



H.E. JULIUS NYERERE
President of the Republic of Tanganyika
Address 25

We are in Addis Ababa to discover whether we want African unity. Again, even our enemies know that we sincerely desire unity. It is their fear of the consequences to them of complete African unity, which makes them emphasize our differences and hope - wishfully - that these differences will make it impossible for Africa to unite. No, we did not come here to find out whether we desire unity. We come here to find out our common denominator in our approach to African unity. Because of the good fortune that I have had to speak last, I can honestly say that we have discovered this common denominator in our approach to the final liberation of Africa. We have all agreed without a single exception that the time for more words is gone; that this is time for action; that the time for allowing our brethren to struggle unaided is gone; that from now on our brethren in non-independent Africa should be helped by independent Africa. In our approach to unity, we have also discovered a common denominator. We have all repeated our dedication to the achievement of a fully united Africa. But we have all said in effect that just as African Independence has been process, African unity is about to be a process. There is not going to be a God who will bring about African unity by merely willing unity and saying, "let there be Unity." It is not in the nature of human action that the will and fulfillment should be simultaneous. That is not in our power, that is only in the power of the God.

Questions for consideration: What does President Nyerere mean when he said that "We come here to find our common denominator in our approach to African Unity? What does President Nyerere mean when he said that "It is not in the nature of human action that the will and the fulfillment should be simultaneous,"? Do you agree? What does Nyerere mean when he said that "African unity is about to be a process. There is not going to be a God who will bring about African unity"? In your views, what does the term sovereignty mean to African nationalists in the context of African independence? What is the difference between independence or sovereignty applied to a group of state and independence or sovereignty applied to a group of people? If African nationalists succeeded to unite the masses of African peoples in their struggle for independence, but failed to achieve unity so desired by the masses of African peoples, what would African leaders have proven to Africans and their posterity? If the masses of African peoples united to fight alongside African nationalists to attain independence, but the construction of post-independence era's institutions was strictly elite-driven; that is, the masses of the peoples were denied the opportunity to participate fully and actively, do the resulting institutions legitimate/illegitimate? Why?

In Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, May 1963

This conference has been faced with one task. It is the task of finding a common denominator which will guide us in our determination to rid our continent of the remaining vestiges of colonialism and in our determination to see an Africa speaking with the same voice. The eyes of Africa and the world are turned upon this conference, they are anxiously waiting for its outcome. Some are praying for its failure; others are praying for its success. We did not come here to discover whether we all want a free Africa. Even the greatest enemies of African unity know that the one thing on which there can be no doubt that the whole of Africa speaks with one sincere voice. It is our desire to see an Africa completely freed from foreign domination and racialism. We came here to find out what we should all do now in order to bring about the final liberation of Africa.

We did not come here to discover whether we want African unity. Again, even our enemies know that we sincerely desire unity. It is their fear of the consequences to them of complete African unity, which makes them emphasize our differences and hope - wishfully - that these differences will make it impossible for Africa to unite. No, we did not come here to find out whether we desired unity. We come here to find out our common denominator in our approach to African unity. I do not propose to bother you by stating why Africa should be free any why Africa should be united; why Africa should unite in achieving its freedom and free in achieving its unity. Your Imperial Majesty and those of my brothers who have spoken before me have stated that case much better than I can. It has been even better stated by the suffering of our people; by the blood which our people have shed and are still shedding at the hands of their oppressors; it has been better stated by the millions of our people who died in the slave raids organized all over Africa by those powers whose prestige was built upon the humiliation of Africa; it is still stated by those monuments of European, American, and (let's say it) Asian glory, which to us are symbols of humiliation and oppression. I repeat then that I do not propose to bother you with reasons, why Africa should be free, and why Africa should be united.

We came here simply to discover our common denominator, in our approach to freedom and unity. Because of the good fortune that I have had to speak last, I can honestly say that we have discovered this common denominator in our approach to the final liberation of Africa. We have all agreed without a single exception that the time for more words is gone; that this is time for action; that the time for allowing our brethren to struggle unaided is gone; that from now on our brethren in non- independent Africa should be helped by independent Africa. In order to complete this picture of unanimity let me add Tanganyika's voice then. I ask you to look at the map of Africa, you will immediately realize why in a very

real and special sense, we in Tanganyika, as indeed our brethren in the Congo cannot be comfortable or complacent in our freedom as long as our neighbours to the south are not free. At present, not because of any greater dedication to the freedom of Africa, but because of our proximity to non-independent Africa, we are already making a humble contribution to the liberation of Southern Africa, but we are prepared to do more. We are prepared to support the proposal made by our brother, President Sekou Toure, that one percent of our national budget should be set aside for the purpose of liberating non-free Africa. I want to assure our gallant brother from Algeria, brother Ben Bella, that we are prepared to die a little for the final removal of the humiliation of colonialism from the face of Africa.

In our search for a common approach to unity the way the United States of America came into being has often been mentioned as an example open to us to follow. But let me say in this connection that the United States of America did not come into being by the signing of the American Constitution. This was rather the culmination of a common endeavour by thirteen colonial countries. The real unity was forged and sealed by the Declaration of Independence and by a comradeship in arms for the achievement of that independence. Let us not avoid that task now facing us by waiting until Africa is under one Government. I ask your Imperial Majesty and my brothers assembled here that we collectively should now view the continued occupation of Africa by any foreign power with the same gravity and in the same seriousness as each one of us would have viewed the occupation by a foreign power of a part of the country that he has the privilege and the honour to lead. We can no longer go on saying that Angola is not free, or Mozambique is not free, etc., and that we are helping Angolans or Mozambiquans to free themselves. Such statements are hiding the truth. 'The real humiliating truth is that Africa is not free; and therefore, it is Africa which should take the necessary collective measures to free Africa. This is the clear and serious message that should go from here to the Security Council of the United Nations.

In our approach to unity, we have also discovered a common denominator. We have all repeated our dedication to the achievement of a fully united Africa. But we have all said in effect that just as African Independence has been process, African unity is about to be a process. There is not going to be a God who will bring about African unity by merely willing unity and saying, "let there be Unity." It is not in the nature of human action that the will and fulfillment should be simultaneous. That is not in our power, that is only in the power of the God. In human action there is inevitable progress between the will to do and the fulfillment of that action. What is required is that immediately after the will the first step should be taken — I repeat then that African unity cannot come by a divine will, "Let there be unity." And none of us is prepared in the name of unity to invite Napoleon to come and bring about such unity by conquest. We are therefore left with only one method of bringing about African unity. That method is the method of

free agreement. That is why at the beginning of this speech I said our task is to discover how to bring about our freedom in unity and our unity in freedom. 'This means that at any given point we must discover our highest common denominator. Having discovered that the highest common denominator our duty is to take it without waiting till tomorrow.

We have, I believe, reached such an agreement here for the initial step to be taken. I believe that one can pick upon any proposal made by our brother President Senghor as such an example of common denominator. Taking the various proposals already made our Foreign Ministers are now drawing that common denominator in the form of a Charter. There will be some who will say that this Charter does not far enough or is not revolutionary enough. This may be so. But what is going far enough. No good mason would complain that his first brick did not go far enough. He knows that the first brick will go as far as it can go and will go no farther. He will go on laying brick after brick before the edifice is complete. And what is being revolutionary? A true revolutionary is not an unrealistic dreamer. A true revolutionary is one who analyses any given situation with scientific objectivity and acts accordingly. This is what this conference has been doing. Examining realistically what it is that we have in common in our approach to unity then act accordingly.

The enemies of Africa are now praying. They are praying for the failure of this conference. The people of Africa are also praying. They are praying for the triumph of Pan-Africanism over narrow nationalism and regionalism. They are specially praying for the triumph of an all-embracing Africa Charter over Monrovia or Casablanca. It is unnecessary for me to prophesy that it shall not be recorded in history that, "BUT FOR THE STUBBORNESS' AND NON-COOPERATION OF TANGANYIKA, ADDIS ABABA CONFERENCE WOULD HAVE BEEN A SUCCESS." our National Motto is "UHURU NA UMOJA" (FREEDOM AND UNITY). Our National Anthem is, "GOD BLESS AFRICA. "

Finally let me say this:

We reciprocate the good wishes and prayers of the friends of Africa wherever they may be. To those enemies of Africa who want to belittle the significance of this conference by saying that it did not achieve very much we ought to send this challenge. That if when the nations of the world reassemble the United Nations, they will approach the problems of the world in the same spirit of goodwill and co-operation as the nations of Africa assembled have approached their African problems here, the human race, like the African people, shall have taken an immense step towards universal brotherhood.