

Address by the Frelimo Delegation to the Sixth Pan-African Congress

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Almost ten years ago, on 25 September 1964, under the leadership of FRELIMO, the united Mozambican people launched a general armed insurrection against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism, to win the total and complete independence of Mozambique. Over these years we have been able to transform the liberation war into a people's war, enriching and deepening the contents of the national liberation struggle so as to transform the armed struggle for national liberation into a revolution. For this very reason we were able to present to the masses clear and precise objectives which united them in firm determination, thus making it possible for our few weak forces to become numerous and strong. We are, therefore, constantly expanding our people's liberation war reaching the most sensitive economic and strategic nerve centres of the enemy, inflicting continuous and severe defeats on the Portuguese colonial army.

The victories achieved today are shown by the great defeats suffered by the colonial aggressor troops, the expansion of the armed struggle to more than half our country and by the liberation of areas covering about one-third of Mozambique, that is, a little more than 250,000 sq. kms. of our national territory. In these zones about 1.5 million Mozambicans are already living in freedom. At the same time, in the zones still under enemy occupation, there is constant clandestine work for the mobilization and political organization of the people, with the consistent aim of creating the conditions for expanding the armed struggle. These victories are essentially the result of FRELIMO's consistent political work which has made it possible for all of our people, from the Rovuma to the Maputo, to follow our clear and correct political line.

Without any distinction, Mozambicans of all races, ethnic groups, religious beliefs and social origins, young and old, women and men, are demanding national independence and asserting their total identification with FRELIMO's principles and programme. This unity, the decisive factor for our victory, stems from a correct political line. The liberation struggle, and even more so the people's liberation war, is not a technical process but an eminently political act. A people's war is essentially to create conditions for involving the broad masses in the total struggle against the oppressor. Thus the destruction of the enemy's forces is intended to liberate land and people and to create the material conditions to engage fully and freely in the political, cultural,

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economic and social fight with the aim of destroying the foundations of the exploitative society and to establish a new power base. A people's war is therefore essentially a global political process, aimed at establishing a new and popular social order.

What is involved, therefore, is not an idea related to a more or less utopian future. It is a reality which is already apparent in the liberated areas. A liberated zone is not defined by the physical presence or absence of the enemy. In many liberated areas the physical presence of the enemy has not yet completely disappeared. It makes itself felt by the bombing raids and sometimes even by the invasion of helicopter-borne troops. Moreover, in certain regions of our country, especially in Niassa Province, there was not any real physical presence of colonialism, foreign domination being exerted there indirectly through the local feudal authorities. But this does not mean that these were liberated areas. A liberated area is in essence an area where in their daily life the masses of the people fulfil their interests in their various spheres of activity.

There are, therefore, areas where economic and social practices and the structures of power have been profoundly changed. The old social order of capitalist-colonial or feudalistic traditional origin has been demolished and in its place a new social order has been established, based on the power of the working masses destroying the system of exploitation. So the new Mozambican society which is being built on the ruins of the old one gradually distinguished itself from the colonial-capitalist society through practice in the various social fields. The negative aspects of traditional society were rejected and the positive aspects were developed as long as they were against the exploitation and oppression inherent in capitalism and feudalism.

It is not, therefore, a question of abstract or theoretical problems. A tough struggle had to be waged within our organization against reactionary attitudes and tendencies resulting from the scars left by colonial and traditional education, which became major obstacles to the development of the revolutionary process. With the improved living conditions and the coming into being of forms of economic development, there arose a tendency among certain elements to try to restore economic practices of a capitalist type—based on the colonial model—for their own personal benefit. This was particularly apparent in the organizing of trade. Whether through lack of political awareness or out of ambition, in their relations with the people these elements started to copy the practices of the traditional chiefs or, much worse, of the Portuguese administrators who had been driven out. Although in some cases such imitation could have been due to their ignorance of any form of organization other than the colonial one, the main significance of this trend was the putting into effect of a concept of the liberation struggle which meant merely replacing whites by blacks.

The decision on the position to be taken in these circumstances constituted both the background to and the most outstanding aspect of the crisis in our organization which took place in 1968-69. Owing to the popular character of the war, there could be only one outcome to this confrontation :

the one which safeguarded the interests of the masses and opposed the resurgence of exploitation in our areas. Through a hard struggle the popular and revolutionary content of our movement and our political line were thereby safeguarded, ensuring the continued support of the masses and the pursuit of the armed struggle.

Another particularly important aspect of the national liberation struggle is the emancipation of women. This also requires an ideological struggle aimed at their liberation. The fight for the emancipation of women is a necessity in the revolutionary process, a guarantee of its continuity and a pre-condition for its success. Indeed, it is inconceivable to destroy only a part of the old order, since from the surviving roots the system of exploitation will re-emerge. It is not a question of an act of generosity on the part of men dictated by altruistic considerations. The fight of women for their liberation is an integral part of the overall fight of the exploited working masses. It is therefore imperative that women engage in this overall fight, conscious that their struggle is part of a total struggle and rejecting every and any temptation of sterile feminism. Organizationally speaking this means the involvement of women in the movement that is leading the principal fight, regardless of the particular forms that their participation and structural involvement may assume.

Thus defined, the liberation struggle and the revolution are in essence an integral part of the worldwide struggle between the exploited peoples and classes and the world system of exploitation.

In a recent analysis "Establish People's Power to Serve the Masses", comrade Samora Moises Machel, President of FRELIMO writes:

This is why we always say that we are struggling against the exploitation of man by man, of which Portuguese colonialism is today the principal expression in our country. In other words, this means that our objective is to overthrow the power of the exploiting classes in Mozambique represented chiefly by the colonial and imperialist bourgeoisie, and to destroy the colonial state, the essential form of colonialist and imperialist domination in our country.

It is necessary to understand these points clearly. There are nationalists—some naively, because they do not have a developed class consciousness, and others because they are involved in exploitation—who think that the purpose of our struggle should be to establish black power instead of white power, and to elect or appoint Africans to the various political, administrative, economic and other posts which are now held by whites. The former, when they are engaged in practice, understand and accept the need to destroy the exploitative state, while the latter identify with the system and reject the destruction of the exploitative state. In short, for these nationalists who are not entirely satisfied with the colonial power because it is foreign, the ultimate aim of the struggle is in fact to "Africanise" exploitation. This is why they reject our revolutionary ideology, rejecting above all the transformation of attitudes and behaviour that we demand, claiming that this is of no importance to the fight against colonialism. This position is a reactionary position which jeopardises the nature and objectives of the struggle.

For them, our struggle should be a struggle between black power and white power, whereas for us the struggle is between the power of the exploiters and people's power. We have already seen that in an exploitative state all

the machinery of power, the laws, administration, courts, police, and army, are for the sole purpose of maintaining exploitation, of serving the exploiters. The State, government and laws are not neutral instruments which can be used equally by the enemy and by ourselves. Hence the decisive question is not to replace European personnel with African personnel. Just as the colonialists have their way of fighting and we have ours, just as they have their military science and we have ours, so do we have our power and they have theirs. There is antagonism between us and them on the origin, nature, methods and objectives of power. We cannot found a people's state with its laws and administrative machinery based on a state and administrative machinery which were wholly designed by the exploiters. One cannot govern through a state set up to oppress the masses and still serve the masses.

To "Africanise" colonialist and capitalist power would be to make our struggle meaningless. What purpose would the struggle serve if we were to continue to be subjected to forced labour, the companies, and the mines, even if they were all full of African managers and overseers? What would be the purpose of our sacrifices if we were still forced to sell our cattle and cotton on markets where only the traders benefited, even if they were Africans. What justification would there be for so much bloodshed if at the end we are still under a state which, even if it were run by Mozambicans, served only the rich and powerful? How can one maintain a police force which arrests and tortures workers, or keep an army which fires on the people, even if all the generals were to be black?

A state of rich and powerful men in which a minority decides and imposes its will, whether we agree or not, and whether we understand or not, would be the continuation in a new form of the situation against which we are struggling. The question of people's power is the essential question in our revolution.

The question of people's power being thus defined as an essential question for the Mozambican people, one can see the importance of a clear and precise definition of who is the enemy. This definition is fundamental because, in our historical circumstances a superficial or emotional analysis could easily lead to identifying the enemy on the basis of race or skin colour, thereby deforming the true nature of our fight. For us the enemy is the system of exploitation, and the targets on which our weapons are trained are the instruments which perpetuate that system: the armed forces of oppression, the colonial State machinery and the logistic and economic means which sustain the colonial war.

A correct definition of who is the enemy stems from a profound analysis of the interests of the exploited working people. The enemy are those who oppose these interests and perpetuate exploitation, whatever guise they assume to hide their true face. In the course of our struggle reactionary forces in our midst constantly tried demagogically to exploit the existing ethnic differences between our people and the colonizing power, with the aim of making skin colour the criterion in defining the enemy. Obviously this fascist definition served their personal interest which was purely and simply to take the place of colonialism as a ruling and exploiting class. Although in certain circles, whether deliberately or ingenuously, they were induced to classify this reactionary attitude as revolutionary radicalism, it is

necessary to emphasize how this coincides with the enemy strategy. Indeed, the Portuguese colonialists always tried to provoke a racial confrontation. To this end they created special units in the army whose task it is to commit barbarous crimes against the white civilian population, crimes which are then attributed to the FRELIMO forces. The colonialist tried in this way to gain the support of the white population in Mozambique which had been affected by the unequivocal behaviour of FRELIMO, sometimes remaining aloof from the colonial war, or even, in the case of the most aware, forthrightly joining the ranks of the militants. It was FRELIMO's clear, political line followed by the fighters and people that, by heightening revolutionary vigilance, made it possible to detect, unmask and thwart enemy manoeuvres. In fact, the convergence of the intentions of African reactionaries and the Portuguese colonialists to transform the struggle against exploitation into a racial confrontation is not pure coincidence but the result of a common strategy.

Defining the enemy on a racial basis would have the following serious consequences:

1. Confusing friends with enemies, thus enabling reactionary forces to consolidate their presence in our midst solely because they are black. As a corollary, patriotic and progressive sectors of the Mozambican white population would be alienated. This would safeguard the exploitative and capitalist structures in our country, which is the main objective of the imperialist system in our zone.
2. Providing the enemy with people who up to now have refused to become involved in the active defence of colonialism: the white population in Mozambique. Harping on the theme of the genocide of whites in Mozambique, it would be easy to mobilize these people and even to provide certain external forces with a pretext for more open and direct intervention, as proved by the precedent of Stanleyville.
3. Making the Mozambican revolutionary movement isolate itself from the other component parts of the world revolutionary front, notably the democratic forces in Europe and America and the socialist camp.

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The contemporary Pan-African movement is called upon to develop in a period which is extraordinarily favourable for the progress of the revolutionary forces on our continent and in the world. We believe that the present situation requires the clarification of new principles, so as to enable us to make a correct analysis of the main ingredients of the problem and, consequently, draw up an appropriate strategy and tactics.

We must take as the starting point of our action the new States and nations, political and social realities that cannot be ignored or underestimated. By this we also mean that it is necessary to be realistic and abandon the

utopian idea of returning to promised lands because the only promised land is where men are making a revolution and building a new society. This is the paramount criterion we must continually use in defining both our enemies and our allies.

Thus, the Pan-African movement is called upon to transform itself into a force for mobilizing support for the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples and classes, and liberation necessarily means eradicating the causes of systems of exploitation and building societies based on the power of the exploited working masses. It is therefore not only a fight in support of the struggle of the colonized peoples or victims of racialism, but also a fight for political, economic and social emancipation in every country and region.

In this struggle the African peoples and their descendants living on other continents, especially in the Americas and Caribbean are joined together in brotherhood with the other peoples of the Third World, as well as with the other two great component parts of the world revolutionary fronts: the democratic forces in the capitalist countries, and the world socialist camp. Thus the Pan-African movement will open itself to the great tide of international solidarity and contribute effectively to the liquidation of colonialism which has no colour, capitalism which has no people, and imperialism which has no country.

To a great extent the Pan-African movement was born of the struggle of the African peoples and of descendants of our continent who were seized from it and taken to the Americas, the Caribbean and elsewhere. The black Americans are today fighting within the imperialist fortress, where the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist forces are growing stronger and more numerous with each passing day. In full solidarity we are following and being encouraged by the anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist and anti-racist struggle of the American people, and most especially of the black community with which we are united by the painful ties of the heritage of slavery and racial discrimination.

Finally, we wish to hail the victory of the Portuguese people, our ally who has just toppled the fascist regime. Our joy is all the greater in that the armed struggle of the peoples of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique contributed decisively to this victory. This victory shows once again that revolutionary struggles are indivisible and that each one contributes decisively to the victories of the others.

The Portuguese fascist regime has been overthrown, but colonialism continues to exist in our country. Seeking to adopt new formulas, colonialism is now fighting its last battle for survival, trying to frustrate our people of the product of ten years of sacrifices. However, the Mozambican people are vigilant. FRELIMO has already made it clear that the national liberation struggle can only end with total and complete national independence. No manoeuvre or contrivance of the new Portuguese regime will deflect us from our fundamental principles and aspirations: freedom and national independence. There is no democratic colonialism. There is therefore a need for the broad mobilization of African and international public opinion, in the wake

of the historic decisions of the recent assembly of African Heads of State and Government at the OAU in Mogadishu, to lay bare and unmask without any ambiguity the delaying tactics the present Portuguese Government is engaged in.

Let us raise high the banner of national independence and fight for freedom and the liquidation of exploitation in every form. The Mozambican people, more united than ever under the leadership of FRELIMO, will be able to fulfil their national, African and international duty.