

Strengthen the Union - Machel

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MWALIMU Julius Kambarage Nyerere, Chairman of Chama Cha Mapinduzi; President of the United Republic of Tanzania;

Ndugu Ali Mwinyi, Interim Chairman of the Zanzibar Revolutionary Council; Interim President of Zanzibar; Distinguished Members of the National Executive Com-

mittee. We are deeply moved by the honour our brothers in Chama Cha Mapinduzi have accorded the Frelimo Party, in inviting me to address this historic session of the highest body of your Party.

I wish to bring to this great assembly the most heartfelt revolutionary greetings of the Central Committee and all militants of the Frelimo Party. I bring too the deep feeling of fraternity and solidarity of the people of the People's Republic of Mozambique for the great people of the United Republic of Tanzania.

The opportunity granted me to participate in this meeting is unchallengeable evidence of the intimate ties that history has formed and consolidated between our two countries, our two people and their vanguard leadership, Chama Cha Mapinduzi and the Frelimo Party.

Mwalimu Nyerere and dear brothers, I feel myself a part of this meeting, I feel myself a militant of your Party. I feel myself a representative of your brothers and militants who live on the other side of the Rovuma.

The decision to come to the United Republic of Tanzania was taken at the end of January when we learned of the difficulties affecting your progress and harmony. That is why, despite the many obligations linked to the delicate process of negotiations with the Republic of South Africa, we decided to come to your country at this time. This meeting provides an exceptional opportunity for us to learn from your experience, to share your concerns and to offer to each one of you our firm and unconditional support.

We would like to thank you, President Nyerere and the leadership of Chama Cha Mapinduzi, for the trouble you have taken to keep the leadership of the Frelimo Party and the Mozambique Government informed about recent political developments in Tanzania. This information has given us a clear picture of the serious events that have occurred in your country.

Mwalimu Nyerere and dear brothers, we believe that the problems Tanzania faced were due basically to the political ambition of some leaders, which was exploited by external forces intent on destroying the Union, fundamental achievement of the Tanzanian people. These external forces lost no time in enticing prominent members of the Zanzibar Revolutionary Council with promises of economic benefits. They tried to include Zanzibar in their schemes for strategic hegemony in the Indian Ocean, and in their hopes for religious expansionism.

It is our belief that State and religion should always be kept clearly apart. Religion must be subordinate to political power, as has always been the case throughout history. Catholics, Muslims, Protestants, animists — they are all Tanzanian citizens, all find their national identity beneath the flag of the United Republic of Tanzania. The shaping of the Tanzanian nation is a process that began twenty years ago and set an example for our people and for the whole of Africa.

The United Republic of Tanzania is not a country bequeathed by the colonial partition. The United Republic of Tanzania is a creation and achievement of the Tanzanian people. After independence it was the people who defeated neocolonialist forces who sought to perpetuate a division created artificially by colonialism and it was the people who began the process of rebuilding the nation.

This is what imperialism will never forgive you: This is what leads imperialism to work against your unity, against your independence, against your sovereignty, and against your territorial integrity.

But it is also what makes the United Republic of Tanzania a secure rearward in Africa's liberation struggle, an object of pride for the people of our continent.

The Tanzanian people, in their characteristic heroism and independence, in the determination and courage that drives them, in the humanity and simplicity they display, in the generosity and internationalism that win them love and respect, in all

FOLLOWING is the full text of a speech by President Samora Machel of Mozambique he delivered at Dodoma last week-end when he was addressing members of the Party National Executive Committee (NEC).

these ways find the deepest roots of their identity and national personality, their unity as a nation.

No form of discrimination, whether racial or ethnic, regional or religious, can ever destroy the strong base that has been shaped in the past twenty years of your history.

The creation of Tanzania was the consequence of a deep understanding that unity is the most powerful weapon of the poor and the oppressed. Thanks to this unity, thanks to President Nyerere's wise political leadership, the United Republic of Tanzania has become a strong and respected state in Africa and throughout the world.

Internally, Tanzania during the twenty years of its existence has been able to put the correct weight on problems of development, by following a clear line that has allowed it to deal successfully with the effects of international economic crisis, and as far as possible to meet fairly and squarely its people's needs.

The two decades of history of the United Republic of Tanzania have been characterised by steady development in democracy and increasing participation by the people at various levels of government. Throughout the Republic's territory, a democratic atmosphere has been established which is in itself a major victory for the people.

The leadership role of the Party in Tanzanian society has likewise grown, and its links with the masses have been strengthened. Today in every part of the mainland and islands, the flag of Chama Cha Mapinduzi flutters. The people see in your Party the force that drives the process of consolidating national unity, the force that ensures the defence of their interests. Chama Cha Mapinduzi is today the effective guide to the political, economic and social development of Tanzania.

All these victories are victories of unity, they are victories due to the enlightened leadership of President Nyerere and of Chama Cha Mapinduzi.

An attempt today to destroy this unity means a desire to destroy twenty years of historic achievements, means a desire to destroy the irreplaceable symbol of anti-colonial resistance, internationalism and peace that United Republic of Tanzania represents.

It means a desire to wipe out the prestige and huge significance that the word Tanzania has in the world of today.

We cannot allow Tanzania, this living monument of Africa's history to disappear.

We cannot stand idly by when through personal ambition and in support of schemes alien to Africa, a small group tries to bring down the great political edifice that is the United Republic of Tanzania.

We cannot stand idly by when we see so clearly a small group, whose motives are wretched, secondary and contrary to the people's interests, call in question the highest interests of the people, the future of the Tanzanian nation.

We are deeply grieved that this small group has been able to involve in their retrograde manoeuvres such a major figure in the anti-colonialist struggle as Aboud Jumbe. For many years Aboud Jumbe, as Vice-President of the United Republic of Tanzania Vice-Chairman of CCM and as President of Zanzibar, our opinion a determined fighter in the cause of unity, a strong defender of the interests of the Tanzanian people.

In Mozambique we are used to look at Tanzania as the United Republic of Tanzania, as a single and united country even if we know that there is a government for Zanzibar to deal with specific matters of that part of Tanzania.

To us Aboud Jumbe was supposed to look at himself first as Vice-President of Tanzania and then as President of Zanzibar. To us the presidency of Zanzibar is an intimate institution of the government of the United Republic of Tanzania.

But Ndugu Jumbe looked at himself mainly as President of a federal or confederate state. He looked at himself as President of a party which had already disappeared with the creation

of CCM. We hold the views that it was this conception which constituted the base of his mistake.

History will judge with more rigour than we, the reasons why he ended up by failing to act against those who see in the destruction of Tanzania a platform on which to gain their personal objectives.

Mwalimu, congratulations.

The process of liberation of the Mozambican people, which benefited so much from the rich experience of the Tanzanian struggle, has given us a store of experiences that we deem part of the heritage of all African revolutionary forces. That is why we felt it our duty to come to display before you some fragments of our struggle for national unity.

During the armed struggle for national liberation, we witnessed numerous displays of divisionism and some attempts at separatism. There were those who, within the Mozambique Liberation Front, tried to divide our people by tribe, by region, by religious beliefs and by race.

There were those who tried to turn Mozambique against Mozambique because not everyone was of the same religion.

There were those who argued that we first liberate the province of Cabo Delgado, and only later struggle for the independence of the whole country.



President SAMORA

These contradictions were resolved only through a determined and serious struggle against all such retrograde tendencies within our organisation. And blood flowed!

The reactionaries who defended these positions did not balk at assassinating some of our best comrades when they saw as an obstacle in the way of their base objectives: The assassination of the late President Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane was the climax of this long chain of manoeuvres and betrayals. Therefore, *si jinya hapa Tanzania. Wapenda vyeo ni wauaji.*

The true nature of these reactionaries was made crystal clear when they ended by joining the Portuguese colonialists and were unmasked as agents in the service of foreign interests against the people.

Likewise after independence we witnessed enemy manoeuvres corrupt our cadres. Once more we saw divisionism being used as the favourite weapon to weaken our hard-won power.

At a cost of blood and sacrifice we learned the value of unity. That is how we learned to define as an enemy anyone who tried to sow in us the poisonous seed of division.

We should not be surprised that imperialism tries systematically to attack our independence and to destroy our revolution.

There is no genuine revolution without counter-revolution. A democratic revolution inevitably provokes a fascist opposition.

A people's revolution necessarily arouses the hatred of the enemies of the people. A revolution that attacks the essence of exploitation always gives rise to a violent reaction from the exploiters and the over-ambitious, the black-marketeer, the speculator, the hoarder who lives people's sweat is no different from the colonial oppressor. It is the same enemy behind a new mask.

always begin with such activities and end up by committing murders to eliminate those who oppose them.

That is how it has been in Mozambique, in Tanzania; wherever a revolution is made. That is how the revolution was destroyed in Chile, and how the counter-revolution operates in Cuba, as in Vietnam, as in Angola. That is how they worked in the People's Republic of the Congo and murdered President Marien Nguabi. We should learn from the painful events that took place in Cyprus. Let's learn from the sorrow that still prevails in Grenada.

The reactionary is the same everywhere. He is a being devoid of country, devoid of morals, devoid of scruples. What is shameful for you is laudable for him. What is immorality to you is culture to him.

What experience has taught us is that we must be intransigent in defence of our unity, and we must be pitiless in suppressing those who try to destroy it.

That is why — for we share this common experience — we fully understand the problems our Tanzanian brothers are facing. It is also why we pay warm tribute to the measures taken by Chama Cha Mapinduzi and by the Government of the Republic of Tanzania in defence of national unity.

We salute the courage of the National Executive Committee in its forceful defence of the people's cause, the cause of unity.

We salute the clear and steady leadership of our brother, companion in arms and friend, President Julius Nyerere, to whom we express our great admiration, our profound respect and total support.

Once again President Nyerere, has shown himself the indisputable leader of the Tanzanian people, has shown that he is an intransigent defender of the people's interests and of the independence and sovereignty of the United Republic of Tanzania.

Once again President Nyerere has given proof of his leadership qualities, which have won him the love and respect of the Tanzanian people and earned him a prestigious and honourable position in our continent and throughout the world. *Naomba mnisamehe iwapo nitabonekana ninawaingilia mambo yenu ya ndani. Lakini nilisema mimi ni mwenzenu: militant wenu, hivyo nitasema yote ninayoyataka.*

We should like to take this opportunity to say to our brother Nyerere that we believe that Tanzania, the Frontline and all of Africa cannot do without his wise leadership in the troubled period we are experiencing.

We honestly believe that, just as Christ had to bear the Cross to Calvary, it is the destiny of great revolutionary chiefs to lead the revolution to final victory.

Mwalimu Nyerere was born to serve the people, this he has done and this is his destiny.

So, with your permission, we should like to propose to the comrades in the National Executive Committee of Chama Cha Mapinduzi that they should discuss not only the forthcoming election in Zanzibar but also those that are due next year in the whole of Tanzania. *Kama mjumbe wa NEC, Central Committee, ninapendekeza mgombea (uraisi) mwakani awe Julius Kambarage Nyerere.*

Mwalimu Nyerere, Dear Brothers, We shall return to our country enriched by the experience we have gained through being given the opportunity to participate in the work, rich in content and feeling, of this session of the National Executive Committee of your Party.

We shall return more reassured, more heartened, more strengthened to continue the fight.

Your firmness and clarity, your determination to pursue the aims of Chama Cha Mapinduzi, provide today as in the past a source of inspiration.

We shall transmit to the Mozambican people this strength of yours, this warmth of yours, this friendship of yours, this confidence of yours.

We shall transmit to our militants and to our people the determination to continue the fight we read in the face of each of you.

In conclusion, Mwalimu, and dear brothers, we wish to declare solemnly that under the leadership of the Frelimo Party, the Mozambican people will continue to observe the watchword that has inspired us for the past twenty years: *Independencia ou Morte! Venceremos!*
A LUTA CONTINUA!