

---

# MPLA and FRELIMO

## Perspectives on the struggle Southern Africa

---

---

Extracts from speeches by President Agostinho Neto of Angola, and Foreign Minister Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique, at the June meetings of the OAU Liberation Committee in Luanda

---

### **PRESIDENT NETO**

We are aware of the fact that the great European capitals were built primarily through the blood and sweat and patient work of millions of exploited people in our continent, as well as that of the natives of America and Asia. Capitalists at a certain juncture could not continue to exploit the resources of certain countries, so they started to export their capital, so that, in one way or another, they were able to continue to dominate and exploit people. This is the essence of the contradiction which our world is facing today. The principal problem does not lie, nor has it ever lain, in the colour of the skin, nor in the social status of the person. The principal problem lies in the opposition between exploited and exploiters, and dominated and dominators. The contradiction lies between those who own the



President Agostinho Neto of PR Angola

means and those who produce the material goods.

We are living through a historically decisive moment in the liberation of southern Africa. Our continent is not yet completely free from colonialism. In some areas there still is social and economic domination on the part of European and American powers who need to export their capital and their technology.

The struggle in Zimbabwe — what is its character? What are the objectives that this struggle aims to accomplish? It is obvious that only the people of Zimbabwe can give adequate answers to these questions. Nevertheless, there are facts which we cannot hide. In Zimbabwe there is exploitation; there is domination and abuse on the part of a certain social class against the people of Zimbabwe. This people can no longer accept slavery. This is the reason for the violent confrontation.

Who exploits and who dominates? It is the British. The leaders of the oppression in Zimbabwe are British, not Africans. Those who control the economy are British, or a British ally. Those who dominate the social scene, as happened here in Angola with the Portuguese, are British. The organizations of defence and repression — the army, the police, the security — are British. We have no doubts in saying that those who control political power in Zimbabwe at the moment are the representatives of the British ruling class — this means, representatives of British capitalists, allied, of course, with the racists of South Africa, with French and German reactionaries, as well as with the whole imperialist machine.

In Zimbabwe, there still is a colonial situation. To solve this situation, the British colonialists, disguised as Rhodesians or not, must relinquish power and the people of Zimbabwe must take full control. We here in Angola view with great reserve certain definitions which point to a path of demands, elections for a black majority, even if this is done just

as a tactic of struggle. This tactic of misleading the people will not lead to any results. What is necessary is for the British, and their middlemen who live in Rhodesia, to relinquish power and hand it over to the Africans ...

Namibia is occupied by the South African army, which also means that there is economic occupation by South Africa. The people of Namibia should be free from the South African racist to develop in freedom ...

In South Africa itself, one of the most serious class confrontations in the history of the African continent is now taking place. And there is no doubt that it will be the South African working class which will assume power. This is the one goal we should support — to liberate the millions of the southern part of the continent. The problem is not, nor has it ever been, one of race alone. Race is just an excuse used for the domination of one class by another. We, here in Angola, refuse to accept that the main problem of Africa is one of race.

It is up to the peoples to remain vigilant. It is up to them to demand complete independence and liberty and to choose the socio-political system that each feels is most suitable. The colonialists are very busy setting up commissions, working groups and conferences to try to reconcile certain interests between their groups and the dominated peoples, especially to reconcile the interests of the future leaders of the dominated countries and their own monopolies.

One must not forget the need for armed struggle in any area in which the enemy exists. We believe that only through armed struggle will it be possible to defeat the oppressors in this world. It will not be through negotiations and conferences that people will become independent. There is a struggle of interests, a struggle which is carried out today by imperialists, and the interest of one social group to dominate all others.

It was armed struggle which brought into the limelight the problems of Zimbabwe and Namibia. It is necessary,

then, to intensify this armed struggle. And, in our view, it is necessary immediately to intensify support for the liberation struggle of the people of Southern Africa, because the people of these brother countries are without doubt the ones who have suffered most the humiliation caused by social segregation — political segregation — imposed by one class on another. They are the ones who feel more intensely in their flesh the fascist claws. Armed struggle clearly provokes reaction on the part of the enemy, violent reaction and unjust reaction. But that is reality. Mozambique and, to a lesser degree, Botswana and Zambia have been attacked. They have been attacked by racists who are still offering resistance in order to maintain their supremacy in every country in southern Africa.

Angola is not at the moment speaking on behalf of the frontline states, but is speaking as a frontline state to say that our support for the countries of Southern Africa will not be merely a collection of words, but concrete acts which will express our solidarity with the peoples of other countries.

At this meeting the delegates will take decisions. May the comrades who are still fighting for independence and liberty, who need arms, training camps, food, uniforms, boots, caps, money, blankets, rucksacks, tents, be able to collect these material goods from every African country. And if we independent Africans philosophically understand these problems of liberation, what can we do from a material point of view? Let us contribute to the liberation of our continent in a concrete way. At least Angola is politically able to give not only material aid, even if this means sacrifices for the Angolan peoples. We are going to make a material contribution to the other peoples of Southern Africa. Each African country has internal forces able to bring about revolutionary change. Nevertheless it is necessary to speed up the transformation, our duty to contribute to this magnificent process of liberation through which we are now living.

I hope that this meeting will make a genuine contribution to the advance of the liberation struggle in Africa — in armaments, in air and land transport, in food — a contribution which will be budgeted for by every African country. In this way we will be worthy of ourselves.

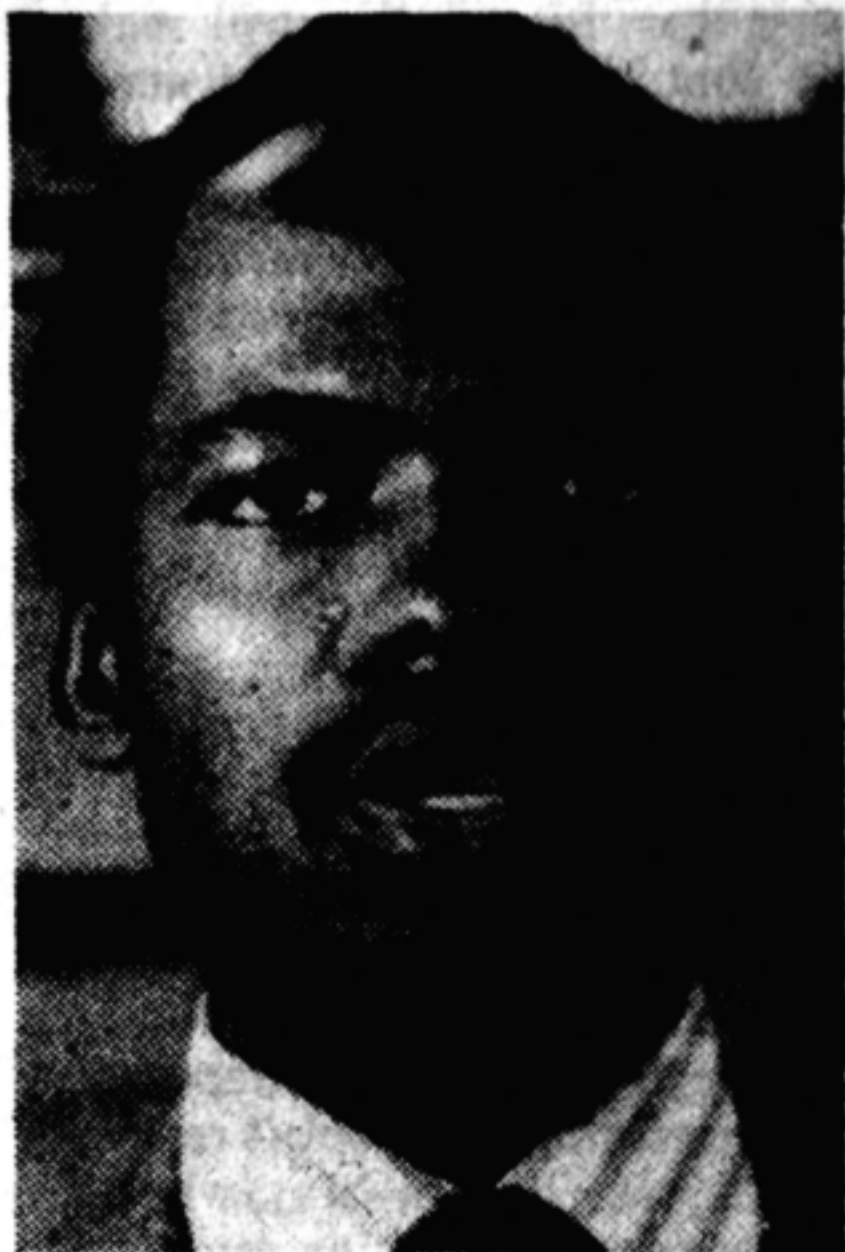
The struggle continues! victory is certain!

## Joaquim Chissano

Comrades; we are meeting in Luanda, capital of the PRA, at a moment when, with their weapons still in their hands, the Angolan people, led by the MPLA, are fighting the manoeuvres of imperialism aimed at destroying the people's regime of Angola. It was on 27th May when the preparations for this meeting were in full swing, that splittist individuals, controlled by international imperialism, tried to divide the people, to weaken the Angolan people and remove the esteemed leader of the Angolan people, Dr Agostinho Neto, and thus remove people's power from the Angolan working masses.

Long experience of struggle of the Angolan people against colonialism, internal reaction, external aggression and mercenaries once again enabled the MPLA to unmask the manoeuvre and neutralize reaction. The MPLA and the Angolan Government knew that this imperialist manoeuvre was not only confined within their borders, but was aimed at destabilising the independence of all independent African countries and obstructing the achievement of total independence of the peoples in southern Africa. It was thus that despite sacrifices, despite the practical difficulties of a country which has just freed itself from the colonial yoke, and despite the difficulties created by imperialism, the MPLA, Government and the Angolan people spared no effort to create these superb conditions for our meeting.

Comrades, the best way to thank our brothers for their sacrifices would be by



**Foreign Minister Joaquim Chissano  
of PR Mozambique**

adopting correct positions at this meeting. We must decide here to support, in a positive manner, the freedom fighters in Zimbabwe at this moment under the Patriotic Front, the freedom fighters in Namibia under SWAPO — the legitimate and only representative of the Namibian people — and the fighters in South Africa.

We are already fully aware that our liberation struggle is a struggle against imperialism. It is a struggle of the exploited against the exploiters. It is a class struggle. Any hesitation, any excuse intended to retard support for these movements in their struggle for liberation would put us on the side of the manoeuvres of the imperialist powers. The imperialist powers intend to divide the classes, to weaken the liberation movements and hamper the conquest of power by the popular masses in Zimbabwe, in Namibia and in South Africa. Not satisfied with this manoeuvre, the imperialists resort to destabilising sovereign states in Africa by using every means from economic sabotage — creat-

ing conditions conducive to under-production — to armed aggression.

Thus, while the PRA was faced with an attempted coup, the People's Republic of Mozambique was once again attacked in an unprecedented manner by the combined forces of the racist regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa. This is a challenge to the liberation movements, to the Coordination Committee for the Liberation of Africa and to the OAU in general. We must not let the enemy intimidate us. We must not let the enemy continue to gain time to consolidate his manoeuvres of Turnhalle and of the so-called peaceful settlement of the Rhodesian problem.

These settlements do not satisfy the interests of the popular masses of those countries. The international conference, which was jointly organized by the UN and the OAU in Maputo in support of the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe, drew up the masterplans of action which the international community must implement to speed up the process towards the achievement of independence by these people. Our committee, which is meeting here, must take much more energetic measures. The Committee must not make unnecessary compromises, neither must it compromise itself to the detriment of the African revolution.

The eloquent speech of President Agostinho Neto, has given us clear guidelines for our proceedings. We hope to be able to draw profitable lessons for these valuable thoughts, because they come from a leader who has been tempered in the struggle and whose internationalist solidarity is known by all of us here.

We reiterate our renewed determination to continue to give our unqualified support to all the peoples fighting for their liberation, regardless of the sacrifices to the People's Republic of Mozambique. We are sure of victory.

Long live the liberation struggle of the African peoples; long live the African revolution; long live the OAU; long live the Angolan people; long live the MPLA. The struggle continues; victory is certain!