

PRETORIA IS A CANCER - Samora Machel

Extracts from a speech welcoming members of the OAU Liberation Committee which met at its 26th Ordinary Session in Mozambique in January 1976

This is not the first time that the Liberation Committee, through its representatives, treads our soil in the fulfilment of its grand task of liberating our continent.

In each of its visits, the Liberation Committee came to observe and bear witness to the greatest moments of our struggle, the advances of the liberation fight, which enabled it to know our real situation and thereby increase its moral and material assistance.

In May 1968 the Liberation Committee visited the liberated areas of Niassa Province at the time we were preparing FRELIMO's Second Congress which marked the beginning of a new phase of our armed struggle for national liberation.

In October, 1972, this time in the liberated zone of Cabo Delgado, your visit once again took place at an important

moment of our fight: the moment when we were launching a political, ideological and military offensive to repel enemy infiltration and subversion among us, an offensive which culminated in neutralizing the moral and physical agents of reaction and the intensification of our revolutionary vigilance. In September, 1974, once again the Liberation Committee was with us when the Transitional Government took office. On the 25th of June 1975 you came to share with us the exhilarating moments of the materialisation of our people's victory.

On this occasion we are honoured with the presence of the Liberation Committee which has come here to hold its 26th Ordinary Session. Welcome once again to Mozambique. We hope that your presence here by the Maputo River, at the boundary of liberated Africa, marks the beginning of a new liberation offensive.

The meeting of the Liberation Committee in the capital of the People's Republic of Mozambique testifies to the expansion of the frontiers of African freedom and dignity; it expresses the determination of the African peoples to liquidate completely foreign domination; it reflects the balance of forces between us and the enemy.

Your presence marks the triumph of the sacrifices made by Africa and the progressive world which contributed to the defeat of Portuguese colonialism.

In receiving the Liberation Committee here we wish to reaffirm that the People's Republic of Mozambique, fruit of the Mozambican People's heroic and victorious struggle against Portuguese colonialism and against imperialism, undertakes to continue and assume completely its duty in the united fight of Africa and the World against foreign domination and exploitation on our Continent.

Portuguese colonialism, militarily defeated by our Peoples, has ceased to exist in Africa.

At this juncture we would like to pay heartfelt and respectful tribute to the memory of all those who, bearing the flaming torch of freedom and African independence, fell in the struggle against colonialism. We invite all those present to observe a minute of silence. The cause of the peoples of the former Portuguese colonies triumphed be-

cause it was just and had the support of Africa and that of the progressive forces of the World. The peoples' enemies, colonialism and imperialism, are forced in desperation to acknowledge our common victory.

The victory of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, Cape Verde, Angola, East Timor, marks the beginning of a new phase in the liberation of the Peoples.

This meeting of the Liberation Committee in a country which won victory through armed liberation struggle, is the living affirmation of our continent's capacity to free itself completely.

In Africa colonialism has been dislodged from its positions. Popular resistance triumphed in the Comores and the Archipelago proclaimed its independence. Despite imperialist manoeuvres in the Seychelles and the so-called French Somaliland (Djibouti) the national independence process is in its final phase. The fight of the peoples of the Sahara has forced the colonial power to recognize the impossibility of classical colonial domination; this fight assures us that one day the People's aspirations will be fulfilled. We are in the final phase of the liquidation of the painful, humiliating and atrocious chapter of classical colonialism.

This, however, does not mean that the work of national liberation is over.

National Liberation

National liberation is a process that starts with national resistance to foreign occupation and that only ends when all forms of imperialist domination have been finally liquidated.

National Liberation is the fight to win full political independence. National Liberation is the cultural fight to assert our African personality. National Liberation is the fight against the military presence of imperialist bases of aggression on our Continent. National Liberation is our countries' fight to recover the right to exploit our natural resources for our own benefit. National Liberation is the fight against imperialist economic order in international relations. National Liberation is the fight by all the peoples of our Continent to freely choose the political and economic order that best suits them. National Liberation is the affirmation of the



William Eteki Mboumoua – Secretary General of the OAU

right of each people to choose their own friends . . .

Such an understanding is fundamental to the determination of the true nature and forms of the domination that still exists on our continent.

With the fall of Portuguese colonialism and the anticipation of the imminent disappearance of the remaining classical colonial dominations, the racist regimes emerge as the last survivors of the classical forms of domination. However, behind them, imperialism, the permanent and principal enemy of all peoples, raises its head.

Faced with the development of the Continent's struggle and the successive fall of colonial regimes, imperialism finds itself obliged to identify itself increasingly and openly with the

Salisbury and Pretoria regimes, and at the same time tries to strengthen its military presence on the Continent in order to gain by occupation or intimidation, the political and economic submission of countries already independent. Thus, imperialism is forced to take off its mask, revealing before the eyes of the people its true nature as a direct enemy.

We can state that the present period is the period when people's struggles lead to confrontation with imperialism, the period when as imperialism, increases its aggression, it loses its footholds in Africa one after another.

Having lost its colonial intermediaries and knowing that the days of the racist regimes are numbered, imperialism attempts by all means to neutralise and topple popular regimes; the anti-imperialist regimes of Africa, that threaten it. Thus imperialism intensifies its subversive actions, corruption, blackmail, pressure and threats. By means of economic sabotage imperialism tries to create serious economic crises to make these regimes unstable. However, sensing the imminent loss of its positions of domination and exploitation, it does not hesitate to resort to brute force and open aggression.

Imperialist Aggression

Imperialism attacks peoples, divides countries, installs puppet regimes, imposes its military bases that serve as permanent platforms of aggression against people's struggles.

Thus in 1947 it launched the war of aggression against the Arab Peoples and imposed the aggressive State of Israel in the zone. In 1949 it occupied the province of Taiwan in order to attack the People's Republic of China. In 1953, after brutal aggression, it imposed the puppet regime of Seoul against the people's achievement in the northern part of Korea. In 1954 the division of Vietnam was imposed, and in the southern part was installed the instrument of imperialist aggression.

Later, and continuing until the present day, we have witnessed the division of Cyprus, the criminal invasion of Laos, the violation of Cambodian sovereignty, attempts at the partitioning of Lebanon.

In Africa too, open acts of aggression are well-known. In the sixties Zaire,

then Congo-Leopoldville, was assaulted by imperialism in an attempt to block the process of installation of a popular government and to divide the country. Later, imperialism tried to dismember Nigeria by force, fomenting the secession of the Eastern Region. In 1972 the Republic of Guinea was the object of an invasion aimed at substituting the progressive regime of the Democratic Party of Guinea, by a regime subservient to foreign domination. Recently, the island of Mayotte has been forcibly occupied by France. Throughout the whole period of the colonial-imperialist wars of aggression against our people, South African and Rhodesian troops, as well as so-called foreign advisers, have been systematically used against our people. Throughout all this period there were constant acts of aggression against such countries as Tanzania, Zambia, Congo, Zaire, Guinea and Senegal, because they had defied the risks involved in showing solidarity with their neighbours.

Even today, there are constant and repeated acts of provocation by the minority and aggressive regime of Ian Smith on our frontier.

Permanent Allies

The attempt to dismember the Comoro Archipelago, the occupation of parts of the Egyptian territory by Zionist forces, the South African invasion of Angola, are in fact manifestations of the same imperialist aggressiveness directed against the people's achievements and calculated to intimidate the masses and block their Liberation process.

In Southern Africa, imperialism, using its faithful Pretoria forces, which continue to dominate Namibia, intends by its occupation of Angola, to have at its disposal launching bases for the extension of its domination and exploitation in independent Africa.

Thus we consider that today more than ever there is an intimate and fundamental relationship, a permanent inter-dependence within the National Liberation process between independent countries and countries still under domination. The independent countries and the National Liberation Movements are permanent and equal allies.



Presidents Nyerere of Tanzania (left) and Machel of Mozambique . . . two firm supporters of MPLA

Let us be clear: Africa should either extend the frontiers of freedom or the forces of imperialism will enlarge their zone of subservience. So it is a question of not only resolutely supporting the liberation struggle, but also of intensifying the fight in our own States for the elimination of dependence on imperialism.

This is Africa's crucial fight. We must not, however, lose sight of the fact that although our peoples are united in this fight, our States frequently express divergent views.

A few days ago in Addis Ababa we all confirmed that in the present phase some states are not in a position to condemn clearly and unambiguously Pretoria's aggression against Angola, against Africa. All of us saw too that these same States were not capable of condemning clearly and unambiguously, those Angolans who are collaborating with South Africa in its invasion.

Our own dignity and self-respect demand that just as yesterday we condemned Van Thieu in Vietnam, Lon Nol in Cambodia, Tchang Kai Chek in China, Tshombe in Africa, we should condemn those who now lead the troops of South Africa, the number-one enemy of Africa, to attack their own country and massacre their own people.

The emergence of two distinct political

lines in Addis Ababa enables our States to know each other better; it is a positive factor for the development of the people's struggle in Africa.

The heightening of the contradiction between the people and imperialism, the intensification of the battle between the people's interests and enemy interests, necessarily leads to different definitions of the enemy and a consequent reconsideration of alliances.

We maintain that any regime determines its opposition: a people's regime is opposed by reactionary forces on the national plane and by imperialism at international level; similarly, an exploitative and oppressive regime will have the national masses and all the world progressive forces, ranged against it.

The search for compromises with the enemy, the efforts to convince the enemy of our good will, the principle of not intensifying the struggle so the enemy can negotiate, manifest, in reality, the alliance between reactionary national classes and imperialism which lead to capitulation.

Africa fights against foreign bases. Africa resolutely opposes the continuation of imperialist bases of aggression in the Indian Ocean. Africa correctly understands that foreign military bases, the nuclearisation of its coasts, are a threat to its libera-

tion process, to its right to build a political, economic and social system that is best suited to the interests of its Peoples.

The definite elimination of the racist regimes and the remnants of colonialism depends on consistent anti-imperialist struggle on our continent...

Pseudo Movements

For more effective support of the Liberation Movements, for the further mobilisation of the masses in countries still under foreign domination, for a faster development of the liberation struggle, it is imperative that the Liberation Committee intensify its action aimed at achieving real unity of the fighting forces.

This leads us to tackle with militant courage and to unambiguously analyse the problem of the proliferation of organisations claiming to be liberation movements.

Experience has shown us that whenever the Liberation Committee has proceeded to take correct options; whenever the Committee has dissociated itself from pseudo-movements; from marginal and opportunist organisations, the liberation struggle has developed harmoniously; the masses reinforced their unity against divisionist manoeuvres and Africa and her natural allies, the socialist countries have been able to channel their aid and intensify their contribution to the national liberation cause.

This is the Liberation Committee's experience in relation to Guinea Bissau and Cape-Verde, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, The Comores, Namibia, the Seychelles.

On the other hand, when the Liberation Committee has been unable to make a clear and correct choice, we have found that this failure disrupts the liberation process through unrepresentative and ideologically feeble groupings. This is the reality behind Angola's tragic situation. We must be conscious of our responsibilities on this matter.

The proliferation of Liberation Movements only favours more effective divisive action by the enemy.

In proliferation the enemy will find those who, being ambitious, weak or

corrupt, are ready to join him in opposition to the people's interests.

Over and above this efforts to reconcile the movements we need a prior effort to analyse the nature, origin and significance of various Liberation Movements.

It is only when this is done that we shall be in a position to define the correct line to be followed: to recognise one single organisation to the exclusion of all others, or if it is justified, to make an effort towards reconciliation.

At present the intensification of the common struggle for the liberation of Southern Africa is essential.

The Racists Isolated

Rhodesia is a British colony where a racist minority has usurped power and exercises it through the bayonet, with the active support of imperialism.

In the wake of Portugal's colonial defeat the racist regime is experiencing an isolation unprecedented in its history. The masses impetuously intensify the political battles for national independence.

The regime's reply to the people's demands is a brutal stepping-up of repression and increased machinations, while it increases its acts of provocations and aggression against the People's Republic of Mozambique and other neighbouring countries, in an attempt to expand the area of conflict, internationalise it and distract attention from its internal contradictions.

However, the Mozambican people will not be intimidated by provocations. We shall fulfill our internationalist duty towards the struggle of the



Zimbabwean people under any circumstances.

The colonial occupation of Namibia by racist South African domination, proceeds with a war of aggression against the Namibian people led by SWAPO.

In a desperate attempt to prevent the people's inevitable victory, the Pretoria regime has extended its criminal aggression to the People's Republic of Angola.

South African troops are now suffering humiliating reverses, the soldiers of arrogant racism are being shamefully defeated.

This attack has brought the broad masses of Angola in a battle against Pretoria and has now mobilised the peoples of Africa and the world angered by the South African regime's brutal aggression.

What is the enemy's strategy?

The Pretoria regime, with the support of imperialism, is conducting a campaign to divide Africa. Pretoria is a cancer trying to spread itself in independent Africa.

The dignity of the people's of Africa rejects Pretoria's policies; rejects any compromise. Compromise with the enemy gravely endangers our independence, our dignity and the emancipation of our Continent.

The People's Republic of Mozambique upholds the principle that the Republic of South Africa be excluded from the community of nations in Africa and the world because of its inhuman policies and its aggression.

The People's Republic of Mozambique identifies itself with the struggle of the South African people of all races to build a truly democratic order.

The People's Republic of Mozambique has the highest regard for the long and historic struggle of the African National Congress to unite, organise and mobilise South African people of all races in the fight to build a society with dignity and humanity, a new society...

Annihilate Imperialism

The concept of African unity that existed until recently enabled us to develop the fight against classical forms of colonialism.

The victories achieved by the African



peoples forced the enemy to modify its strategy and tactics.

Thus a new challenge arises: Africa is called upon to intensify its unity for the present battle: the battle for the definite exclusion of imperialism from Africa; the battle to liberate Africa from foreign bases, from economic domination, from cultural subservience; the battle to impose a new international order.

This battle requires greater mobilisation of the masses; more than just inter-governmental union it requires a broad, popular, antiimperialist front. At this time begins the final annihilation of imperialism on our continent.

This front, this combat must necessarily involve our natural allies, the socialist countries, who constitute the liberated zone of mankind, and the world democratic forces which are operational detachments of our struggle.

Victory will be ours in the new confrontation. The peoples of Africa want to build their unity; unity founded on independence, freedom and a fitting social order.

We wish you success in your deliberations and a pleasant stay in the People's Republic of Mozambique.

LONG LIVE THE OAU!
LONG LIVE UNITED AFRICA!
LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE FOR
NATIONAL LIBERATION!
A LUTA CONTINUA!