

Mr. Chairman,

Your Imperial Majesty,

Your Excellencies, the Heads of State and Government of the O.A.U.

Comrade leaders of the National Liberation Movements, Comrades and Brothers,

Gradually, what appeared to us 10 years ago to be only a dream — the unity of Africa — is taking form, is being concretised. It started as a hope, as a venture. It was born of the awareness that Africa, mutilated by colonialism and imperialism, could not survive if each of its parts were to close itself off and face the common enemy alone. It was born of the conviction that Africa still under political domination had to be liberated, if the independence of the other African nations were to have any meaning. It was also born of the ideal and the bonds of fraternity and solidarity at the Continent-wide level. It was born of our will.

We are meeting here today to analyse the results achieved in the process of making this ideal take on material form. We have come to assess our victories and defeats. How far have we gone along the road of unity, in the 10 years of the O.A.U.'s existence? What role has the O.A.U. played in the struggle for the liberation of Africa? To what extent has Africa been able to contribute to the building of a world of freedom, progress and peace, the aspiration of us all? In short, how deeply have the African states lived by the principles and objectives laid down for the O.A.U. in May, 1963?

Mr. Chairman,

Taken as a whole, the O.A.U.'s record over the past 10 years has undoubtedly been positive. The O.A.U. has played an important role in solving border conflicts between African states; it has encouraged the creation of regional economic



groupings; it has promoted inter-African exchanges in different fields.

But it is in the contribution to the progress of the liberation struggle that the O.A.U. has earned the greatest merit. Today the armed struggle is steadily spreading to new areas of Mozambique, Angola and Guiné, where vast regions have been liberated. There the people are building a new life and enjoying for the first time the attributes of sovereignty, under the leadership of their liberation movements. In the other countries under fascist regimes the struggle is developing.

The O.A.U. has made an important contribution to this — promoting unity between liberation movements, providing political support, funds and material, channelling external aid. Even in the cases where African countries have decided to give aid directly to a specific liberation movement, they have done so in the spirit of the O.A.U.

It is true that the O.A.U. support for the liberation movements has been far from sufficient, especially considering the possibilities of the African states and given the fact that the O.A.U. Charter states that Liberation is one of the prime objectives of the Organisation. It is also true that the second main objective laid down in the Charter — the political unity of the African countries — has remained by and large a dead letter.

This, however, should not affect our confidence in the O.A.U., but should instead demand of us that we seek the causes of our shortcomings and draw up a new strategy for the second decade. This is the correct stand to take, and the only one which will make it possible to defend the independence of the African States and to win the freedom of dominated Africa. In the face of the alliance, increased military strength and growing aggressiveness of the colonialist and racist regimes of Southern Africa, and the ever greater involvement of the

NATO powers — only one Africa consciously united in its support of the liberation struggle and in its efforts to achieve economic development will be able to emerge victorious.

It is towards this aim that the O.A.U. should direct its action, now with more vigour, in the coming decade: firstly to hasten the liberation of the African Continent from the last vestiges of colonial oppression. Concretely, this means stepping up the political, material and financial support for the liberation movements; isolating Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia internationally; and making all of Africa share the sacrifices now being made by countries adjacent to ours, which are so selflessly committed to our liberation war.

Secondly, to unite the forces of the politically independent countries to win economic independence.

These objectives do not differ, in essence, from those originally set by the O.A.U. But they have fallen short of fulfilment because the full participation of the people has not been engaged. The African people do not really know about our liberation struggle. Support for our struggle is dependent on the sympathies of individual leaders and governments, and tends to vary accordingly. This explains why African support is so unequal, limited and unstable. It is necessary to make them understand the inseparability of their destiny and ours. Only thus will the O.A.U. fulfill its historic mission.

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Your Imperial Majesty,

Your Excellencies, the Heads of State and Government of the O.A.U.,

Comrade leaders of the National Liberation Movements, Comrades and Brothers,

We are celebrating ten years of common efforts, of common

struggle, of victories and failures too, ten years in the life of a Continent which is charting a path of progress, advancing and evermore clearly defining the role and extent of Africa's participation in the construction of a world of freedom, dignity, independence and peace.

Let us, therefore, pay grateful tribute to those who drew up the Charter of African Unity in Addis Ababa ten years ago. Let us pay tribute to those who have given their lives, who have fallen in the struggle to build a free and united Africa.

Let us pay tribute to the peoples of Africa.

On this day of celebration, of unity, we the Mozambican people, fighters of the Mozambican Revolution, FRELIMO, hail the peoples of Africa, the Heads of State and Government of Africa, the leaders of the Liberation Movements, and we pledge to commit ourselves increasingly with our work, with our blood, with our sacrifices, to the liberation of Africa, and to building unity among the peoples of our Continent.

Long Live African Unity! A Luta Continua! Independencia ou Morte Venceremos!

> Samora M. Machel President



