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MPLA **PEOPLES MOVEMENT** for the **LIBERATION OF ANGOLA**



Speech delivered on behalf of the African Liberation Movements at 3rd conference of non-aligned countries by Dr. Agostinho Neto, President of the M.P.L.A.

*Mr. Chairman,
Your Imperial Majesty,
Distinguished Heads of State and Government,
Distinguished Delegates
Ladies and Gentlemen
Comrades in Struggle,*

IT IS FOR me very great pleasure to have the opportunity to address the distinguished Heads of State and Government at this Third Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, to fulfil the task entrusted to me by the Representatives of the authentic African national liberation movements—the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) the South West African People's Organisation of Namibia (SWAPO), the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the African Independence Party of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC), the National Liberation Front of the Somali Coast (FLCS) and the National Liberation Front of the Comores (MOLINACO).

The honour granted to the African liberation movements to state their opinions and describe the conditions in their respective countries before Your Excellencies we consider to be a tribute to the heroic struggle of our peoples for independence, democracy and peace. We also consider it to be a just appreciation of our position in the world context on the part of the Non-Aligned countries, which are meeting this time in Lusaka, thanks essentially to the efforts of President Tito of Yugoslavia, whose action on behalf of the African liberation movements is well known.

On behalf of the peoples each of our movements represents, we wish to express our satisfaction at the fact that this conference is being held in an African country whose militant attitude is beyond all doubt.

The fact that Dr. Kenneth Kaunda is presiding over this conference gives us the assurance that the non-aligned countries have in their thoughts and in their programme of work the problem of liberation of the peoples in Africa and the rest of the world who are fighting for the independence, for freedom against racism, colonialism and imperialism.

We militants of the national liberation movements look upon President Kaunda not only as a great leader and a great Patriot, but also a comrade in the struggle who is sparing no effort to show his concrete solidarity with those who are still oppressed in Africa. The builder of Zambia, he is also a pillar of the liberation of the rest of Africa. For this reason his election to the chairmanship of this conference takes on special significance for this occasion and his geographic region. Our national liberation movements express our most sincere satisfaction.

*Mr. Chairman,
Your Excellencies,*

FROM the speeches we have heard at this August Assembly, it is clear that the major preoccupation of the distinguished delegates is the problem of decolonisation and the liquidation of racial oppression.

We believe that the characteristic of this historical period is the existence of irreconcilable forces confronting each other. On one side are the forces fighting in defence of the peace, independence and freedom of the peoples, and their political and social progress; and on the other side are the forces that want to neutralise this historic progress leading to freedom and social progress, i.e. colonialism, imperialism and racism. This is why we note that problems of this nature are extremely acute, as much in Africa as in Asia and other continents.

The situation in South East Asia, especially in Indochina, where the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people against US aggression stands out with vigour and beauty, as well as the struggle of the peoples of Cambodia and Laos and also Korea, the struggle of the Palestinian people and the Arab peoples against Israel's aggression, the struggle of the Latin American peoples against regimes submissive to American imperialism, and also the demands of the Afro-American population, often drowned in blood, are all expressions of this confrontation which extends to other countries too.

In our continent we are openly resisting colonialism and racism.

The armed struggle of the peoples in the Portuguese colonies is constantly advancing and this particular problem must be seen objectively within the African context.

Facing the most anachronistic type of colonialism, the patriotic liberation forces are steadily extending their zones of influence, so that in Guinea Bissau more than two-thirds of the country is under the PAIGC's effective control, in Mozambique the districts of Nyasa and Cabo Delgado, more than a fifth of the territory, are under Frelimo's control, and in Angola the MPLA controls more than a third of the total area.

South Africa's racist forces have intervened in Zimbabwe to counter the joint liberation operations of ANC and ZAP, while in Namibia Swapo is developing sustained action for the reconquest of rights usurped from its people.

For obvious reasons, this very same South Africa is becoming more and more involved in the colonial war in Angola and Mozambique, providing the Lisbon government with economic, technical and military aid.

This has not prevented the building of an independent life in the liberated areas of the Portuguese colonies through the organisation of defence, production, education and medical care, despite the difficult war conditions. Moreover, at no time have the peoples of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia ceased to fight by all possible means for the liquidation of the violent racial and economic oppression of a minority which does not conceal its expansionist aims.

The Non-Aligned countries, which are presented at such a high level at this conference and which are perfectly aware of this situation, support our struggle and their statements have assured us that we are working together in defence of justice.

However, the Portuguese colonialists have not disarmed. The racist minority regimes have not yet been defeated. Our action must therefore be sustained up to the end.

Since most countries in the world are on their side, the African liberation movements are also conscious that they are defending the common cause of humanity in their countries. Ours is a common fight.

On the Guinea, Angola and Mozambique fronts, in the struggle of the peoples of South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia, the Somali Coast and the Comore Islands, the stability and security of the other already independent African countries and people are also being defended. In Vietnam imperialism is being forced to put a brake on its aggressiveness.

This unity of being and fighting also requires joint action. The weaknesses of some are obstacles to the fight of others.

For this reason we feel solidarity with other peoples at the same time as being recipients of their solidarity.

This is why I should like to stress a few factors which might be of help in more effectively advancing this common struggle for the independence of the peoples, their freedom and progress.

Our material needs are well known and they relate essentially to funds, military equipment, transport facilities and requirements for reconstruction in the liberated areas

There is a scandalous disproportion between the financial means of the enemy we are facing in Southern Africa (Portugal South Africa and Rhodesia) and those of the liberation movements

As far as military equipment is concerned, our inferiority is flagrant. Despite this, the effective control of the liberated areas and the steady expansion of the combat fronts are clear proof of the determination and firmness with which we are fighting to win or die for our countries, our peoples, our independence and Dignity.

For our common cause, for our freedom, we appeal to the countries presented here for concrete aid in arms and funds to meet our most pressing material needs.

I avail myself on this opportunity to express our great satisfaction at the practical way in which his Excellency the Prime Minister of Guyana approached this problem yesterday.

We thank his Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Somalia for his kind words about our speech to the Assembly of African Heads of State in Adis Ababa.

We extend particular thanks to our friends, a great African militant, His Excellency the President of the People's Republic of the Congo for his objectivity and commitment to the national liberation struggle.

The armed struggle we are waging does not allow us constantly to go from conference to conference, from country to country, without precise objectives. War is not compatible with the oratorical slowness of eloquent speeches or with time bureaucratically intervening between intention and decision, between decision and implementation.

War is something immediate. Its needs are immediate and practical. Therefore, immediate action is required.

We therefore repeat our appeal for immediate action from the Non-Aligned Countries. Our main needs are funds, arms and transport facilities.

We think it appropriate at this Conference of Non-Aligned Countries to recall the wish expressed by the eminent Heads of State and Government that one should not confine oneself to resolutions. We expect from Your Excellencies concrete solidarity to the extent of the actual possibilities of each country.

We are of the opinion, Your Excellencies, that the time has come to go beyond pious condemnations and recommendations.

We hail the conference's decision to receive in this hall and hear the delegation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. The PGR of South Vietnam is the true, real and total expression of the people of South Vietnam and that its voice should be heard here, in full, is for us all both a requirement and an honour.

We hail the Cambodian Government led by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, which is the Government of the Cambodian people and which adheres to the principles and political positions in defence of which we are assembled here.

We hail the people of Palestine and we would like to see their organisation represented here, in the same place as ourselves.

As regards the African national liberation movements which are acting consistently for our liberation, which control part of our territories and which have popular support in each of our countries, they are entitled to recognition of their legal personality in the community of nations.

This is the meaning of the recommendations of the Rome Conference in Solidarity with the struggle led by FRELIMO in Mozambique, the MPLA in Angola and the PAIGC in Guinea Bissau, recognised by 177 delegations from 64 countries as the true representatives of the peoples they are leading in their armed struggle for independence and national reconstruction.

By receiving the leaders of the liberation movements of the three continents to express to them the Catholic Church's support for the peoples still suffering colonial domination and racial oppression, his Holiness Pope Paul VI made the conclusion of the Rome Conference more universal.

The recognition of the authentic liberation movements by each of the Non-Aligned Countries as the true and legitimate representatives of their peoples, with all the consequences that this implies, notably that of being listened to on affairs which concerned their own countries, would then be a simple act of justice.

This attitude could then be taken to the United Nations where, as at this Conference, the illegality of the Portuguese presence in our countries should be declared and the Security Council forced to implement to the letter articles 41 and 42 of the UN Charter. Since the colonialist and fascist Portuguese regime is persisting in its refusal to comply with the General Assembly's decisions, it should be expelled from all UN bodies and specialised agencies. Such measures should also be taken against the racist minority regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia.

We also think that the liberation movements which are leading the struggle in each country should be present in the UN's specialised agencies. The vast areas under the control of liberation movements should enjoy a status which would permit it bilateral contact with independent cou-

tries and cooperation with them, in the same way as exists for the developing countries of our continent. Indeed, the Portuguese colonies are today countries partially occupied by foreigners where there is already a new national authority.

We should like also to propose to Your Excellencies, in connection with the commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the founding of the UN and of the 10th anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, that a special session of the General Assembly be devoted to the national liberation movements, in order that their legitimate representatives may address the representatives of all the peoples in the world. And the UN, which has already recognised our right to independence, should now be able to grant us material aid, setting up the appropriate body.

Furthermore, we consider that this Conference of Non-Aligned Countries — because they are concerned about the fate of our peoples — could also envisage taking a positive stand against imperialist powers which are giving massive aid to the colonialist regimes of Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia, like the United States of America, Federal Germany, Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, Japan and many others.

The Non-Aligned Countries must make these countries feel that it is thanks to their complicity that colonial domination is being maintained in Southern Africa and persuade them completely to change their attitude, already unanimously condemned by world opinion.

We should, therefore, like to suggest that this Conference of Non-Aligned Countries support and accept on its own account the decision taken by the OAU to send delegations to countries which are giving their support to the colonialist and racist regimes of Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia, in order to dissuade them from collaborating in the slaughter of our peoples.

Mr. Chairman,
Your Imperial Majesty,
Your Excellencies.

On behalf of the African Liberation Movements, of which I have the honour to be the spokesman at this Conference I express our heartiest thanks.
Thank you Mr. Chairman!