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## AGÊNCIA DE INFORMAÇÃO DE MOÇAMBIQUE

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SPEECH OF PRESIDENT SAMORA MACHEL AT THE SIXTH  
CONFERENCE OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT OF  
THE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES.

HAVANA, SEPTEMBER 4, 1979.

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE

Your Excellency

FIDEL CASTRO RUZ

President of the State Council of the Republic of Cuba

Your Excellencies

Heads of State and Government of the Non-Aligned Countries

Your Excellencies

Presidents of the national liberation movements

Your Excellencies

Ladies and Gentlemen

Mr. Chairman

We would like to convey to your Excellencies, and through you to each of your peoples so worthily represented here, a message of friendship, solidarity and respect from the Mozambican people.

We send a special greeting to the Cuban people, their Government, the Cuban Communist Party and to President Fidel Castro Ruz.

We are meeting in the liberated territory of America, the area in which imperialism was defeated. Here neither aggression, manoeuvres, threats nor blockades could prevent the people from freeing themselves and advancing and consolidating the revolution. We are meeting here because the socialist revolution made it possible for Cuba to become the steadfast front line in the anti-imperialist struggle in Latin America, a vanguard force in the effective promotion of genuine ideals of non-alignment.

The Cuban people, descendants of those who crossed the ocean in chains, bear witness today that the chains can be broken, and that peoples can free themselves from misery and underdevelopment.

They can build a new order corresponding to the interests of the working masses. Our respected comrade and friend Fidel Castro Ruz, President of the State Council of the Republic of Cuba, unites the great virtues and courage of the Cuban people. In him we find an intransigent fighter against imperialism, a leader famed for his victories, a modest and deeply human militant, a determined and effective defender of unity and solidarity between peoples and mutual support between all of us. We congratulate him on his unanimous election to the Presidency of the Non-Aligned Movement. For us his leadership is a guarantee that our principles, and the progress of our cause, will be defended.

We also salute His Excellency Julius Richard Jayewardine, eminent leader of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka. During the last three years, under his guidance, we have preserved our unity and consolidated our strength in the face of our permanent enemy's innumerable manoeuvres aimed at dividing our movement.

Your Excellencies

We salute this summit of the Non-Aligned Movement.

We salute the growth of our strength, we salute unity against colonialism and tyranny, we salute determination in the fight against racism, apartheid and Zionism, we salute our countries and peoples commitment to the struggle for political, economic, social and cultural liberation.

Today we see our ranks expanded.

Already with us as full members are SWAPO of Namibia and the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, the legitimate and authentic representatives of their peoples. They are with us because we and the liberation movement comprise a complete whole. The Non-Aligned Countries form a movement for the global liberation of mankind. It is therefore just that those who, arms in hand, offer their lives for these ideals should participate as full members of the Movement.

Our expansion can also be seen in the triumph among us of the ideas of freedom and democracy. We are a broad front with a wide range of political options.

However, some of these options go fundamentally against our peoples' most legitimate ideals, and are in frontal opposition to the raison d'être of the sacrifices made by our peoples. For this reason the peoples' struggle and their determination have cleansed our ranks of impurities that they still contained, and that distorted our fight. The defeat of tyrannical regimes, and the emergence of democratic systems geared towards peoples' progress and well-being, the triumph of forces that prize peace, and of respect for our principles, fortify the Non-Aligned Countries, and make our moral and political strength more homogeneous, more coherent and more efficient.



It is by purifying our ranks that we gain new strength and widen the broad front that we already are. It is by purifying our ranks and widening the front for progress that history irreversibly advances. This is the way our family becomes ever more numerous, stronger and more united.

We warmly greet new countries joining our cause. We greet the Patriotic Front, Grenada, Bolivia and Nicaragua on joining us. We also greet Costa Rica, Dominica, St Lucia and the Phillipines, which expand our ranks by becoming observers. In Iran, Nicaragua, Uganda, Kampuchea, Equatorial Guinea and Grenada the people's struggle, supported by international solidarity, especially from neighbouring countries, put an end to despotic, inhuman, warlike expansionist regimes. The internationalist solidarity and help given in these struggles are in line with the ideals of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Supporting peoples in overthrowing tyranny, supporting peoples in hindering the criminal actions of expansionist warlike regimes does not constitute intervention or interference in internal affairs. It is a duty of all the Non-Aligned Countries, which by definition must strengthen and prize the cause of democracy and peace. This type of support is our solidarity proclaimed by non-alignment. It is to go beyond words to deeds. For this we salute the fraternal support which led to the overthrow of the evil dictatorships of Somoza in Nicaragua, Idi Amin in Uganda and Pol Pot in Kampuchea.

The fall of the Iranian regime had a profound effect on one of the most important accomplices of racist, apartheid and Zionist systems. The fall of the Idi Amin and Pol Pot regimes liberated the Ugandan and Kampuchean peoples and ended the actions launched by these evil dictatorships against members of the Non-Aligned Movement. The victories of Managua and Malabo destroyed family oligarchies that turned the countries into their personal property and the people into their slaves. Above all, these victories forced a redefinition of imperialist strategy in the various zones in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

With profound feeling, we salute the presence of these new regimes in our midst. They represent the final struggle of their peoples for freedom and human dignity which were utterly destroyed by self-seeking tyrannies in the service of foreign interests.

We must, however, state that with indignation we discover that the State of Kampuchea's seat remains vacant. The People's Republic of Kampuchea and its People's Revolutionary Council represent the reality of the battle and of the sincerity of the heroic Kampuchean People. The People's Republic of Kampuchea, which under still tragic conditions is healing the wounds inflicted by an insane, warlike tyranny, expresses the new ideals of peace and progress.

Why does this seat remain vacant? It is said that there is no consensus among us

on who represents the people and government of Kampuchea. Then if there is no consensus we must ask each one if we agree or not to condemn the massacre of men, women and children. Do we agree or not to support the just struggle of peoples against tyranny and genocide. It was the massacre of men, women and children, it was the insanity of a tyranny - which everyone recognises, including those who defend Pol Pot - which characterised the so-called Democratic Republic of Kampuchea.

In the recent history <sup>of</sup> mankind we find an equally evil parallel only in the cold and systematic rationality of Nazi Germany. Pol Pot classified the population to be eliminated. We ask then, why is it that some defend Pol Pot? In Africa, to defend Pol Pot means to defend Idi Amin. In Africa, to defend Pol Pot means to defend Macias Nguema of Equatorial Guinea. They argue the defence of the principle of non-interference. What is interference? The Portuguese colonialists and their mentors accused Tanzania, they accused Zambia, they accused the whole of Africa, the socialist countries particularly and the Nordic countries of interference in their internal affairs and their colonies. The followers of Somoza and their mentors accuse Costa Rica, Panama and free Latin America of interference. Lon Nol and the Americans accused Vietnam and the socialist countries of interfering in Kampuchea. Idi Amin accused Tanzania of interfering. Marrocco accused Africa and the Non-Aligned Countries of interfering in Sahara, as Indonesia in East Timor. The participants, at Camp David accuse the Palestians, the arab peoples and mankind of interfering. It is a matter between Egypt and Israel. South Africa accuses Angola and the United Nations of interfering in Namibia. Ian Smith and his patrons accuse all of us of interfering, especially us, the victims of aggression, Is it interference for us to carry out the duty of solidarity? Is <sup>it</sup> interference ~~to~~ support the struggle against imperialism? Is support for the struggle against colonialism, against racism, against apartheid interference? Is the Non-Aligned Countries' active support for the struggle against Zionism interference? <sup>Is</sup> support for the anti-fascist struggle interference? Is it interference to support the struggle of peoples against the genocide of which they are victims? Let us not play with words. Let us be clear and honest on what is interference. To play with words is to be on the road to opportunism and to arrive at betrayal.

Let us respect the peoples' will and advance their struggle, freedom, peace and history. We want to affirm publicly, here, the great esteem and gratitude of the Mozambican people for the Vietnamese people. The Vietnamese people have made the greatest contribution, in the present epoch, to the national liberation struggle, and for us this means to the whole of mankind. The fraternal ties of cooperation, friendship and peace that are being formed between new Kampuchea, new Laos and new Vietnam are a message of hope for peace and progress in Asia.

It is important to support and wish the efforts of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam well in finding a solution in dialogue to the conflict existing with the People's Republic of China. We think they must resolve the conflict on hand and re-establish fraternity between the two peoples. Wars of aggression and punishment only serve imperialist interests. Fraternity, so many times sealed with blood, must be restored for the benefit of all of us.

In referring to Asia, we reaffirm our support for the just struggle of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to defend the people's gains, to peacefully reunite the country and to expel the occupation troops which constitute a threat to peace and security in that zone of the world.

#### DEFINITION AND ROLE OF NON-ALIGNMENT

Excellencies

To repeat what we stated at the Extraordinary Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau in Maputo, we find in the personalities and lives of the originators of the idea of Non-Alignment the *raison d'être* of our existence and the main guideline of our action.

In Marshal Tito, whom we respectfully salute, we find a former anti-fascist guerrilla, the eminent leader in the fight against Nazi atrocity, the unifier of the peoples of Yugoslavia and the fighter against colonialism, and for independence and peace.

In the unforgettable figure of Gamal Abdel Nasser we find the determination of the Arab people to recover their dignity. He was a militant, confident of victory. He never bowed down to imperialism and Zionism and always rejected capitulation. Within the developing countries he undertook effectively the battle to recover the people's rights over their natural resources.

The nationalisation of the Suez Canal remains one of the fundamental landmarks of the struggle of peoples for economic emancipation. Nasser lived the cause of the liberation movement. He was with Palestine, with Algeria in its fight for independence, with the former Congo fragmented by imperialist intrigues, he was the companion-in-arms of Angola, of Guine-Bissau, of Mozambique, of Vietnam. With Kwame Nkrumah a new stage in the struggle for the liberation of the African continent began. He was the first Head of State to perceive the essence of neo-colonialism in Africa. He took on the fight against imperialism. He understood that the independence of Ghana would be fragile and incomplete without the liberation of the African continent and without African unity.

In Nehru we find an anti-colonialist combatant. The man who remained firm, demanding national independence, in spite of arrests and persecution. His was one of the voices that defended peace, one of the forces that steadfastly opposed the integration of his country into the sphere of imperialist domination. He always fought so that his people would not be used as an instrument in the attempt to encircle the socialist camp.

We recall here the memory of Sukarno. Fighting, arms in hand, for the freedom and unity of his country, opposing the lunacy of the cold war, combating colonialism and expansionism, he defended the alliance between all progressive forces in order to bring about the real emancipation of his people.

He always proclaimed that non-alignment, in relation to the power blocs, could not be interpreted as non-engagement in the anti-imperialist struggle. He was firm in defining imperialism as the constant and principal enemy of non-alignment.

In more recent times as Chairman of our Movement, we had in President Houari Boumedienne a militant in the cause of the independence and unity of Africa and the Arab countries, a notable combatant against imperialism, racism and Zionism and a fighter for a New International Economic Order that meets the peoples' interests. To speak of these personalities is to underline the basic features that characterise our Movement and the idea of non-alignment.

It is to affirm that non-alignment is a specific strategy of our peoples to guarantee independence and peace in the face of the cold war imposed by imperialism. It is to affirm that non-alignment is an anti-imperialist strategy for the total liberation of our peoples.

It is to affirm that non-alignment defends the interests of our peoples. It is to oppose imperialist Metropoles continuing to consider peoples and continents as their spheres of influence, their raw material and slave-labour reserves and as sources of new brains.

It is important to emphasise these basic features because imperialism is trying directly or through its mouthpieces in our Movement, to dilute and confuse the realities in an attempt to transform non-alignment into a position equidistant between imperialism and the anti-imperialist struggle - a third force, rival to the blocs. To dilute and confuse in an attempt to convince us that the enemy of non-alignment is the rivalry between certain countries, and finally, that imperialism is not our permanent enemy.

The definition of enemy and of ally results from the definition of what we are and what we want. In spite of these definitions, some in our midst claim that ideology is being introduced in to the Non-Aligned Movement. Yes, there is an ideology. It is this ideology which unites us here. And what is it? Since its inception, our Movement

has had an ideology which has been enriched through five successive summits. In remembering the personalities of our founders, we stressed precisely the basic features of the ideology of the Non-Aligned Movement. This ideology, and there is our problem, is based on the peoples' interests and on the struggle against the exploitation of man by man. That is our ideology. Our ideology is anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, anti-neocolonialist, anti-racist and anti-apartheid. Our ideology is anti-fascist. It is against dictatorships and tyranny. It is a tool for the political, economic, social and cultural liberation of our peoples. The struggle for liberation is, compulsorily, anti-imperialist. It is normal then, that our enemy opposes our ideology and its development. It is just and correct that our enemy is opposed. It is normal that our enemy tries to divide us, saying that ideology in the movement is a recent thing and a bad thing. It tries to be our teacher. Since when did the former colonialists defend our freedom? Since when could imperialism, which oppresses and plunders us, show the way to political, economic and social emancipation?

We reject the advice of the enemy. We ourselves will create our future. We refuse to be mouthpieces of the enemy.

Our peoples are in confrontation with colonialism, with neo-colonialism, with racism, with apartheid, with Zionism. Our countries have their wealth plundered. Our workers find themselves brutally dispossessed of the product of their labour. These are the daily realities we live. To them must be added blockades, territorial occupation, military intimidation, destabilising actions and open aggression. These crimes are not the result of rivalries between superpowers. They are not the product of confrontations between NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

Colonialism, racism, apartheid, Zionism, imperialism, the plunder of our countries, the occupation of parts of our territories, aggression against our peoples, all of this began long before the appearance of socialist countries.

It is precisely with the appearance of socialist countries that the correlation of forces changed in our favour. This is an indisputable fact of history. Imperialism was no longer able to concentrate all of its force against us. Our peoples began to have weapons to neutralise and defeat the armed aggressions of which they were victims. They also began to utilise technological and economic alternatives to overcome the blockades and destabilising actions.

The socialist countries are natural allies of our peoples. There must be no confusion. They constitute a secure rear guard for the triumph of our liberation struggle and for the defence of our economic independence, the foundation on which non-alignment is built.

We make this analysis as a Non-Aligned country which knows and lives the reality of history. We make this assertion as a country attacked daily. We make this/ as a



secure rearguard of the liberation struggle. We make this assertion because socialism, which we are building in our country, makes it possible for the People's Republic of Mozambique to recuperate its natural resources, develop and carry out its internationalist duty.

Excellencies

Anti-colonial struggle is a constant in our midst. Nonetheless, over the last few years we have noted that certain member countries have presented themselves as the heirs to colonial expansionism. The aggression of which the Democratic Republic of East Timor and the Democratic Arab Republic of Sahara are victims are flagrant examples of this reality.

We are ashamed to discuss this, because some of us have already become colonialists. We salute the political courage of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, which with honour and dignity has reestablished peace and friendship with the Saharan people. This should serve as an example for those who still refuse to recognise and accept the national reality of the Saharan and Maubere peoples.

When there are manifestations of colonialism and expansionism amongst us, obviously we will have difficulty in defining these evils as enemies to be combated. It is clear that those who persist in colonialist and expansionist actions have to resort to open or camouflaged alliances with imperialism, betraying the principles of non-alignment. In the same way, if compromises with the Zionist and racist regimes are made in our midst, then in one way or another some of us will be the mouthpieces of the very thing which we struggle against. They will become objective allies of the enemy, they will continually be advocates for capitulations masked as compromises.

They do not recognise the value of our Movement's victories. They are afraid to win new victories and end up betraying.

Excellencies

Yesterday, when our comrade Fidel Castro made an excellent, profound, analytical, dynamic and lively speech, there was an attempt to dilute the speech, to create confusion by going on to discuss whether Fidel Castro's speech is correct or not. We know these manoeuvres. It is the enemy's tactic, an old tactic. Happily, these attempts were frustrated. We congratulate those who participated and spoke yesterday. After the speech yesterday, we are amazed to hear the journey to Jerusalem called courageous.

This is the courage of suicide on the road to death. And when this suicide

drags a whole people behind it, it becomes genocide.

We heard delivering arms and principles into the enemy's hands called combat and struggle. But this is to struggle, to fight against the people's struggle. It is surrender. In the last analysis it is capitulation. It is this courage, this capitulation, this betrayal of the rights of the Palestinian people and the principles which guide the Non-Aligned Movement that they expect, we repeat, that they expect us to baptise. They want the baptism in this hall. Not satisfied with betrayal they want, not just want, they demand our applause.

We broke off relations with Israel at the request of Egypt. Many African countries here broke off relations with Israel, in support of Egypt, because they said that Israel was the permanent enemy of the Arab peoples. Today they say no, not anymore. They want us to substitute solidarity with the peoples' struggle by complicity in the machinations which betray this struggle. They want the Non-Aligned Movement to become aligned with aggression, with the invader, the occupier, with genocide. In short with Zionism, against the right of the Palestinian people and of the Arab in general.

Excellencies

In the history of mankind betrayals are numerous, but we would have difficulty finding a parallel to the capitulationist, the traitor to our principles coming here to claim in public, before such an august assembly, that betrayal is no longer betrayal, that capitulation is no longer capitulation, that the enemy is no longer the enemy. Only the proposal to admit Israel as a member of the Non-Aligned Movement is missing.

They receive weapons from the enemy. For what do they receive the help of Moshe? They said here, in this hall, that the weapons are to aid the liberation movement. My brother Arafat was speaking here and did not thank Israel for its support. We know that, till now, neither the Patriotic Front, nor SWAPO of Namibia nor the ANC of South Africa have received these weapons. So which are these liberation movements? But we see the same weapons in the hands of the terrorists in Salisbury and Pretoria, and they use them with the direct support of Israel.

In Mozambique we have shot down, so far, two Israeli pilots, military pilots ~~and~~ serving Rhodesia. And we thought that we were helping the cause of the Arab peoples. We know that these weapons are going to be sent to Sahara. On whose side? To fight the Polisario Front, the liberation movement, recognised by the O.A.U., the United Nations and the Non-Aligned Movement, which is struggling for the right to self-determination and independence.

From its inception, the Non-Aligned Movement has always taken a clear position in

relation to the question of Palestine and the Middle East. A solution to the problem cannot be found without the Palestinian people exercising their right to self-determination and independence and the recovery of all the Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967.

Because we have always respected the right of peoples to decide freely on their own destiny, we firmly reject the idea that anyone can negotiate in the name of a people without their consent. The PLO is a full member of our Movement. We recognise it to be the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. We believe, moreover, that no agreement on Palestine can be supported by us unless it has been signed or ratified by the PLO.

#### SOUTHERN AFRICA

Your Excellencies,

The Maputo meeting assumed special importance as the first extraordinary session of the Bureau, and as the first session fully dedicated to a single theme- the liberation of the peoples of Southern Africa. That session demonstrated that regardless of political and social systems, regardless of continents we are all united in the struggle against racism, apartheid and colonialism. The unanimity that was so evident in Maputo attested to the vitality and great potential of Non-Aligned Countries.

The liberation struggle in Southern Africa has reached a crucial stage that demands our solidarity towards the national liberation movement and our full understanding of the evolution of events.

My comrade and friend, Michael Manley, made a brilliant presentation of what the Commonwealth Conference in Lusaka was. And so I will make my friend Manley's words, my words.

Imperialist strategy in our region has been to keep alternating between internal and international solutions in a vicious circle. The objective is to spare no means to maintain Zimbabwe and Namibia as South Africa's satellite states within the imperialist sphere of influence, and as springboards for aggression against independent neighbouring states.

The Pretoria and Salisbury regimes shamelessly contravene United Nations' Security Council and General Assembly resolutions. With the more or less tacit complicity of their Western patrons they organise sham elections, and install puppet executives, different from the previous ones only in the colour of their skin. This does not in any way change the colonial, illegal, racist and criminal nature of these regimes. Aggressions against sovereign neighbouring states, members of the Non-Aligned

Movement, continue and are even intensified. The massacres of defenceless people, the arbitrary arrest, the hangings and murders are constantly increasing.

Our Movement must have a clear position. It is true that small reports about massacres of our peoples are becoming routine. What happens in Soweto, at Mapai, at Nyazonia, at Kassinga, in Zambia and in Botswana is routine. The massacres in East Timor and Sahara are routine. The violent expropriation of the Palestinian people and the attacks on Lebanon are routine.

The slaughter by the former Shah Reza Pahlevi, by Somoza in Nicaragua, by Idi Amin in Uganda, by Macías in Equatorial Guinea, by Pol Pot in Kampuchea, by Pinochet in Chile is routine.

Children when they are murdered by fascist and imperialist bullets, are not children, they are only numbers. Women with slit bellies, massacred old people, tortured and murdered men are banal, statistical occurrences in news bulletins. However, when the murderers, the slaughterers, of the people are tried, condemned and executed, then it is front page news.

Then the world becomes emotional about the prime ministers and generals executed in Iran. Then public opinion is touched with pity for the Heads of State and generals executed in Ghana. Then the world is informed of the violation of human rights in Mozambique when mercenaries are tried and executed. And editorials are published in very respectable newspapers on the prospect of executions in Nicaragua.

We reject this type of mystification. We accuse the authors of crimes against the people. The international community and the Non-Aligned Countries condemn the traitors, the murderers, the renegades and the mercenaries.

The Maputo Declaration of our Bureau's Extraordinary Session and the decisions of the Sixteenth Summit of the OAU in Monrovia, oblige us to condemn the internal solutions. It is the intensification of the armed national liberation struggle in Zimbabwe, and the broad masses' identification with the liberation movements that neutralises the sham elections.

Because of increasing internal defeats and international isolation, once again the alternative of an acceptable international solution is being envisaged. Once again the need to negotiate has been recognised.

The opening of negotiations is a victory of the armed struggle, it is our victory. When we say our victory, this means a victory for the Non-Aligned Countries. Nevertheless, in welcoming the convening of an all-party conference on Zimbabwe, we should affirm that we shall continue to support the armed national liberation struggle until its objectives are reached - the recognition and exercise of the peoples' right to complete and total independence.

This victory is also the product of our Movement's firm support for the armed

national liberation struggle. Our duty is to consolidate it through tight vigilance, denouncing any attempt to use negotiations for the tactical objective of gaining time. The Non-Aligned Countries, part of the anti-colonialist and anti-racist struggle, must be an interested party to those negotiations. The Non-Aligned Countries must unite against the colonial and racist powers, ~~applying~~ ~~united~~ ~~and~~, ~~organised~~ ~~pressure~~ ~~against~~ ~~them~~ in favour of the Patriotic Front and SWAPO, the sole, legitimate representatives of their respective peoples and full members of our Movement.

For us to speak of Namibia and Zimbabwe is to speak of South Africa. The definitive solution to the problems of Southern Africa cannot be found without totally eliminating apartheid. For imperialism, South Africa is the strategic centre for the domination of Southern Africa, and the whole of Africa in general. For this reason, if there is struggle in Namibia and Zimbabwe, it is still harder in South Africa.

All imperialism's efforts are designed to protect this forward operational detachment. What is South Africa if it is not the sum of the great economic interests of North America, Great Britain, Federal Germany, France, Israel and the rest of their allies? The military strength of South Africa, including its nuclear strength, lies in support from these same countries.

A population of more than 28 million exists there, but of those 28 million only the four million whites are considered persons. Only four million "boers" are South Africans. The rest are blacks, bantus. They are not people, much less South Africans. They are foreigners <sup>in</sup> their own country.

South Africa must be liberated. South Africa must become, in the end, the home of all South Africans. And this will only be possible when black and white children are simply children. This will be the victory of the A.N.C. It will be the victory of the Non-Aligned Movement. It will be the victory of all mankind over apartheid and over imperialism, which is morally and materially responsible for the existence of this inhuman system.

We of the Non-Aligned Movement must reaffirm our declaration, made at the Maputo meeting, and resolutely support the liberation of the South African people with concrete actions.

#### INDIAN OCEAN

Your Excellencies,

The transformation of the Indian Ocean into a de-nuclearised Peace zone is one of the aspirations of our Movement, recognised by the OAU and the United Nations. The presence of the imperialist military bases on Diego Garcia, Mayote, Reunion and others and the stepping up of militarisation and nuclearisation of the Indian Ocean



are a challenge to the decision of the International Community and constitute a permanent threat to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the countries of the region. The decision to have a Fifth North American Fleet especially for the Indian Ocean can only worsen this situation.

The establishment of demilitarised and denuclearised zones is an important step towards full general disarmament and the transformation of détente into a generalised tendency in international relations.

While welcoming the signing of the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty, SALT II, we nevertheless note that it is still a long way from the total elimination of the arms race, especially the race to build new arms for mass extermination, such as the neutron bomb.

With grave apprehension, we must denounce the active complicity of imperialism in the nuclear arming of the warlike regimes in Pretoria and Tel Aviv.

Our Movement must redouble its efforts for the holding of a world conference on disarmament, which will remove the balance of terror and make genuine international peace and security possible.

#### ECONOMIC LIBERATION

Your Excellencies,

Poverty, hunger, disease, and ignorance are ills which still plague the overwhelming majority of our peoples.

In the soil of our countries, in the waters of our rivers, in our oceans there lies tremendous potential wealth capable of generating the prosperity of our peoples, contributing thus towards the progress of mankind.

The wealth of <sup>the</sup> ocean depths, very justly declared by the United Nations to be the common heritage of mankind, has become one of the main targets of the imperialist onslaught. We witness today the proliferation of manoeuvres to subvert the true objectives of the decolonisation of the seas.

The correct solution to the various questions related to the Law of the Sea is in our view, a fundamental prerequisite for the establishment of a New International Economic Order. Only unity among developing countries can safeguard the interests of mankind against the insatiable greed of the multi-nationals and the imperialists. Already the existence of exclusive economic zones is a conquest for developing countries, since it defends our marine resources. It is in the interest of all developing countries and not just the coastal ones to consolidate the exclusive

economic zones. By consolidating them we avail ourselves of a means of developing the necessary economic complementarity among our countries, which are endowed with different natural resources. In establishing them as zones of economic sovereignty we are better able to defend ourselves against the plunder of the natural resources which exist there. On the other hand an ambiguous definition of exclusive economic zones can only be useful to imperialism.

Imperialism appropriates our minerals and leaves us only the empty holes; it exploits our forests and leaves us only naked and eroded land; it exploits our labour force, entices, and corrupts our cadres, and leaders impedes our progress and subjects us to dependency. The imperialists reserve for us marginal and polluting industries, the medium and small-scale industries which can turn out quick and easy profits through the exploitation of our labour force.

It is in this context that we understand the failures that have beset international negotiations for the restructuring of the world economy.

We are not surprised by the failure of the so-called North-South dialogue. We are not surprised by the inability to take concrete and effective decisions regarding most of the fundamental points for the establishment of a New International Economic Order, which were recently discussed at UNCTAD V. This is normal. Imperialism does not accept our economic emancipation.

The struggle for a New International Economic Order cannot be alien to the violations and subjections imposed upon our economies and to the imperialist attempts to perpetuate them. The struggle for a New International Economic Order must include the right to make use of the human and material resources of our countries for our own benefit. In this context the need to set new prices for the raw materials essential to our development is particularly relevant.

The recent decision to establish military forces in order to intervene against countries which recuperate their own natural resources demonstrates imperialism's arrogance in proceeding with gunboat diplomacy and returns to the classic forms of the colonial era. This constitutes a threat to international peace and security.

The action of the petroleum exporting countries is a significant example of how unity was able to make itself felt on the developed capitalist countries.

In our opinion the increase of petroleum prices was a legitimate action of self defense and control of the resources of the producing countries.

We must, nevertheless, express our concern, because in this process it is the developing countries which do not produce petroleum that suffer the most serious repercussions.

They become importers of inflation and of the distortions generated by the irrational economic policy of the developed, capitalist countries.

At this moment, to overcome the existing contradiction the financial resources of the petroleum producing countries must be combined with the other natural and technological resources of the countries which do not produce petroleum, to promote mutual development. The financial resources must not be used to strengthen those who are plundering and who now threaten us, even with aggression. The political force which is non-alignment must also become reality at the economic level. This is a question of principle. It is one of the main touchstones of our solidarity.

By uniting and coordinating our efforts we must jointly find practical and immediate means of cooperation to overcome this contradiction. We cannot allow petroleum to be used by the imperialists as a divisive factor among us.

Likewise we believe it is urgent for the Common Fund to begin to function as a fundamental instrument for fulfilling the objectives defined in the Integrated Programme for basic products. This way we shall take great strides towards stabilising the prices of our products, against the increasingly tight protectionist barriers that are imposed by the industrialised capitalist countries.

Practical experience has shown that some international financial bodies are controlled by and fundamentally serve the former colonial metropolises and their multi-nationals. The relationship of many of us with those bodies has been of little benefit for our genuine development, but rather a contribution to the increase of the enormous profits of the multi-nationals, imposing limits on national sovereignty and violating the right of peoples to develop along the political and economic path freely chosen by them.

It is therefore imperative to create among ourselves bodies for economic cooperation which promote complementary relationships between our economies, which encourage trade, industry, agriculture and financial, technological and organisational cooperation and ensure a fair international distribution of labour among our countries.

On balance, the two Development Decades and the targets set at Colombo achieved only modest progress in the field of economic development. The successes were small, but

still significant because they resulted from the unity that distinguished our actions.

Economic development and cooperation between member countries of the Movement and other developing countries requires firm political will and commitment from all of us.

We wish to reaffirm our belief that the United Nations system is the most appropriate forum for negotiations leading to fair international economic relations.

The Third International Development Decade must be the decade for the total elimination of colonialism, racism, apartheid and Zionism, the decade for the consolidation of our political independence, the decade for victory in the battle for economic independence.

In carrying out the enormous tasks we are discussing, our Bureau and particularly its Chairman have a special responsibility. To keep the effectiveness and flexibility of the Bureau, it must as in the past continue to be a restricted and representative organ, able to meet and take decisions with the speed required by the situations that arise. The unnecessary expansion of such organs, however much it may benefit private interests, significantly reduces their effectiveness and flexibility.

The appointment of regional Vice-Chairmen would be anti-democratic and would disturb the continuous coordination of the work of our Movement.

The mutual trust among us has so far enabled our chairmen to represent us correctly. It is an achievement of our Movement which we ought to defend and cherish.

#### SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIBERATION

Your Excellencies,

The social and cultural liberation of our countries is an integral part of the national liberation struggle.

We are fighting to reaffirm our personality. We are fighting to reaffirm our downtrodden, humiliated and negated culture, a culture presented as 'primitive habits and custom'.

The recuperation of works of art plundered from our countries, the encouragement of cultural, scientific and technical exchanges, mutual assistance in the fields of

science and technology must, in our view, be considered by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, and if necessary lead to the establishment of specialised bodies, as was done in the case of Information.

Cooperation among us is a prerequisite for our survival. In spite of the diversity of the political and social systems that we represent, we are united by an identical past of suffering and humiliation, a similar present of struggle for the recuperation of our personality, for the liberation of our economy, for social and cultural progress and for the unflinching defense of national independence and peace. We are united in this International Year of the Child by the common decision to do all we can so that our children will be able to live definitively freed from the slavery of hunger, disease, ignorance, poverty and wars of aggression.

Your Excellences,

In this Sixth Summit of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, we once again address our fraternal greetings and our solidarity to all of you.

Here before you we wish to solemnly reaffirm that, as in the past, the People's Republic of Mozambique will carry out its internationalist duty of solidarity to all peoples, and particularly to the liberation struggle of the people of Southern Africa.

Holding the 6th Summit of the Non-Aligned Countries for the first time in Latin America, in Cuba, constitutes a great victory for the anti-imperialist principle which guides us. Holding this Summit in the land of José Martí, where the will for independence and justice, rekindled in the Sierra Maestra, overthrew the despotic tyranny of the agents of imperialism, constitutes, Mr Chairman, a great victory.

Holding the 6th Non-Aligned Summit in Havana, the free capital of socialist Cuba, is the highest point in the decisive victory over attempts to block the peoples' will. Our presence here in such large numbers in itself attests to the victory over the imperialist blockade, bribery, blackmail, corruption and intrigue.

After so many threats and machinations, after so many attempts, pressures, contacts and promises to prevent holding the Summit in Havana, we are here. It is a victory. It means the commitment of each one of our countries and peoples to the Cuban people's struggle against imperialist manoeuvres and aggression. Together, we bring about the final end of the blockade against Cuba, we consolidate our peoples' and our Movement's unity. We say, "let us not allow imperialism to divide us. Let us not allow imperialism to make us its fool. Non-Alignment means all of us aligned in the struggle against imperialism.

A Luta Continua !