and politics.
Nor is the link between the University and the society simply a matter of finance. Students and staff are shaped by the society from which they come as well as by their genetic inheritance! And University of Dar es Salaam members live in the midst of a huge, fast-growing, and inadequately serviced metropolis, vibrant with political and economic argument at the same time as it is both a centre of conspicuous consumption by some people and of struggle, frustration and disappointment on the part of the great majority. These are facts, not political comments. They affect the attitudes – the fears and the hopes – of those who teach or study here. And they affect the way in which students and staff react to the hardships inherent in working or studying at Universities in a country suffering from severe economic difficulties while simultaneously passing through a period of major political and ideological change.

Yet whatever the national difficulties, and whatever ideologies or policies have been adopted by the current governments on behalf of the people who elected them, some things remain constant. A nation finances a University for its own national purposes. In doing so it expects that University to fulfil three functions. These are: to transmit advanced (and advancing) knowledge from one generation of manpower to the citizens of another generation; to provide the educated and trained high-level mankind needed by that society; and to be a centre for the national endeavour to advance the frontiers of knowledge.

In return for the finance it receives from the society, the University has an obligation to aim at fulfilling those purposes. It has to recognize in action that it is part of the nation and cannot divorce itself from the nation’s troubles, or its triumphs.

This means that a University – any University – has to be relevant to the society within which it exists; further, it must be seen to be relevant. It must relate its thinking and its teaching to the needs, the aspirations, and the problems of that society. This is a difficult thing to do at anytime, for the international environment is constantly changing the needs and problems of every developing country. Nor is ‘planning’ ever perfect. But at times of ‘transition’ towards a more ‘laissez faire’ economy the difficulties of
forecasting future needs multiply. This does, in part, account for the fact that even now some graduates from this University are finding it difficult to get employment. If it stopped trying to be relevant to the society the position would be worse! Yet under public ownership or private ownership, we can at present see that – in the medium and longer term – more widespread and extensive knowledge of Science and Technology is essential for our country. Being “relevant” requires that the Universities, as well as the Government, work to that end.

But a university can only fulfill its functions if it is the hub of, and a stimulus for, the kind of scientific thinking which is a necessary preliminary to constructive action. And in saying that, we are (in part) saying that a University – which in this context means its staff and students – must have untrammeled freedom to think, and to exchange thoughts, even if the thinking leads some of its members to become unorthodox in their conclusions. Orthodoxies change; as knowledge expands, the understanding of truth develops – but truth is not a matter of fashion. University thinking must be logical, and based on facts or clearly stated assumptions. It must be understood also that the corollary of complete freedom for University persons to think individually and collectively, is their acceptance of the responsibility to set out the facts, to explain the thought processes and the logic, and to respond to the intellectual challenge of an opposing argument – whether this comes from within or outside their ranks.

In addition to the University’s duties to the society, there is a particular obligation on University students as a result of their having what are in developing countries exceptional educational opportunities. For in poor countries like ours, university education cannot be a right of citizenship; economic realities prevent it from being made available to all who could benefit from it. In 1970, and in the context of a country committed to building socialism, I described this obligation as being a willingness to give service to the community “without demanding further privileges from the community.” Whether Tanzania is still an aspiring socialist country or not, I stand by that statement. For regardless of the fact that some of the current students will be here because their parents were able to pay for them to be
educated in private secondary schools, the reality is that being at this University is a privilege denied to the vast majority of Tanzanians. Recent statistics reveal that only 0.3% of our children who enter Standard I get a chance to study at any Tanzanian University. I suspect that the same enjoyment of privilege applies to Non-Tanzanian students. With privileges go responsibilities – always; for with rights go duties too, always.

Mr. Chancellor: by a somewhat circular route I have come back to the economic link between the University and the Tanzanian society. For economic realities mean that money spent on this University is not available for spending on the provision of good primary, secondary, technical, and adult education opportunities – to say nothing about other public services like adequate clean water, health, or social security. Yet, for what I consider to be good reasons, we have chosen to have a University – indeed, three Universities.

In choosing to have one or more Universities, a nation and its governments have accepted commitments. At the minimum, it has undertaken to provide sufficient resources for the Universities to function effectively. So what happens if, as things change, a government finds it absolutely impossible to do that?

For I repeat: no government is completely free in its choices. Within the education sector, a government cannot decide to close down primary and secondary schools so as to make money available for the University, because the latter needs qualified entrants as well as money. Nor can it decide to privatize Universities (that is, to leave the provision of tertiary education to ‘the market’) without abandoning even the shadow of a commitment both to equal opportunity for all its citizens, and even to genuine university education. An understanding of ‘the market’ – and indeed usefulness in ‘the market’ – may well be aspects of relevance in the determination of University courses or teaching; but I fail to see how the prime purpose of making a profit is consistent with the academic freedom and excellence which is an intrinsic part of being a University.

In a real financial crisis, where public revenue is insufficient to meet the minimum requirements of the existing Universities, what could, or should,
the Government do? Should it decide to close one or all of them? Or should it cut University Budget allocations below the minimum on which even the most cooperative staff and students can function properly? And when is that point reached? What elements or aspects of University teaching and life can be sacrificed without converting the institution into a pretence of a University? And isn’t even a pretence better than abolition? Makerere University could be little more than that during the rule of Iddi Amin, but its continued existence throughout the period preserved a base on which it has been rebuilt.

Yet it can be argued that there is another possible response to such a crisis. It is that the Government should look again at its priorities, and at the possibility of extending the range of its possible choices. In other words, a government in this position should re-examine the priorities which have determined its budgetary allocations. The realistic prospects for every country’s development, even its chances of defending (or regaining) its independent sovereignty within an increasingly interdependent world will depend heavily upon its wealth in knowledge – particularly science-based knowledge.

The most superficial study of comparative development over recent decades makes unavoidable the conclusion that, in the 21st century, knowledge will be of very much greater importance in determining the standard of living in a nation than will be its wealth in natural resources or its monetary capital. This conclusion stems from the constant speeding up of processes of scientific change which have been in operation for decades. Many factors combine to account for the rapid economic development of what are sometimes called the ‘newly industrialized countries’ or of China and India. But one thing which all have in common is a preceding period of heavy investment in education of all kinds and at all levels, with special emphasis on scientific, technical, and vocational education and training.

We in Tanzania – and in Africa generally – would be making a perilous mistake if we fail to accept this reality, or fail to act in response to it. Investment in the education of our people is vital to our future existence as a decent and viable nation and thus to our future peace and stability.
The Universities of Tanzania - and especially this, the oldest of them – will have failed the nation if they do not take the lead in understanding the world forces which are rapidly changing the very basis for economic and social development. But understanding would not be enough; they have also to work out – in the social and cultural context of Tanzania – how the necessary responses can be made by this nation despite its current levels of poverty and educational backwardness. For it is us, those of us now living in this country, who have to begin the changes which will determine whether our nation equips itself to survive, and perhaps flourish, in the century which starts in 5 years time.

Let me stress that I am not just urging the University to work out a justification for increasing the allocation for Education in the National Budgets – still less the allocation for this institution. I believe that such an increase will be a necessary part of the changes required; but it will not be the only one. Social justice and equity, as well as better health and greatly improved international communications, for example, all have their own contributions to make to the creation of a productive and stable society able to hold its own in the world.

But even within the educational sector, it is not a forgone conclusion that the balance between primary, secondary technical and tertiary expenditure should be immediately tilted further towards Universities. And within our Universities, there must be nothing sacrosanct about the current relative attention paid to the Arts or the Science and Technological subjects.

In saying these things I am not decrying the importance of studies in language, in history, in economics, in philosophy or in law. But I am saying that the world is now going through a period of many simultaneous earth-shattering scientific and technological revolutions. Together these are daily changing the nature of the world in which we have to live – and earn our living. They will change us in Tanzania whether or not we want them to do so.

Mr. Chancellor: I am not a scientist and do not claim really to understand any of these things; but in my work on the South Commission and with the
South Centre I have been forced to realize that things undreamt of forty-three years ago, when I was at University, are now common places of daily production, communication, and trade in the world. They are rapidly changing our world.

To mention just a few examples: it appears that genetic engineering and biotechnology are changing life and reproductive structures of crops and even animals; relatively minor among the effects can be the destruction of the market for any or all of the primary products which Tanzania exports. A new subject – ‘informatics’ – has already transformed the internal as well as international communications of the developed world, so that the economic and environmental cost of ignorance or incapacity in these areas has been multiplied a thousand times. Other different aspects of new chemical, biological, and physical developments - as well as those relating to nuclear energies – are all liable to have an impact on our individual lives and on our nation. They could make us more productive and our lives more comfortable. On the other hand, the earth we live on, the crops we grow and the fish we catch can be poisoned by the careless use of chemicals in agriculture or industry, or by dumping residues from apparently innocent productive activities. And this carelessness, or the dumping of poisonous or radiated waste, can take place hundreds or even thousands of miles from our shores but still affect us.

Only by learning to understand many such things as these can we in Tanzania hope to ensure that the on-going scientific revolutions are beneficial to us – or at least neutral – rather than being evil.

Education and Training, especially in Science and Technology, are the keys to survival as well as to development in the future. TANZANIA MUST INVEST IN THESE THINGS – NOW.

The University must take the initiative. It must work in cooperation with Sokoine University, and with our scientists and other educated citizens working elsewhere in Tanzania in order to help our legislators and other policy-makers to understand why this kind of investment must be made urgently. It must also suggest how this can be done.
For I stress: in calling for more investment in Science and Technology, neither the University nor the two Ministries now responsible for education in our country, can ask for, or expect, more money without “conditionalities”. Our society needs an expanded, balanced education, but one biased in favour of knowledge, understanding, and an ability to apply, any and all aspects of Science and Technology. It is imperative that we arrange to learn these subjects and to become competent in them – and that to the maximum extent possible our society gives to those concerned the equipment they need for learning, teaching, and practicing for our national benefit. It will be no disgrace if in the process of overcoming our relative backwardness in this area, and after enlisting the services of all our own qualified people, we find it necessary to recruit Non-Tanzanian Scientists and Technologists. For although we do have some good, and even a few internationally acknowledged mathematicians, physicists, chemists, micro-biologists and so on, we certainly do not have enough to make the leap forward which will be required.

Just one final point I wish to make in this connection. I have in the past often spoken against looking for ‘certificates of respectability’ from developed countries. We do not need them. But we do need good quality education; our teaching and learning must be of high standard. A first science degree must mean that its holder has the requisite level of knowledge and understanding in the subject concerned; it must not mean only that he has attended a particular University Faculty for a stated period. And a doctorate must mean that the aspirant has demonstrated a capacity for original thinking and has advanced human knowledge in his subject – even if only a little way. Sympathy with those who do not make the grade must not be allowed to compromise quality.

But a University can only teach to its required level if its students enter with recognizable and adequate qualifications. And the University depends for its students upon the quality of teaching at Secondary Schools. If that teaching is poor, the University output will be of poor quality also. And earlier still, secondary school students come from our primary schools; if these are bad – handicapped by large classes, an absence of textbooks or basic equipment, and inadequately trained teachers – then however good
the secondary schools are, they will not be able to produce either good-middle level technicians of any kind, or good undergraduates. From my observation, the problems of Tanzanian educationalists start at primary level and as a general rule get progressively greater. Those facts are not irrelevant to planning for the 21st Century.

In the past, we had insufficient applicants with even the minimum qualifications for entry. Now, despite the terrible conditions in our primary schools, and some of the present secondary schools being ‘secondary’ more in name than in reality, there are currently more qualified candidates than there are University places available for them. Less than 28% of the qualified applicants were able to get a place in this University during the current academic year. Even in the Science-related courses less than half of the applicants with the requisite Advanced Passes or Certificates could be accepted. The student population at our Universities is much too small. I repeat; only 0.3% of those who start primary schools can get a University place. We now have a larger number of qualified students than we used to have. We cannot afford to waste them. We should plan to increase the intake.

Mr. Chancellor: the habits of a long life are not easy to change. In my case, one of the bad habits appears to be giving long speeches at this University. I thank you, and all others here, for listening to me.
CHAPTER 19

EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA
Nyerere now seems to have abandoned the combative approach, exhorting Africans to use education as a tool for liberation and national development. Rather he is quite apologetic to failures in giving quality education because of poverty.

“The basic educational problem of African states since 1980 has been that the resources available to African governments have declined dramatically. And when something like 40% of the national budget has to be allocated to debt servicing, even while arrears continue to make that debt larger, and the annual interest higher, there is not much left for the governments other responsibilities.... Increasingly, it is possible for governments to choose only between evils.”

Mr. Chairman and Friends:

I thank you for your invitation to deliver this Michael Scott Memorial Lecture. You thus give me two opportunities, which I welcome.

When late in 1959 I visited the Africa Educational Trust’s first office in Vauxhall Bridge Road, one of the things on my mind was the decision of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), to establish in Dar es Salaam a residential college for adults “along the lines of Ruskin College, Oxford”. The outcome of that visit was that the African Education Trust lost
Miss Joan E. Wicken, its first (and at that time) only staff member, whom I recruited to help us carry out that decision. Thus the Trust could claim that one of its very earliest contributions to Africa was enabling Kivukoni College to come into existence quickly: it was of great service to Mainland Tanzania and between 1961 and 1993 it assisted hundreds of men – and some women – to improve their capacity to serve the people of their country.

But my major reason for appreciating your invitation is the opportunity it gives me to pay tribute to the life and work of the Reverend Michael Scott.

Like virtually all African students in the United Kingdom between 1949 and 1952, I greatly admired the work of Michael Scott in (and for the people of) South Africa and South West Africa, the Namibia of today. But it was only later, after I had met him a number of times that I began to get some measure of Michael’s unique and challenging qualities.

Michael Scott was selfless; and unconscious of his selflessness. His trust in God, and his commitment to the service of God, was to him a call to action against oppression and injustice among men. From his life and mode of living it appears that Michael never thought of the possible consequences to himself of such action. Certainly, he never complained. Yet the consequences of his own actions to others never ceased to matter to him. For he saw life and morality as being one; evil could not, in his view, be fought by evil. That conviction was reflected in his personal commitment to non-violent methods of struggle in all the cases of social and political injustice which he made his own.

And Michael never thought of himself as doing anything unusual. He helped individuals when he could, but at the same time he looked for the underlying cause of their suffering. When finding it, he considered only what action of his could initiate or support a struggle against something morally wrong. He neither sought, nor expected, any acknowledgement or publicity or reward – or even any thanks.

In sum: Michael Scott lived his life – as nearly as is possible for human beings – on the basis that moral wrong must be opposed, and moral right must be supported. But he was not arrogant. Nor was he judgemental of those who pointed to the compromises or the boundaries of action and advocacy. Michael was for many of us the voice of conscience personified. Even when we
compromised, he did not allow us to forget the purpose of our compromise. I thank God for his life.

Education was not one of the causes about which Michael campaigned. On that subject, he simply initiated the establishment of the Africa Education Trust! But Michael’s constant moral challenge and questioning is relevant in all aspects of life. Including education. For in the modern world of instant communication and global trade, there is an unavoidable interconnection between all political, economic, and social structures and decisions – within nations and regardless of national boundaries. The collective choices of a nation on any one of those aspects of life may well influence both the kind of society it is building for itself and the kind which the peoples of other nations are able to build for themselves. And in particular, economic choices made by the rich and powerful countries have an influence on the economic and thus the social options of the poor and weak countries in Africa.

Education statistics for Africa are extremely difficult to obtain, and often meaningless if you try to use them to compare one country with another or to learn about a trend over time within one country. And in any case, the statistics say little or nothing about changes in the quality of educational provision – at any level. Thus, for example, I see from the 1996 World Bank Development Report that a much lower percentage of the relevant age group was enrolled in Tanzania Primary Schools in 1993 than it was in 1980, whereas there was some small increased percentage enrolment in its public secondary schools – albeit in the latter case it was (for boys) from only 1 to 6% of primary school leavers! Yet visits to any primary or secondary school in Tanzania would have shown that in the later year there were more pupils for each textbook, the classes were large, and there was less basic equipment than at the earlier date – and the supply of neither textbooks nor equipment was ever anything like adequate. Other statistics, however, do make clear that whereas in 1981 about 12% of the national budget was allocated to the Ministry of Education, in 1993 the figure was 3.5%.

I give the example of Tanzania only because it is the country of which I have direct personal knowledge; but deterioration in education is the experience of almost all African countries. There was a post-independence expansion in the proportion of the national budget devoted to education, in the numbers at schools and colleges, and in the staff-student ratio. All those and other
significant education indicators began to worsen at some time in the 1980s, and have continued to fall since then.

The basic educational problem of African states since 1980 has been that the resources available to African governments have declined dramatically. And when something like 40% of the national budget has to be allocated to debt servicing – even while arrears continue to make that debt larger (and the annual interest higher) – there is not much left for the governments’ other responsibilities.

Yet the questions still remain: What kind of education should the governments provide from their limited resources? For whom should it be provided, and with what objective? Or, to put it differently, is education to be provided by state mechanisms, or left to a combination of commercial and charitable activities? And are such decisions to be made by central or local governments – or in practice left to ‘the market’?

In 1967, about five years after becoming President of my country, I issued a policy paper ‘Education for Self - Reliance’. Re-reading it with this evening’s function in mind, I find that there is little if anything with which I now disagree, but much that could be learned from the implementation (or lack) of it. Its definition of the universal purpose of education remains valid I think: “to transmit from one generation to the next the accumulated wisdom and knowledge of the society, and to prepare the young people for their future membership of the society and their active participation in its maintenance or development”.

The document also calls for the education given to be relevant to the society in which it takes place – currently and in the expected future. That too I think remains valid. ‘Education for Self-Reliance’ was issued in 1967 in the context of our aspiration to build socialism in Tanzania. In different countries or different times, ‘relevant’ policies might well be different from those of Tanzania at that time.

That would certainly be true in a society going through a process of rapid change from an economic system based on the principles of cooperation (at least theoretically) to an economic system based on individualism. And when social change results from external economic or political pressures, as is often
the case in the Africa of today, governments are rarely able – or indeed willing – deliberately to face up to the social policy implications of what is happening. When a country is caught in a downward economic spiral or a crisis following natural disasters, government naturally concentrates its attention on overcoming the national economic problems; meantime it tries to improvise short-term palliatives for educational, health and other social crises.

That is what is happening now in very many African countries today. Where it previously existed, Universal Primary Education theoretically continues to be the policy of the Government and all opposition political parties. In practice, however, only the most brilliant child can learn anything at all in a class of 60 and more (which is almost becoming a minimum in Tanzania), the more especially when there are virtually no books or paper, and sometimes not even blackboard chalk for the class.

The rich respond to such situations by setting up private schools, or paying for private tuition; in addition, charities may establish ‘Bush Schools’. It is politically difficult to disallow such actions; indeed, it could be judged to be morally wrong to do so. Yet the basis is thereby laid for the growth of class society, with all that this implies for mutual respect, and equality – (even equality of opportunity) – among all citizens in the future.

I have no answer to this problem. Tanzania, for example, cannot go back to the 1930s when going to school was a matter of luck – and the agreement of parents who could see little point in it. Now the majority of our mothers and fathers are at least literate – thanks mostly to the literacy drives of the 1970s and early 80s. The parents today besiege a new school or new class, demanding entrance for their child. On what basis does a head-teacher choose among them? Should that responsibility be left on their shoulders?

For it can be argued that, when available public resources are scant, it is absurd for a government to continue wasting money on a pretence of educating everyone and thus being unable to give a good education to anyone – even to a critical mass of youngsters. The argument continues: What the society needs most is not Universal Primary Education, but a core of very well trained teachers for what you hope will be a better future. Also, good quality technicians and scientists are clearly going to be needed if an organized and peaceful society is to survive – much less prosper – in the 21st Century.
The logic of that argument is attractive. Yet if primary education is not to be available to every child, how are you to know which will benefit most from a good education and thus be of most use to the society in future? And how could anyone decide which type of education should be given to which chosen child – academically generalist to various levels, or technical or scientific in one specialty or another? Also: what is to happen to the majority of children denied any education? Is it not likely that a large number of these children – perhaps especially those in the towns – will later cause social problems which are expensive to deal with?

Those are practical questions. There are moral issues also. A selective system of primary education is based on the assumption that human beings are NOT equal. What President or government is willing to act on that basis? And if they are willing to act on basis of human inequality as regards education, what is there to stop them as regards voting rights, equality before the law and so forth.

And in Africa if every child does not go to school those to be left out will be mostly the girls. Yet Primary Education for all, at least in Africa, requires full commitment from the state.

The facts remain, however, increasingly, it is possible for governments to choose only between evils. A pretence of universal education – whether it be primary or secondary – is itself evil: is it any better than finding some way of giving a modern education to a few through some system of selection? After all, that is in practice what a country like Tanzania does now as regards secondary education, and later tertiary education, despite the poor basis for selection at the majority of our primary schools. And even at these senior levels, the quality of the education given now suffers from the government being unable to pay for adequate books and equipment, etc.

Yet even now it is a reality that, on the basis of U.P.E. and consequent luck, some children and adolescents – and through adult education like the Open University - some adults also do overcome all the problems of poor quality education provision. And I do not think that research would indicate that they all come from one economic sector of society – although to have educated parents is clearly an advantage to them.
Mr. Chairman, I have asked a lot of questions, but given no answers. But the search for answers will have to continue. And in the meantime all of us, including the African Education Trust, must continue to do whatever lies in our power to advance the cause of education for all in Africa.

I appeal to the Trust to continue to do as much as possible to help those Africans otherwise denied education which could help them to acquire knowledge useful in the service of their fellow human beings – especially those in their home country. And I ask the Trust also to continue to help concerned African governments to answer some of the problems related to the efficient organisation of education, or the best training of teachers, or whatever other research action is – in the opinion of such governments – helpful to them.

I know the resources of the Trust are very limited. I congratulate you however, on what you have so far done, and hope that you gain the financial capacity to do more. And I do so in the confidence that, and in the spirit of your Founder, Michael Scott, you will always remember the vision and the ideal even when reality requires a compromise in action.

I thank you.
Ask someone ‘what is education?’ and you are likely to get an image of a school building. Ask ‘what is quality education?’ and you may get descriptions of clean buildings, orderly desks, sturdy books and disciplined pupils.

All these things are important. But Mwalimu Nyerere challenges us to think beyond. Because, for him, education is much more.

This book is the second volume of Mwalimu’s collected writings on education. The collection spans 36 years, from 1961 to 1997. For Mwalimu, education was inextricably linked to development. It had to be relevant to the everyday life of people and to the challenges of the day.

His was a transformative vision. Mwalimu challenged teachers, “Work for revolution. Do not fear revolution”. He urged students to think, to ask questions, to analyze. Yet his was a constant battle – with his fellow teachers, leaders and bureaucrats – as this vision of education failed to be implemented.

Why? Is the challenge any less today? Reading Mwalimu Nyerere today is to interrogate the present, and to learn the lessons of our history.