SPEECH BY THE PRESIDENT
OF THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF
TANGANYIKA AND ZANZIBAR

MWALIMU JULIUS K. NYERERE


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 rain-
makers 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 form and rather rigid positions.

Even at this late hour, therefore, I do appeal to the Organisa-
tion 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 our 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 pecuniary 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 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 espionage, intrigues, frustrations and disappointments," in the last eight months.

The Great Onagyefo 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 unity 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 unbeholderly 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 a cynic. 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 fulfill 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 simplify 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 unity 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 considered 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 her 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 UNGUA
MWALIMU JULIUS K. NYERERE
KWENYE MKUTANO WA VIONGOZI WA NCHI ZA AFRIKA, MJINI CAIRO
Tarehe 20 Julai, 1964


Kwa hiyo, kwa jambo hili la shukurani za kawaida ningependa kudozeza tu kwa kuwakumbusha wenyewe wetu ambayo hujambo haja hata kidogo kukumbusha. Kwamba bila ya jahudi ya wageni wa mwaka wetu huko Afrika Mashariki, watu wa Misri wangezimwe na taabu ya kutuhi kama vile sana! Tukiachia mbaali wageni wa mwaka wenyewe, ni jambo la kutuhi moyo mkuu sisi sote kuona mambo makuuli yaliyofanya na Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Nchi za Kilambu kwa uongezi wa Busara kubwa.

Kabila ya kuja hapa, allitumaini kwamba hatutana tena kawaida ya kutoa hotuba. Nini? Kwa tafadhali wenyewe wetu atatuliwa hotuba ya kufungua mkutano; na mmoja wetu atajibu na kisha tutana mara moja mambo yaliyopangwa tufanyie mashauri. Walaakin naona kwamba sote imezudi tuzoe hotuba. Naambiwa kuwa huu ndio utaratibu wa kawaida wa Baraza la Umoja wa Mataifa, Lakin nahezani ziko sababu mibili za maana ya kutuhi zinazoweza kutufanya tu Multa wa Baraza la Umoja wa Mataifa.


Kwa hiyo, hata sasa ambapo mkutano umaekibinaanza, naomba Jumis yetu ifikirie kutabidi utaratibu wa shughuli zetu ili tuwe na
nafasi zaidi ya kupedana vyema mawazo katii yetu badala ya kutoa hotuba za kueleze tu msoni ya kilo mtu.

Hili ni ombi langu na pia maelezo ya mambo nitaikayosema hapa: maana hotuba yangu ni safarini zaidi juu ya mambo ya likyokuwisha semwa hapa.

Tangu tulipocaziisha Jumiaa yetu hii kubwa sasa imepita miezi 14. Kwenye mkutano wetu wa kwenda nilensema kwamba niliona matatizo yetu ni ya namna mbili — la kwenda ni hilo la kuaondo kabisa masalia ya ukoloni katika Kontinenti letu, na la pili, tatizo la Umoja wetu.

Tangu hapa nchi kadhaa za Kifarika zimepata uhuru wake; yaani Kenya, Unguja wa Malawi. Na tena toka hapa Tanganyika imeachakuwa peke yake katika macho ya ulimwengu tia pamoja na Unguja sani ya Jamhuri ya Mwungano wa Tanganyika na Unguja. Twajua kuwa Zambia nayo itakwua huru kabila ya mkutano wetu mwingine.


Lakini, tunaposhangiilia masaniki ya mwaka huu uliopita, tatizo letu lingali iliko pale pale hapa. Uingereza na Ureno zingali zinatawa setumu kubwa za Afrika. Matatizo yanayoletwa na nchi hizi mbili ni mbalimbali.


Lawama za tungo zimeletewa kuhusu Halmashauri ya nchi Tisa iliyouekwa na Umoja huu kushughulikia vyama yana wananchi ambazo bado katika utawala wa kikoloni. Kwa kuwa mishakata hii ya yamefanywa na nchi — nchi moja tu — ambayo hajlipita hata senti moja kwenye Halmashauri hiyo toka kuzinzisha kwa, sina haja ya kushughulika sana na mishakata hii. Lakini nataka kutubu shaka mukutano huu juu jambo moja au mawili.


Katika kuishambulia Halmashauri ya Ukombozi, Rais wa Ghana aliifanya mishakata ambayo maana ya ukweli ukitotaka kuwafanya.

Nayata jiko maneno ya ke:
“Kuchagua Congo (Leopoldville) kuwa ndipo mahali pa kufunza wapiganaji uhuru lilikuwa jambo sawa na kuliikuwa kita sababu njema kikubali. Serikali ya Congo itoe maofisi na makazi kwa wajumbe wa Halimashauri ya Ukombozi. Kwa hiyo singilafia kwa wapiganaji uhuru wa Afrika kusewaka mahali palipo wazi kufikia na ujasusi bila wasiwasi na kukatisha tamaa mambo ambayo wamevapata katika muda wa miezi minane iliyoipa. Je, matokeo gani yanaweza kupatikana kwa kuvaaminiwa wapiganaji uhuru wafundishwe katika mikonzo ya kibaraka wa Wakoloni wapendao kwatawala wenzao.”


Halafu Mkombozi huyo Mkuwba (Great Osagyefo) anaendelea kuuliza swali: “Je, matokeo gani yanaweza kupatikana kwa kuwaamini kibaraka wa ukoloni awafundishwe wale wanaopigana na ukoloni?”

Kwanza, Bwana Mwenye Kiti, kama nilivyoeleza ni sawa, na kwamba maana yake hasa ni kwamba Rais wa Ghana anaamini kuwa Komiti ya Ukombozi ingalifia iweke Leopoldville, basi yote niwezayo kufanya ni kuviwiza ninyi wenye mifiki matokeo yake yagaelikuwa ninii.

Pili, kama mashatuka haya ya “Kibaraka wa Wakoloni” yanahusu nchi yangu, au kiongozi wake ya yote, basi wale wanaojia nchi yangu, viongozi wake na watu wake, na wale wote wapendao ukweli, watafahamu kabisa kwamba mashatuka haya ni uwengo mtupu.


Kwa kweli tumefanihika mmo hata hakuna kiongozi ye yote wa Kifarika ambaye hata kama haamini katika umoja huu aweza kusubutu kusema kinyume. Kwa hiyo jambo linatakiwa sasa siyo kububiri zaidi habari za umoja, ila kutimamitiza zaidi umoja huo.


Jambo tunalohitaji ni kuwa na mazoea ya umoja na ushirika. Tusaishi kama tzungoje mpaka sote tutakapokuta tayari kwenda. Lazima tuchukue kilo hatua ya kwezi inayotupa moyo wa kuungana. Lazima tuwaulize ndugu zetu wa Afrika Kaskazini, “Mbona hamjaunganza zaidi?” “Kwa nini mifinye viendo vya kulale tamaa ya kuwa na umoja mkubwa zaidi katati yenu?”

Lazima tulimizie nchi za Afrika Magharibi zingane, na lazima tulimizie nchi za Afrika Mashariki pia zingane. Hatujezi kusaidia njia za kulale umoja wa Afrika kwa kuwaja matendo yake. Maana ni kuteka ndilo kuteka umoja ka Kontinenti lote, aliyawazao wa kufikiria umoja peke yake.


Hakuna hila mbaya zaidi ya kuharibu azimio hili la kulale Serikali moja ya Afrika yote kama vile utumilie juu wa daima wa maneno ya kudanganyanya.
Nchi za Uhadi na Usomali zina ugombvi juu ya mpaka wa nchi ambao ni wa hatar. Lazima tuwe na matumaini kwamba nchi hizi mlili ndugu zimazilia taitizo hili guma. Lakini baadh na watu wengine jambo hili wanalizikula kwu nafasi ya kuwadanganya wengine ati la heza kumalizwa tu kwa kuwa na Serikali moja Afrika kwamba la kama waongo hawana nili hilo.

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

Ugombvi wengine nchini mpaka wa wauka kati ya nchi ndugu mlili za Algeria na Moroco. Kudhika, lahezi tuwe na matumaini na kuomba kuwanyata yote tumezayo kwassaida ndugu zetu wa mgungu nja ya sulubu. Lakini kwa wale wapi gido la vunonge wanaalizuma jambo hili kudanganya ati ni kisingizio cha kuwa na Serikali moja ya Afrika nzima.


Jambo hili la "Serikali Moja katika Afrika" limekuwa kisingizio kwa kwafanyiana baadh ya mambbo yasafikika ya kidugu kabisa katika Afrika — hasa katika semeu yetu na Afrika.


Tunaambwa kwamba tusimweke katibu Mkuu wa tushangwe mahali pali Makau Mkuu na Jumilia hii ya Umoja wa Afrika. Sababu yake nini? Tunaweza kwa maneno mengi mengi ati "Serikali Moja ya Afrika nzima".


Bwana Mwenye Kilili, lazima tusemwe kwezi.

Baadhzi ya watu wako tayari kutumia akili zao zingin zwingana zinafas ya kwa kwa kale uma moja katika Kontinenti letu mradi. Ati mwanashidi mbingwa wa historia ataweza kuunda kuwafanya kwamba ni wao peke yao watatuka sana umoja wa Afrika.

Bwana Mwenye Kilili, unaaweza kuwa awali baadhzie ya watu kuwa wachingarikia wakati fuleni fulani, lakini ilivyota kwezi kabisa, jithadi huyo ya kuwafanya, watu wote wachinga kwa wakati wo wote halionyesi. Hezima wa wala wengine mkebwa kwamba Afrika.

Lakini tunaambiwa kwamba hiyo Serikali Moja Kuu haisitaji nchi zake ndogo kuvua mamalaka yake. Kiongozi huyo atakawapwa wa ajabu sana, ambaye nchi zetu moja moja haisitaki kuvuva mamalaka yake kumpa, na bado anakuwa mwenye nguvu sana, na ambaye tunamataka kutimuza madhumuni ya taifu la kisasa.

Bwana Mwenye Kiti, wazo hili la kuwa na Serikali ya Kontinenti la Afrika, ni kubwa na la maana sana. Tuwazote kutuanya juu ya jambo hili ni moja tu, yaani kufikiria sana na namba ya kulitimiza.


Hatamini kwamba tunachaguna baina ya kupata uomoja wa Afrika hatua kwa hatua, na kuupata uomoja wa bara lote mara moja. Jambo hili la kupata uomoja mara moja haliviwekani kwetu rupokuwa labda kwa wale wengine nyika za ajabu.


Njia moja tu iliywazi kwetu, ni ya kuunda uomoja hatua kwa hatua baina ya nchi kwa nchi na kwa matendo kadalathali. Kwa mifano, kama nchi za Afrika Kaskazini zingekuwa taari kuungana kufanya ushirika wa nchi moja kubwa, mimi binafsi ningeshangilia hatua hiyo kuwa ni hatua ya kufikia uomoja wa Afrika.

Kila moja patikika nchi hizo ingeweza kuamua kama wakati umaewdia wa kuunda uomoja huo utakwaao. Watakiki, kama kwa upande mwingine watu wa nchi hizo wakionana kwamba mambbo yao ya kuunganishia bado hayajawa taari, bali wao wenyeke wako taari kushirikiana katika mambo mengine, hapo pia, mimi binafsi ngingeshangilia ushirika huo kuwa ni hatua ya kufikia uomoja wa Afrika.

Jambo la lazima al kwamba hatua hizi zote lazima zitumie abahaba ya Umoja wa Nchi za Kifairika. Ndiyo maana nchi yangu inyasi hamu sana kutaka kuona moyo huu na matakwa hiyo ya uomoja vinyewatu nguvu kwa kila hali, pamoja na kuchaguliwa kwa Katibu Mkuu wa kuwekwa kwa Makao Makuu ya Umoja huu.

Bwana Mwenye Kiti, kama nilivyokwisha eleza mwanza wa hotuba yangu, sinkuwa na haja ya kutosi hotuba ndeufu. Nimejinya tuuna muda mrefu mmo wewe juu wa mambbo ambayo hatika hayapendesi. Sasa nataka kumaliza hotuba yangu fupi juu ya jambo jingine kabisa.


Maji safi au afya njema vinabatikia sawa kwa Wadwika, Wazungu na Waamerika na Kaskazini. Mama ya pote anayeshi katika sehemu iliyokuwa na maendeleo kabisa katika nchi yangu, bali hana raha sawa na mama aliye tajiri kabisa anayeshi Paris kama watoto wato hawana afya ni wa wanyonge.

Lakini maendeleo ya kisasa lutegemea sana biashara ya ulimwengu. Lakini biashara ya ulimwengu ni kama bomba lenye mifumo miwilli linaonyeza ulinzi kutoka nchi zinaonekela na kuti katika nchi zilikokwisha endelea kilicamu vya katika nchi zilikokwisha endelea. Matokoo yake ni kwamba pengine baina ya nchi zinaonekela na nchi zinaonekela za uchumi ulimwengu linazidi kuponuka, halipungu!
Tunatumaini kwamba mkutano wa biashara uliofanywa hivi karibuni huko Geneva, lazima wewe kuwata mabadiliko katika mambo haya.

Lakini jambo moja lilikuwishwa taja hapa, na ambalo lazima tulipe moyo, ni biashara haina yetu sisi wenyewe, Ndiyo kusoma lazima tuuziane vitu.


Bwana Mwenye Kiti, nataka kuongeza neno langa moja kunungu mkono wale walikuwishi toa ombi hili, nami nausha kuona kwamba ombi hili lilisolve na Rais wa Ghana, kwamba tuliokwirie kwa makini kabisa uwezekana wa kugawanya. Baadhi ya viwanda kwatuza hali ya Kostantiini letu, au, japokwa kwa kufuta majimbo. Jambo hili liliteuzeshia kuviwaidia kwa biashara inayoofanywa na watu milioni 250 wa Afrika, biashara ambayo sasa inawafaidia watu wengine na hasa watu waliotumi nje zaidi kufanana unumwengwa.

Na mwisho, Bwana Mwenye Kiti, lebu niombe dua. Dua kwa sisi tuliokusanyika hapa; dua kwa watu wenzi sana Waafrika wanao hangailika sana, wote tutumia naasani tuliopata kwa uhuru, watu na ufundi wa kisasa, tujikombe katika makombe ya kokaoni, na tawa, imwe watu wete kwa kuwafungulia pingu za umasikini, ujinga na maradhi.
Mhesh. Bwana Oscar Kambona, Waziri wa Mambo ya Nchi za Nje anaonekana wakati wa Mkutano akisemezana na kiongozi mwenzake. Yeye amevalia shati la kisiasa. — Mr. Oscar Kambona, Minister of External Affairs, smiling, enjoys a joke with leader during the Conference.