

ANC INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE

ARUSHA, 1-4 DECEMBER 1987

MESSAGE DELIVERED BY TEODATO HUNGUANA, MINISTER  
OF INFORMATION, PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE

Comrade Oliver Tambo, President of the ANC

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Comrades members of the ANC leadership

Comrades members of the CCM leadership

Ladies and Gentlemen

Comrades and Friends

The Frelimo Party and the government of the People's Republic of Mozambique join all the participants in this important forum in greeting the ANC, dean of African liberation movements, and congratulating it on the occasion of its 75th anniversary.

To speak of the ANC and celebrate its 75 years is essentially to speak of the hard, heroic and difficult struggle of the African peoples for their freedom. It is to speak of the resistance by African peoples from generation to generation to colonial occupation and domination.

South Africa was a victim of the same colonial occupation and domination that affected the rest of Africa, removing the historical initiative from the African peoples and denying them the condition of subjects in the historical process.

The endeavour for freedom on our continent has been a long saga that is only now, in Southern Africa, reaching its end.

It was during this complex process that South Africa transformed itself into the last and strongest bastion of the oppression and exploitation inherent in colonial domination.

The reason for this is simple: when South Africa was decolonised power was not handed to the slaves, the exploited, the oppressed ----- that is to say, the colonised. Power was handed to the slave master, the exploiter and oppressor ----- those who were colonising the country. As in historic terms no people or class will commit suicide, the boers and South African whites in general never renounced their former condition as slavers, oppressors and exploiters ----- that is to say as settlers. They conserved the iniquitous and immoral privileges of this condition by every possible means, systematising and institutionalising them in the apartheid regime.

This is why the struggle of the South African people, the ANC's struggle, is still a liberation struggle that will finally crown the freedom of African men and women and the freedom of Africa from that most monstrous relic of colonialism .. apartheid.

Dear Comrades

We Mozambicans, when we speak of the struggle in South Africa, speak of something that we know to be the continuation and culmination of our own process of liberation. Mozambique and its sister countries of the Front Line States know better than anybody the truth that until South Africa is freed from the vicious apartheid regime the independence and sovereignty of our states are permanently at risk.

So we are not speaking about something far away, something that only concerns **South Africans**. We are not speaking about supporting the South African cause, about material or moral support for our brothers. We are speaking about something that concerns us directly.

We are speaking about how we can get rid of the apartheid regime that

bears down on the whole southern region of the continent like an intolerable scourge.

Today apartheid is no longer a question of South Africa alone, it is a regional question. Today, in order to survive and impose its hegemony on the region, the apartheid regime is colonialist in Namibia, invader and occupier in Angola, destabiliser in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Zambia. To defend apartheid the regime does not hesitate to strip in broad daylight and put on the garments of ultra-colonialism... and so we witness the extraordinary sight of the head of the Pretoria regime visiting his troops in invaded and occupied southern Angola. It is Nazi-style, Hitlerian - straight from his ideological source. For Pretoria, it is normal procedure. We in Mozambique saw this when the Pretoria regime sent a member of the government to the armed bandits' base in Gorongosa... those armed bandits that it recruits, trains, arms, infiltrates and loads with the aim of destroying Mozambique and reducing it to a bantustan.

For its own survival apartheid thus moves from the domination of the South African people and the colonization of Namibia to ultra-colonialism. This is the dimension of the threat that Pretoria poses to the whole of Africa, and to world peace and security.

Dear Comrades

We who live on the frontier between freedom and oppression, between independence and domination, have already paid an extremely high price in this struggle. A price that is expressed in terms of obscene massacres inside and outside South Africa, in terms of economic and social infrastructures destroyed, in terms of social life disrupted, in terms of a misery that is organised and imposed on our peoples on a massive scale.

We are paying a price that is already expressed not merely in terms of

interrupting development, but of causing regression. Forcing people to retreat to the age of hunting wild animals or gathering fruits. Transforming men and women from gregarious beings organised in a community into scattered individuals wandering through an empty land where terror reigns. This, comrades, is the price that the survival of apartheid, the Nazism of our time, is costing.

From our point of view, therefore, and from that of the Front Line States the hesitation of some sectors of the international community, when methods for the quickest and most efficient elimination of the apartheid system are discussed, is both unacceptable and immoral.

Why such hesitation in moving from moral condemnations to the taking of effective, efficient and adequate measures against apartheid?

Why so much hesitation, why so much prevarication?

Why so much argument around secondary aspects of the measures to be taken rather than around the main effects?

Is it because the victims of apartheid who are dying on a vast scale in South Africa and the neighbouring countries are black?

Is it because the states that are attacked, destabilised, invaded and occupied are African?

Is it because the perpetrator of genocide, the aggressor, the destabiliser, the invader and occupier is white?

For how long will we have to pay the high price of the accommodation by some and the complicity of others with apartheid? Those who oppose violence in South Africa pretend that its origin is in the ANC. They want to pass over the fact that the regime is intrinsically violent, lives from violence and is a permanent generator of it within and outside its borders. We think that these people, consciously or unconsciously, share the very preconception of the apartheid regime -- that violence

is to be condemned only when it affects the whites in South Africa.

The violence that is inflicted by the regime, because it only affects blacks, is not violence.

Then, on the other hand, they advocate the elimination of apartheid by peaceful means, it is nothing more than rhetoric. The means to accelerate the peaceful end of apartheid are in their own hands. But they refuse to use these means and argue that sanctions would affect primarily the victims of apartheid, that they would harm the neighbouring countries and finally that it is not their intention to destroy the South African economy.

They are thus against apartheid and against sanctions. They are waiting for apartheid, like a rotten fruit, to fall by force of gravity alone.

Nothing could better serve Pretoria's plans. This is why we reach the conclusion that those who are simultaneously against violence and against sanctions are objectively for maintaining the apartheid regime.

The South African people have already suffered too much, and want apartheid eradicated by any action that will be efficient in achieving this objective quickly.

The peoples of the neighbouring countries have already suffered too much and want apartheid eradicated by any action that will be efficient in achieving this objective quickly.

Nobody is trying to destroy the South African economy. What we want is the destruction of the apartheid system. Violence can destroy

the South African economy. Sanctions, speeding up the peaceful end of apartheid, avoid not only the destruction of the South African economy but above all the destruction of society in South Africa.

From this conference we raise our voice to salute the important work that has been done by many parties and non-governmental organisations to put pressure on Western governments to take effective action aimed at ending apartheid. Through their actions they are speeding up the birth of Southern Africa's future. A future of freedom, independence, equality and progress.

Those who are backing the SADCC must be consistent with this bet on the future. Consolidating the SADCC and making it work require the elimination of apartheid and the natural integration of South Africa into this regional organisation.

Investing in the SADCC or helping the Front Line States cannot and must not take on the nature of compensation for the damage caused by apartheid. Investing in the SADCC and helping the Front Line States can only be consistent, logical and just when it is combined with effective action for the elimination of the apartheid system.

Dear Comrades

To end we would like to salute once again the ANC and its courageous leadership. And to say that we have been, are and will be with the ANC in this struggle that is all ours -- Mozambicans, Tanzanians, Zambians, Angolans, Botswanas and Namibians.

We salute the different forces which inside South Africa are opening up breaches in the laager of apartheid, from the UDF, the trade unions and students to the sectors of the white population which have begun a

Dialogue with the ANC in search of ways towards the future of South Africa for all South Africans.

These emerging forces are also fruit of the struggle led by the ANC, because without this struggle they would not have appeared as active participants in the transformation of South Africa into a country of freedom, equality, democracy and progress.

May the echo of our voices ring across the distance and reach the cells of Pollsmoor to give Nelson Mandela the message that

The struggle continues

Victory is certain.