

Rais Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere anufuatana pamoja na Rais Abdul Nasser na Mtukufu Emperor Haile Selassie kwenye Mkuu wa Viongozi wa Afrika. The President, Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere accompanied by President Nasser and Emperor Haile Selassie is going to the Conference Room.

SPEECH BY THE PRESIDENT  
OF THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF  
TANGANYIKA AND ZANZIBAR  
**MWALIMU JULIUS K. NYERERE**  
Monday July 20, 1964.

Mr. Chairman and Dear Brothers,

I WANT to join you all in adding to yours my expression of gratitude to President Nasser, his Government and the People of the United Arab Republic, for their hospitality and brotherly reception. In these expressions of gratitude and appreciation it is not easy to avoid giving the impression that one is merely expressing formal politeness.

I would therefore like to temper the formal part of this expression by reminding our hosts of what needs no reminder at all, that without the efforts of our rainmakers in East Africa, the Egyptian people would not find it easy to be as hospitable as they are. But rainmakers apart, it is a great inspiration to us all to see what a united country can do under inspired leadership.

Before coming here I did hope that we would not be making formal speeches. I thought that our host would make an opening speech; one of us would reply; and then we would plunge into the business of the agenda before us. But I find that we all have to make speeches. I am told that this is in the tradition of the United Nations. But I think there are two fairly good reasons why we should not follow the example of the United Nations.

Firstly, the General Assembly meets for a very long time indeed. We are assembled only for a few days. Secondly, the United Nations was never intended by its founders to lead to world unity. Our Organisation is specifically intended for African Unity.

I feel that there should be more debate here and less statements of formal and rather rigid positions.

Even at this late hour, therefore, I do appeal to the Organisation to consider changing the procedure of our business so that we

have more time for a real exchange of views as distinct from stating formal positions.

This is both a plea and an explanation of what I am going to say; for my speech is mainly a comment on some things that have been said so far.

Fourteen months have passed since we inaugurated this great organisation of ours. At that inaugural conference I said that I saw our problem as two fold — that of the liquidation of the remaining vestiges of colonial rule from our continent, and the problem of our unity.

Since then, a number of dependent African countries have become independent; namely Kenya, Zanzibar and Malawi. And since then, Tanganyika has ceased to be an international entity and, with Zanzibar, is now part of the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar. We know that Zambia will be free before we meet again.

Even at this late hour I want to join my colleagues in welcoming Malawi and Kenya to this organisation. In particular, I want to welcome into our midst Dr. Kamuzu Banda and Mzee Jomo Kenyatta. It is one of those ironies of history that while some of us younger men had the great honour of participating in the inauguration of the Organisation of African Unity, Jomo, that great champion of African freedom, and our elder, could not participate because Kenya was not yet free.

But while we hail the success of this past year, our problem remains essentially the same. The United Kingdom and Portugal still hold control of large parts of Africa. The problem posed by these two colonial powers are different.

The United Kingdom admits that she has colonies in Africa. Portugal does not. Hence our function in London during the recent Commonwealth leaders' conference was to persuade the United Kingdom Government to take the necessary action to enable Southern Rhodesia in particular to achieve independence on the basis of majority rule. We left that conference convinced that this necessary action will be taken.

But Portugal does not admit that she has colonies in Africa. Portugal claims that she extends into Africa. Thus our task here is not to persuade Portugal to take action which would lead her

colonies to independence; our task here is to persuade Africa; is to persuade ourselves to take the necessary action to free Angola Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea. In the case of these three colonies fine words will not do. Indeed, I am convinced that the finer the words the greater the harm they do to the prestige of Africa if they are not followed by action. Fine words will not give hope to our suffering brethren and will not be heeded at all by the fascists of Portugal.

My plea here, therefore, is for action: action to free the Portuguese colonies. Africa is strong enough to drive Portugal from our Continent. Let us resolve at this conference to take the necessary action.

Some curious accusations have been levelled against the Committee of Nine. Since these accusations are made by a country — the only country — which has not paid a single penny to the committee since its establishment, I do not propose to pay much attention to them. But I want to disabuse this conference of one or two things.

The non-payment of funds for the liberation of our brethren has nothing to do with the alleged inefficiency of the Liberation Committee. The decision not to pay was made before the Committee began its work and the reason was extremely petty. The decision not to contribute funds was made at Addis Ababa as soon as the conference had committed the unforgivable crime of not including Ghana on the Committee, and of choosing Dar es Salaam as its Headquarters. This is the petty piqueishness which prevents an African country from contributing funds towards the liberation of our suffering brethren in Mozambique, Angola and Portuguese Guinea.

Mr. Chairman, we must act. We have the means to liberate Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea. Let us act. Those who are not ready to join actively in the task should at least refrain from undermining the effectiveness of the Liberation Movement, including the Committee of Nine.

During his attack on the Liberation Committee, the President of Ghana made some reference, the meaning of which I find it difficult to understand.

I quote:—

"The choice of the Congo (Leopoldville) as a training base for Freedom Fighters was a logical one, and there was every

reason to accept the offer of the Congolese Government to provide offices and accommodation for the representatives of the Liberation Committee. Africa's Freedom Fighters should not, however, have been exposed to the espionage, intrigues, frustrations and disappointments which they have experienced in the last eight months. What could be the result of entrusting the training of Freedom Fighters against imperialism into the hands of an imperialist agent?"

Since the Liberation Committee works in Dar es Salaam and not in Leopoldville, I can only give one interpretation to these curious words. They must mean that the logical place for the offices and accommodation for the Liberation committee would have been Congo Leopoldville. But instead of choosing this logical place, the Organisation of African Unity decided to put the Committee in a different place, a place where, to quote again, "they have been exposed to the espionage, intrigues, frustrations and disappointments," in the last eight months.

The Great Osagyefo then asks the question: "What could be the result of entrusting the training of Freedom Fighters against imperialism into the hands of an imperialist agent?"

Firstly, Mr. Chairman, if my interpretation of the statement is right, and it really means that the President of Ghana believes that the Liberation Committee should have been housed in Leopoldville, then all I can do is to ask you to imagine what the consequences would have been.

Secondly, if the reference to "an imperialist agent" refers to my country, or any of its leaders, those who know my country, its leaders and its people, and all those who have any respect for the truth, know that such a statement is a lie.

Our other problem is the problem of unity. Here again the time for fine words is gone. We in Africa have said all that can be said about the need for unity. There is no other continent which has succeeded in this regard half as much as we have succeeded in Africa. This Organisation and this conference is itself a visible testimony to this success.

Psychologically we have been so successful that no African leader, even if he did not believe in such unity, would dare say so. What is needed, therefore, is not more preaching about unity, but more practising of unity.

I know the obstacles, I have never underestimated the obstacles to unity. Indeed, it was an acute awareness of these difficulties in the way to unity that made me suggest to my colleagues in East Africa that we should unite before independence. But these difficulties, however great, are not insurmountable. They are simply like the legs of the millipede. To the query of the young millipede to its mother: "With so many legs, which leg or legs do I move first?" we must give the same answer the mother gave: "Move child, move!"

What we require is the habit of unity and co-operation. We must not ask ourselves whether we should wait until we are all ready to move. We must take every practical step that encourages the habit of unity. We must ask our friends in North Africa, "Why are you not more united? Why cannot you take steps that encourage greater unity among yourselves?"

We must encourage the habit of unity in West Africa, and we must encourage the habit of unity in East Africa. We can never serve the cause of the unity of Africa by discouraging the habit of unity. Because it is the habit and the practice of unity, not the theory of unity alone that will bring about the total unit of the Continent.

At one time I used to think that we all genuinely wanted a Continental Government of Africa; that the major difference between us was how to bring it about. I am afraid I am beginning to doubt this earlier assessment of mine. I am becoming increasingly convinced that we are divided between those who genuinely want a Continental Government and will patiently work for its realisation, removing the obstacles, one by one; and those who simply use a phrase "Union Government", for the purpose of propaganda.

Nothing could be more calculated to bring ridicule to the whole concept of a Continental Government in Africa than this incessant and oft-repeated propaganda.

Ethiopia and Somalia have a dangerous boundary dispute. We must hope that those two sister states will find a solution to this terrible problem. But to some people this is simply propaganda material for a "Union Government".

Kenya and Somalia have the same unfortunate problem. What's the answer? Very simple — "Union Government."

Another dangerous boundary dispute flares up between two sister countries, Algeria and Morocco. Again we must hope and pray and do all we can to help our friends to find an amicable solution. But to the propagandists this is simply material for a "Union Government."

And the most ridiculous and cynical of all: Upper Volta complains that Ghana has swallowed up a bit of her territory; she wants it back. The reply to this? We can guess. "Union Government!"

This Union Government business has become a cover for doing some of the most unbrotherly things in Africa — certainly in our part of Africa.

We experience army mutinies in East Africa and have to go through the humiliation of asking for assistance from a former colonial power. But in my country, the Ambassador of a brotherly African country rejoices, and I am forced to request that he be removed. What is the reason for this rejoicing at the humiliation of a fellow African state? The answer — Union Government. This is seen as just propaganda material for a Union Government.

Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika declare that they want their countries to form a single state. They do this in the sincere belief that it would be in the best interests of their countries and a contribution to African Unity. But this declaration provokes the most incredible attack, and strenuous attempts are made to stop this development in unity. Why? Union Government; for an East African Federation is considered to be contrary to the spirit of the Addis Ababa Charter. The curious argument is advanced that the more balkanised we remain the better for the achievement of a Union Government. And now, at this very rostrum, this curious argument in favour of the *status quo* is again advanced.

We are told that we should not appoint a permanent Administrative Secretary-General, nor select a place for a permanent headquarters of this Organisation of African Unity. What is the reason for this? We have been told, in so many words . . . Union Government !!!

And to cap this whole series of absurdities; after all the wonderful arguments against unity in East Africa we are now told at this very rostrum that those who are ready should go ahead and unite. We now have the permission to go ahead! That the United States of America started with thirteen colonies; the U.S.S.R. with five. If I were a cynic I would answer that we of the United Republic of

Tanganyika and Zanzibar are ready; and would invite Ghana to join our United Republic. But I am not cynical. I know that external influences apart, it is difficult enough to bring about a federation in East Africa.

Mr. Chairman, we must be frank.

Some people are willing to use their very great talents to wreck any chance of unity on our continent as long as some stupid historian could record that they wanted African unity, but nobody else really did.

Mr Chairman, you can fool some of the people some of the time, but quite frankly, this attempt to fool all the people all of the time does not show very much respect or concern for Africa.

I also want to suggest that there is a fundamental difference between the continental Government of Africa which we all genuinely want, and the "Union Government" of propaganda. To have a Government of Africa is to have a single state of Africa — even if — necessarily, it is a Federal State. The essential attribute of a national state which has an international personality is that of sovereignty. This means that its component parts must surrender sovereignty to it, for it alone becomes a truly sovereign state.

But the "Union Government", we are told, does not require the surrender of sovereignty at all by the individual states. It is some curious animal to which our individual states do not surrender sovereignty, and yet somehow becomes the strong instrument which we require to fulfil the purposes of a modern state.

Mr. Chairman, the concept of a Continental Government for Africa is a serious thing. The least we should do about it is to be clear in our minds as to its implications.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to make the position of my country very clear on this question of African unity. We are committed to the achievement of a United Africa under a single Continental Government. We have already surrendered our sovereignty in the name of greater unity. We shall be ready to surrender it again for a bigger unity.

We do not believe that there is a choice between achieving African unity step by step and achieving it in one act. The one act

choice is not available to us except in some curious imagination.

It has not been given to us human mortals to simply will things into existence. Between our willing of an end and the achievement of that end there is a process. This process is sometimes long and sometimes short, and indeed, the greater the objective the longer may be the process. But whether short or long it is a process, and a process by definition is progress step by step. To rule out a step by step progress in a march to unity is to rule out itself.

To rule out a step by step progress towards African Unity is to hope that the Almighty will one day say "Let there be unity in Africa," and there shall be unity; or to pray for a conqueror. But even a conqueror will have to proceed step by step. To say that the step by step method was invented by the imperialists is to reach the limits of absurdity. I have heard the imperialists blamed for many things, but not for the limitations of mankind. They are not God!

The only choice open to us is the choice of step by step both territorially and functionally. If, for instance, the North African countries were ready to come together and form one single state, I for one would welcome that step to African unity.

Each one of them would be the proper judge as to whether the time and conditions were right for such unity. If, on the other hand, they felt that a political merger was not feasible yet, but they were ready to co-operate in other fields, again, I for one, would welcome such co-operation as a step towards eventual African unity.

What is essential is that all these steps should take place within the spirit and under the umbrella of the Organisation of African Unity. That's why my country would like to see this spirit and this umbrella of unity strengthened in every respect, including the appointment of a Secretary-General and a Permanent Headquarters.

Mr. Chairman, as already indicated at the beginning of my speech, I had no intention of making a long speech. I have already spent too much of your time on matters which are not particularly pleasant. Let me end my short speech on a different note.

The major problem that we now face as a continent, whether united or balkanised, is one of development. It is the problem of raising the standards of living of our people to a level that is con-

sidered reasonable in terms of the possibilities of this scientific age. I have said it once and I say it again here, that 1964 is 1964 for the nomad Masai in East Africa, the peasant in Egypt and the millionaire in New York or London.

Clean water or good health means the same thing to our people in Africa and the people of Europe and North America. A mother in the most backward area in my country is just as unhappy as the wealthiest mother in Paris if their children are unhealthy and miserable.

But modern prosperity is inseparable from international trade. Yet international trade is like a two-way suction pump; it sucks more from the developing countries into the developed countries than it puts into the developing countries from the developed ones. As a result, the gap between the developed and the developing countries of the world is widening, not narrowing.

The recent conference at Geneva on trade and development may result into some change in this state of affairs. At least we all hope so.

But one thing which has already been mentioned here, and which we must encourage, is trade between ourselves. This requires that we should have something to sell to each other.

In East Africa we have a Common Market. Experience has shown that a Common Market is meaningless unless it can be equally exploited by all those who form it. As a result of these experiences we had to sit down and agree on the allocation of certain industries. Each of our three countries was given industries for which an East African market is required.

Mr. Chairman, I want to add my voice to those who have already made this plea, and I am glad to say that this plea was made by the President of Ghana, that we should consider very seriously the possibility of allocating certain industries on a continental basis or, at least, a regional basis. This should enable us to exploit the market which is provided by the 250 million people of Africa, a market which at present is exploited by other people; and the rich people of the world at that.

And finally, Mr. Chairman, may I offer a prayer. A prayer for us assembled here; a prayer for the toiling masses of Africa, to use the opportunities given to us by our freedom and modern technology, to free ourselves from the remaining vestiges of colonialism, and to lift our people from the shackles of poverty, ignorance and disease.



HOTUBA YA RAIS WA JAMHURI  
YA MUUNGANO WA TANGANYIKA  
NA UNGUJA

**MWALIMU JULIUS K. NYERERE**

KWENYE MKUTANO WA VIONGOZI WA NCHI  
ZA AFRIKA, MJINI CAIRO

Tarehe 20 Julai, 1964

**NINATAKA** kuwaunga mkono katika kutoa shukurani zangu kwa Rais Nasser, Serkali yake na kwa watta wa Jamhuri ya Nchi za Kiarabu, kwa ukarimmo na kutupokea kwa kidugu. Katika kutoa shukurani hizi ni rahisi kueleweka kwamba ni jambo la wajibu wa kawaida tu, kumbe ni shukurani za moyoni hasa.

Kwa hiyo, kwa jambo hili la shukurani za kawaida ningependa kudokeza tu kwa kuwakumbusha wenyeji wetu mambo ambayo ~~hayana~~ haja hata kidogo kukumbusha. Kwamba bila ya juhudhi ya waganga wa mvua wetu huko Afrika Mashariki, watu wa Misri wangepatwa na taabu ya kutukarimmo kama vile sasa ! Tukiachini mbali waganga wa mvua wenyeji, ni jambo la kututia moyo mkuu sisii sote kuona mambo makuu yaliyofanyau na Jamhuri ya Mwungano wa Nchi za Kiarabu kwa uongozi wa busara kubwa.

Kabila ya kuja hapa, nilitumaini kwamba hatutaaanza tena kawaida ya kutoa hotuba. Nilifikiri kwamba mwenyeji wetu atatoa hotuba ya kufungua mkutano; na mmoja wetu atajibu na kisha tutaaanza mara moja mambo yaliyopangwa tuyafanyie mashauri. Walakin naona kwamba sote imetubidi tutoe hotuba, Naamibiwa kuwa huu ndio utaratibu wa Kawaida wa Baraza la Umoja wa Mataifa. Lakini nadhani ziko sababu mbili za maana ya kutosha zinazowenza kutufanya tuisufute mwendo wa Baraza la Umoja wa Mataifa.

Kwanza, Baraza Kuu la Umoja wa Mataifa hukutana kwa muda mrefu sana. Mkutano wetu hapo ni wa siku chache. Pili, Umoja wa Mataifa haukukusudiwa kamwe na hao walionuanzisha kuleta umoja wa nchi zote ulimwenguni. Nia maalum ya Jumuia yetu ni kuleta Umoja wa Afrika. Nionavyo ni kwamba ingetupasa tuwe na nafasi zaidi ya kujadiliana na kupunguza utoaji wa hotuba za kawaida na zenye kueleza mambo hayo ambayo kila mmoja wetu anayazingatia.

Kwa hiyo, hata sasa ambapo mkutano umekwisha anza, naomba Jumuia yetu ifikirizmo kubadili utaratibu wa shughuli zetu ili tuwe na

nafasi zaidi ya kupeana vyema mawazo kati yetu badala ya kutoa hotuba za kueleza tu maoni ya kila mitu.

Hili ni ombi langu na pia maelezo ya mambo nitakayosema hapa; maana hotuba yangu ni fahauzzi zaidi juu ya mambo yaliyokwisha semwa hapa.

Tangu tulipoanzisha Jumuia yetu hii kubwa sasa imepita miezi 14. Kwenye mukutano wetu wa kwanza nilisema kwamba niliona matatizo yetu ni ya namna mbili — la kwanza ni hilo la kuondoa kabisa masalia ya ukoloni katika Kontinenti letu, na la pili, tatizo la Umoja wetu.

Tangu hapo nchi kadhaa za Kiafrika zimepata uhuru wake; yaani Kenya, Unguja na Malawi. Na tena toka hapo Tanganyika imeacha kuwa peke yake katika macho ya ulimwengu ila pamoja na Unguja sasa ni Jamhuri ya Mwungano wa Tanganyika na Unguja. Twajua. kuwa Zambia nayo itakuwa huru kabla ya mukutano wetu mwiningue.

Lakini ijapo wengine wamekwisha kutoa pongozi zao, nami pia nataka kubunuga mnono wenzangu kwa kuzikaribisha nchi za Malawi na Kenya kwenye Jumuia hii. Hasa nataka kuwakaribisha katika Jumuia hii yetu Dr. Kamuzu Banda na Mzee Jomo Kenyatta. Ni ajali mojawapo ya historia kwamba wakati baadhi yetu sisi vijana tumepeata bahati ya heshima kubwa ya kushiriki katika kuunda Umoja wa Kiafrika, Jomo, jogoo mukubwa wa Uhuru wa Afrika na mzee wetu, hakuweza kushiriki kwa sababu Kenya haikuwa huru bado.

Lakini, tunaposhangilia mafanikio ya mwaka huu uliopita, tatizo letu lingali liko pale pale hasa. Uingereza na Ureno zingali zinatawala schemu kubwa za Afrika. Matatizo yanayoleta na nchi hizi mbili ni mbalimbali.

Uingereza inakubali kwamba ina makoloni katika Afrika. Ureno haikubali. Kwa hiyo, kazi yetu kwenye mukutano wa wakuu wa Jumuia za Madola huko London, iliika ukitaka Serikali ya Uingereza kuchukua hatua za lazima ili hasa Rhodesia ya Kusini ipate uhuru wake kwa kutawaliwa na watu walio wengi zaidi katika nchi hiyo. Tumeondoka katika mukutano huo tukiwa na hakika kwamba hatuu hizo zitachukulizia.

Lakini Ureno haikubali kwamba ina makoloni katika Afrika. Ureno yadaai kwamba imeneen impaka katika Afrika. Kwa hiyo kazi yetu hapa siyo kuomba Ureno itoe uhuru kwa makoloni yake; kazi

yetu ni kuomba Afrika; ni kujishawishi sisi wenye tuchukus hatus za lazima ili nchi za Angola, Msumbiji na Guinea ya Kiro no ziwe huru kabisa. Kwa koloni tatu hizi maneno ya kubembeleza hayatafaa kitu. Kusema kweli naamini kwamba kadri tunavyobembeleza bembeleza zaidi ndivyo tunavyoleta madhara kwa heshima ya Afrika kama maneno hayo hayatafuatwa kwa vitendo. Maneno ya kubembeleza tu hayatawape ndugu zetu wanaoteseka matumaini na yatapuuza kabisa na wakorofu wa Ureno.

Kwa hiyo, ombi langu ninalolitoa hapa ni **matendo**: matendo ya kuzipatia uhuru koloni za Kireno. Afrika ina nguvu za kutosha kumkuza Mreno katika Kontinenti letu. Ebu tunuie katika mukutano huu tuchukus hatus ya lazima.

Lawama za uongo zimetolewa kuhusu Halmashauri ya nchi Tisa iliyoweka na Umoja huu kushugbuliki vyama vya wananchi ambaod bado katika utawala wa kikoloni. Kwa kiwa mashtaka haya yamefanya na nchi — nchi moja tu — ambayo hajilipa hata senti moja kwenye Halmashauri hiyo toka kuanzishwa kwake, sini haja ya kushugbuliki sana na mashtaka hayo. Lakini nataka kuutoa shaka mukutano huu juu jambo moja au mawili.

Kutokulipa katika mfuko wa fedha za kuwasaidia kuwakomboa ndugu zetu katika ukoloni kubahusikanî na ilegevu unaosemuwa wa kazi ya Halmashauri hiyo. Nia ya kutolipa ilifanya kabla ya Halmashauri hii kuanza kazi yake, na sababu yake ilikwua ya kipuzi kabisa. Nia hiyo ya kutolipa fedha ilifanya kwenye mukutano wa Addis Ababa mara tu mukutano huo ulipoteada dhimbi ya ajabu ya kutoitia Ghana katika Halmashauri hiyo na ya kuichagua Dar es Salaam kuwa makao makuu ya Halmashauri hiyo. Ni vivu huu wa kitoto ndio ulioifanya nchi ya Kiafrika ati iache kutoa fedha kwa ajili ya kuwakomboa ndugu zetu wanaoteseka katika nchi za Msumbiji, Angola na Guinea ya Kireno.

Bwana Mwenye Kiti, lazima tutende vitendo. Tunao uwezo wa kuzikomboa Msumbiji, Angola na Guinea ya Kireno. Basi na tuutumie. Wale wasiokuwa tarayi bado kushiriki kweli katika juhudii hii, waache kabisa kuvunja juhudii na kazi bora za Halmashauri ya Ukombozi pamoja na hiyo Komiti ya nchi tisa za Kiafrika.

Katika kuishambulia Halmashauri ya Ukombozi, Rais wa Ghana alifanya mashtaka ambayo maana yake nashindwa kuifahamu.

Nayataja maneno yake :

Kwa kweli tumefanikiwa mno hata hakuna kiongozi ye yote wa Afrika ambaye hata kama haamini katika umoja huu aweza kusubutu kusema kinyume. Kwa hiyo jambo linalotakiwa sasa siyo kuhubiri zaidi habari za umoja, ila kutimizatimiza zaidi umoja huo.

Pingamizi zilizopo nazijua. Wala sijadharau pingamizi hizi juu ya umoja. Kwa kweli ni kwa kuzifahamu sana pingamizi hizi katika kujenga umoja ndio maana nikatoa shauri kwa wenzangu katika Afrika Mashariki kwamba tujunge hata kabla ya kupata uhuru wetu. Lakini hata shida hizi ziweje kwa ukubwa, zawea kuondolewa. Shida zenye ni kama miguu ya jongoo tu. Mto wa jongoo alinuwiliza mama yake: "Mama, mbona nina miguu mingi, je nianze kwenda kwa mguu au miguu ipi?" Nasi hapa tulitoe jibu hilo hila la mama jongoo kwa mwanaone : "Nenda mwanaangu, nenda tu".

Jambo tunalohitaji ni kuwa na mazoea ya umoja na ushirika. Tusijilizie kama tungoje mpaka sote tutakopuwa tayari kwenda. Lazima tuchukue kila hatua ya kweli inayotupa moyo wa kuungana. Lazima tuwaulize ndugu zetu wa Afrika Kaskazini, "Mboma hamjungan zaidi?" "Kwa nini misifanye vitendo vya kuleta tamaa ya kuwa na umoja mkubwa zaidi kat yenu ?"

Lazima tuhimize nchi za Afrika Magharibi ziungane, na lazima tuhimize nchi za Afrika Mashariki pia ziungane. Hatuwezi kusaidia njia za kuleta umoja wa Afrika kwa kuvunja matendo yake. Maana ni kutenda ndio kuteleta umoja kwa Kontinenti lote, siyo mawazo ya kufikiria umoja peke yake.

Hapo kwanza, nilifikiri kwamba sote tulikuwa na nia ya kweli ya kutaka iwepo Serikali moja Kuu ya Kontinenti la Afrika; na ya kuwa tofauti kubwa kat ietu ilikuwa tu njia ya kuiunda. Nasikitika kwamba sasa naanza kuungiliwa na mashaka juu ya jambo hili. Ninazidi kuumini kwamba tumegawanyika katika jambo hili — baina ya wale wenye nia ya kweli ya kutaka Serikali kuu ya Kontinenti zima na kufanya jitihada kubwa ya kuleta mafanikio kwa kuondoa vipingamizi kimoja kimoja na wale ambaa kazi yao ni kutumia tu neno "Serikali Moja" kwa madhumuni ya kudanganya watu.

Hakuna hila mbaya zaidi ya kuharibiu azimio hili la kuleta Serikali moja ya Afrika yote kama vile utumiaji huu wa daima wa maneno ya kudanganya.

"Kuchagua Congo (Leopoldville) kuwa ndipo mahali pa kufunzia wapiganaji uhuu ilikuwa jambo sawa na kulikuwa kila sababu njema kukubali Serikali ya Congo itoe maofisi na makazi kwa wajumbe wa Halmashauri ya Ukombozi. Kwa hiyo ingalifa kwa wapiganaji uhuu wa Afrika kuwekwa mahali palipo wazi kufikiwa na ujasusi bila wasiwasi na kukatishwa tamaa mambo ambayo wameyapata katika muda wa miezi minane iliyopita. Je, matokeo gani yanawesa kupatikana kwa kuwaminisha wapiganaji uhuu wfundishwe katika mikono ya kibaraka wa Wakoloni wapendao kujawatalawa wenza".

Kwa kuwa Komiti ya Ukombozi inafanya kazi yake mjini Dar es Salaam, na siyo Leopoldville, naewaza kuelewa maana moja tu kwa maneno haya ya kushangaza. Ni lazima yaswe na maana kwamba maofisi na makazi ya Komiti ya Ukombozi yangalikuwa Congo (Leopoldville). Lakini badala ya kuchagua mahali hapo, Umoja wa Nchi za Afrika ukachagua mahali pengine, mahali ambapo nikirudua tena maneno ya hyuo msemajai, "pako wazi kufikiwa na majasusi wenye hilá na kuuziwa kazi zao na hata kukatishwa tamaa", katika miezi minane iliyopita.

Halafu Mkombozi huyo Mkubwa (Great Osagye) anaendelea kuuliza swali: "Je, matokeo gani yanawesa kupatikana kwa kuwamini kibaraka wa ukoloni awafundishe wale wanapiganana na ukoloni?"

Kwanza, Bwana Mwenye Kiti, kama niiliyoeleza ni sawa, na kwamba maana haye hasi ni kwamba Rais wa Ghana anaamjni kuwa Komiti ya Ukombozi ingalifa iwekwe Leopoldville, basi yote niwezayo kufanya ni kuwaliza ninyi wenyeewe mfikirie matokeo yakc yangeilikuwa nini.

Pili, kama mashtaka haya ya "kibaraka wa Wakoloni" yanahusu nchi yangu, au kiongozi wake ye yote, basi wale wanaojua nchi yangu, viengozи wake na watu wake, na wale wote wapendao ukweli, wata-fahamu kabisa kwamba mashtaka haya ni uwongo mtupu.

Tatizo letu jingine ni hilo la Umoja. Hapa tena wakati wa maneno matamu umekwisha. Sisi katika Afrika, tumekwisha sera yote yapanayo kusema juu ya haja ya umoja. Hakuna kontinenti jingine ililofanikia katika jambo hili hata nusu ya vile uliyoyofanikilia sisi katika Afrika. Jumuia hii na mukutano huu peke yake ni ushahidi uonekanao wazi kuthibitisha mafanikio haya.

Nchi za Uhabeshi na Usomali zina ugomyi juu ya mpaka wa nchi ambaa ni wa hatari. Lazima tuwe na matumaini kwamba nchi hizi mbili ndugu zitamaliza tatozo hili gumu. Lakini baadhi ya watu wengine jambo hili wanachukulia kuwa nafasi ya kuwadanganya wengine ati laweza kumalizwa tu kwa kuwa na Serikali moja Afrika nzima na kama waongo hawana nia hiyo.

Kwa bahati mbaya, nchi ya Kenya na Usomali pia zina tatozo namna hiyo hiyo. Jibu lake nini? Ati rahisi tu — "Serikali Moja ya Afrika nzima".

Ugomyi mwininge kuhusu mpaka wazuka kati ya nchi ndugu mbili za Algeria na Morocco. Kadhalika, lazima tuwe na matumaini na kuomba kufanya yote tuwezayo kuwasaidia ndugu zetu wagundue njiya ya suluhu. Lakini kwa wale wapiga domo la uwongo wanalitumia jambo hili kudanganya ati ni kisingizio cha kuwa na Serikali moja ya Afrika nzima.

Na jambo la mzaha na kichekesho kabisa katika yote; Nchi ya Upper Volta inalalamika kwamba Ghana imechukua kipande cha nchi yake; inaitaka kirudishwa. Jibu lake nini? Tunaweza kubahatisha. "Serikali Moja ya Afrika".

Jambo hili la "Serikali Moja katika Afrika" limekuwa kisingizio kwa kufanyiana baadhi ya mambo yasiyokuwa ya kidugu kabisa katika Afrika — hasa katika sehemu yetu ya Afrika.

Tulipata na maasi ya Jeshi katika Afrika ya Mashariki, na ililupasa bila kutaka kwa hiari zetu kuomba masada kwa serikali ya kikoloni ya zamani katika nchi zetu. Lakini katika nchi yangu Baloozimmoja wa nchi ndugu ya Kiafrika, alishangilia, nami yanibidi kuomba mtu huyo aondolewe. Ni kisa gani kilichomfanya afurahi hivi wakati nchi ya ndugu yake ya Kiafrika ilipopata maafa? Jawabu — "Serikali Moja Afrika nzima". Mambo hayo ya maasi ati yakawa kisingizio cha kutaka Serikali moja Afrika nzima.

Nchi za Kenya, Uganda na Tanganyika zinatamka kwamba zina-tiungane ziwe nchi moja. Zinatamka hivi kuanminii kabisa kwamba jambo hilo litakuwa la manufaa makubwa kwa nchi zake na chanzo cha kuunda umoja wa Afrika. Lakini tamko hili limeleta mashambulio makali sana na kunafanya jithihadi kubwa iwezekanya kuzuia kuleta umoja huu. Kwa nini? Ati mpaka tuwe na "Serikali Moja Afrika nzima" kwa kuwa ati inafikiria kwamba Mwungano

wa nchi za Afrika Mashariki ni kinyume cha azimio la Mkataba wa Addis Ababa. Hoja ajabu inaletwa kimbelembele eti kadri tunavyokaa tumetengana ndijo rahisi kupatikana "Serikali Moja ya Afrika nzima". Na sasa hapa hapa, hoja hii tena ya ajabu inayodaj shabaha hiyo hiyo imezidi kuletra tena kimbelembele.

Tunaambiwa kwamba tusimweke Katibu Mkuu wala tusichague mahali pa Makao Mkuu pa Jumuu hii ya Umoja wa Afrika. Sababu yake nini? Tumeambiwa kwa maneno mengi mengi eti "Serikali Moja ya Afrika nzima"!

Na kwa kumaliza mfululizo huu wote wa upuuzi; baada ya kuleta hiza hiyo za ajabu kupinga umoja katika Afrika Mashariki sasa twaanbiwa kwenye kinara hiki heni kwamba wale walio tayarri waungané. Ajabu, ati sasa twapewa ruhusa tuungane. Kwamba Umoja wa Nchi za Amerika ulianza na nchi kumi na tatu; Urusi Ilianza na nchi tano. Kama ningalikuwa mtu wa kujali ningesema kuwa sisi wa Jamhuri ya Mwungano wa Tanganyika na Unga tuko tayarri; na tungaliombwa Ghana ijijunge na Jamhuri yetu ya Mwungano. Lakini mimi si mtu wa kujali. Naujua ni vigumu ya kutosha kuleta mwungano. katika Afrika Mashariki bali ya maneno maneno ya watu wa nchi za nje kuyaleta ili wazue mwungano huo.

Bwana Mwenye Kiti, lazima tuseme kweli.

Baadhi ya watu wako tayarri kutumia akili zao nydingi kwa kuan-gamiza nafasi ye yote ya kuleta umoja katika Kontinenti letu mradi. ati mwandishi mjingi wa historia atweza kuandika kuwasifu kwamba ni wao peke yao walitaka sana umoja wa Afrika.

Bwana Mwenye Kiti, unaweza kuwafanya baadhi ya watu kuwa wajinga wakati fulani fulani, lakini ilivyo kweli kabisa, jithadi hiyo ya kuwafanya. watu wote wajinga kwa wakati wo wote haionyeshi heshima wala upendo mkubwa kwa Afrika.

Pia nataka kutoa oni kwamba kuna tofauti kubwa baina ya maana ya Serikali ya Kontinenti zime la Afrika ambayo sisi sote twaitaka kwa moyo wote, na Serikali Moja Kuu ya kupinga domo tu. Kuwa na Serikali moja ya Afrika ndijo kuifanya Afrika nchi moja hata kama — ikiwa ni lazima, Mwungano wa nchi. Sifa muhimu ya taifa lenye kuheshimika ni ile ya kuwa na mamlaka. Maana yake ni kwamba zile ambazo zamani ziliikuwa nchi mbali mbali lazima zitoe mamlaka yake kwani ni taifa hilo ti linalokuwa lenye mamlaka.

Lakini tunaambiwa kwamba hiyo Serikali Moja Kuu haihitaji nchi zake ndogo kuvua mamlaka yake. Kiongozi huyo atakuwa wa ajabu sana, ambaye nchi zetu mojamoja hizitaki kuyavus mamlaka yake kumpa, na bado anakuwa mwenye nguvu sana, na ambaye tunam-taka kutimiza madhumuni ya tifa la kisasa.

Bwana Mwenye Kiti, wazo hili la kuwa na Serikali ya Kontinenti la Afrika, ni kuwba na la maana sana. Tuwezalo kufanya juu ya jambo hili ni moja tu, yaani kufikiria sana namna ya kulfifima.

Bwana Mwenye Kiti, ningependa kueleza mawazo ya nchi yangu imbele yenu juu ya jambo hili la umoja wa Afrika. Tumeamua kupata umoja wa Afrika kwa kuwa na Serikali moja ya Kontinenti zima. Tumekwisha kubali kuvua mamlaka yetu kwa kupata Mwingano. Tutakuwa tayari kuvua tena mamlaka yetu kupata umoja mkubwa kabisa.

Hatuaminni kwamba tunachagua baina ya kupata umoja wa Afrika hatua kwa hatua, na kuupata umoja wa bara late mara moja, Jambo hili la kupata umoja mara moja haliwezekani kwetu isipokuwa labda kwa wale wenye fikara za ajabu.

Sisi binadamu hatukupewa uwezo wa kutaka vitu, vikawa hapo hapa. Baina ya kutaka kitu na Kupatikana kwa kitu hicho pana muda. Muda huu wakati mwingine ni mrefu, na wakati mwingine ni mfupi, na kwa kwezi, kadri kitu chenyewe kilivyo kikubwa zaidi, ndivyo muda wake unavyokwaua mrefu zaidi. Lakini muda uwe mfupi au mrefu, ni muda tu. Kukata maendeleo ya hatua kwa hatua katika mwendo huu wa kuunda umoja, ni sawa na kuukataa umoja wenyeve.

Kukata maendeleo ya hatua kwa hatua katika kuunda umoja wa Africa, ni sawa na kutumaini kwamba siku moja Mwenyezi Mungu atasema: "Na pawe umoja katika Afrika", na hapo pawe na umoja! Au kuomba tuptate jambazi moja mshindi litakaloishinda Afrika nzima kwa mabavu. Lakini hata huyo mshindi itambidi kwenda hatua kwa hatua. Kusema kwamba njia ya hatua kwa hatua ililundu na wakoloni ni upuzi mtupu. Nimesikia wakoloni wakilumia kwa mambo mengi, lakini sio kwa shida za binadamu. Wao sio Mungu!

Njia moja tu iliyo wazi kwetu, ni ya kuunda umoja hatua kwa hatua baina ya nchi kwa nchi na kwa matendo kadhalika. Kwa mifano, kama nchi za Afrika Kaskazini zingekuwa, tayari kuungana kufanya

ushirika wa nchi moja kubwa, mimi binafsi ningeshangilia hatua hiyo kuwa ni hatua ya kufikia umoja wa Afrika.

Kila moja katika nchi hizo ingeweza kuamua kama wakati umewadia wa kuunda umoja huo utakiwao. Walakini, kama kwa upande mwininge watu wa nchi hizo wakiona kwamba mambo yao ya kuunganisha nchi bado hayajawa tayari, bali wao wenyeve wako tayari kushirikiana katika mambo mengine, hapo pia, mimi binafsi ningeshangilia ushirika huo kuwa ni hatua ya kufikia umoja wa Afrika.

Jambo la lazima ni kwamba hatua hizi zote lazima zifuate shabaha ya Unoja wa Nchi za Kiafrika. Ndiyo maana nchi yangu inayo hamu sana kutaka kuonia moyo huu na matakwa haya ya umoja vimetiwa nguvu kwa kila hali, pamoa na kuchagulizia kwa Katibu Mkuu wa kuwekwa kwa Makao Makuu ya Umoja huu.

Bwana Mwenye Kiti, kama niliyokwisha eleza mwanzo wa hotuba yangu, sikuwa na haja ya kutoa hotuba ndefu. Nimekwisha tumia mrefu mno wenye juu ya mambo ambayo hakika hayapendezi. Sasa nataka kumaliza hotuba yangu fupi juu ya jambo jingine kabisa.

Tatizo kubwa linalotukabilii juu ya Kontinenti letu, tukiungana au tukio tumetengana, ni ile la maendeleo. Tunalo tatizo la kuinua hali ya maisha ya watu wetu kufikia upeo unaofikiria wafaa kulin-gana na hali za maendeleo ya kisasa. Jambo hili nimelisema kwanza na sasa nalisema tena hapa, kwamba mwaka huu 1964 ni mwaka wa 1964 kwa watu wote. Mmasai anayeiishi Afrika Mashariki, mkulima wa Misri na mwenyi mali nyinyi anayeiishi New York huko Amerika au mjni London Uingereza.

Maji safi au afya njema vinahitajiwa sawa kwa Waafrika, Wazungu na Waamerika ya Kaskazini. Mama ye yote anayeiishi katika sehemu isiyokuhu na maendeleo kabisa, katika nchi yangu, huwa hana raha sawa na mama aliye tajiri kabisa anayeiishi Paris kama watoto wao hawana afya na ni wanyonge.

Lakini maendeleo ya kisasa hutegemea sana biashara ya ulimwengu. Lakini biashara ya ulimwengu ni kama bomba lenyé midomo miwili; linayonya zaidi kutoka nchi zinazoendelea na kutia katika nchi zilizokwisha endelea kuliko linavyotia katika nchi zetu kutoka katika nchi zilizokwisha endelea. Matokeo yake ni kwamba pengo baina ya nchi zilizozendelea na nchi zinazoendelea katika ulimwengu linazidi kupanuka, halipungui!

Tunatumaini kwamba mukutano wa biashara uliofanywa hivi karibuni huko Geneva, labda wawenza kuleta mabadiliko katika mambo haya.

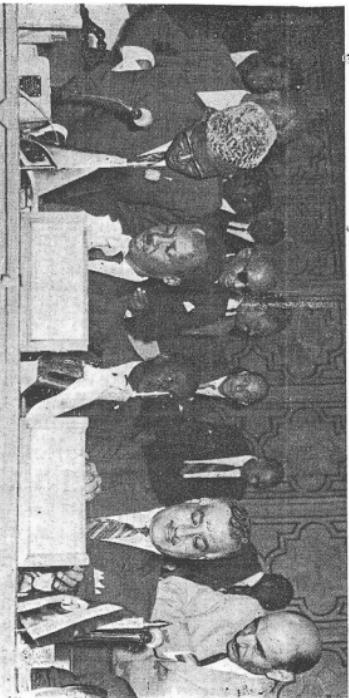
Lakini jambo moja liliokwisha tajwa hapa, na ambalo lazima tulipe moyo, ni biashara baina yetu sisi wenye. Ndiyo kusema lazima tuuziane vitu.

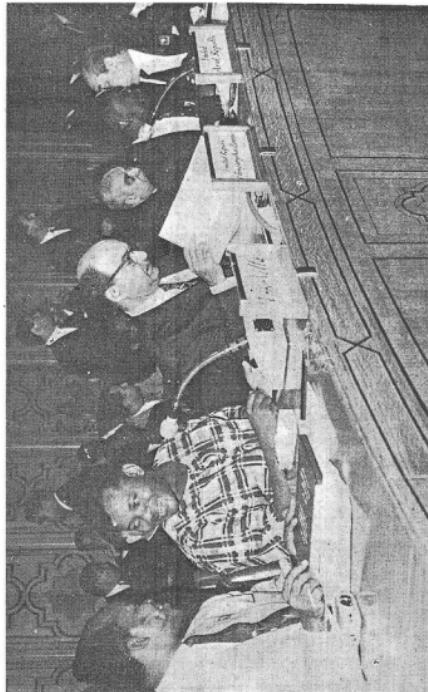
Huko katika Afrika Mashariki tunao Umoja wa Kazi za Kushirikiana. Ujuzi tuliofanywa pata juu yake umesonyesha kuwa ushirika wa biashara hauna maana ye yote usipoto faida sawa sawa kwa wote walioounda. Kutoekana na maarifa hayo, imetubidi tukao kitako tupatane juu ya kugawanya viwanda katika nchi zetu. Kila nchi yetu moja imepewa baadhi ya viwanda vinavyohitajiwa kwa biashara ya Afrika Mashariki nzima.

Bwana Mwenye Kiti, nataka kuongeza neno langu moja kuungaa mknno wale waliofanywa toa ombi hili, nami naturahi kuona kwamba ombi hili liitolewa na Rais wa Ghana, kwanza tuuikirie kwa makini kabisa uwerekano wa kugawanya baadhi ya viwanda kwa kufuata hali ya Kontinenti letu, au, japokuwa kwa kuuata majimbo. Jambo hili litatuwezesha kujifafidia kwa biashara inayofanywa na watu milioni 250 wa Afrika, biashara ambeayo sasa inawafadida watu wengine; na hasa watu walio matajiri zaidi katika ulimwengu.

Na mwisho, Bwana Mwenye Kiti, hebu niombe dua. Dua kwa sisil tuliokusanyika hapa; dwa kwa watu wengi sana Waafrika wanao hangaika sana, wote tutumie nafasi tulizopata kwa uhuru wetu na ufunzi wa kisasa, tujikombee katika makombo ya ukoloni, na tuwainus watu wetu kwa kuwafungulia pingi za umasikini, ujingga na maradhi.

Rais, kwenye Mkutano, akiwa katikati ya Makamu wa Kwanza wa Rais, Mhesh Sheik Abadi Karume na Mtesh Sheik Amri Abedi; anayevaka kofia, anastuhugulika.— The President is seen between the First Vice-President, Sheik Abadi and Sheik Amri Abedi (with a fee), Minister for Community Development and Culture.





Mhesh. Bwana Oscar Kambona, Waziri wa Mombasa ya Nchi za Nje anaonekana wakati wa Mukano akisemezana na kiongozi mwenzake, Yeye amevalia shati la kisasa. — Mr. Oscar Kambona, Minister of External Affairs, smiling, enjoys a joke with his leader during the Conference.