

The Movement for Freedom

in

Mozambique

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Paper to be read at

The Mediterranean Congress for Culture

June 20-24, 1964

Palazzo Vecchio
Florence, Italy

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Mozambique is one of the remnants of an old Portuguese empire, which was carved out during the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries in Asia, South America and Africa. In Africa the remnants of this empire include Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (called Portuguese), the Cape Verde Islands and S. Tomé. The largest of these colonies is Angola, although Mozambique is the most populated of them all with a little over seven million people.

The Portuguese claim that they have controlled Mozambique for over 450 years; but in matter of fact, Portuguese control of what is now called Mozambique dates from the middle of the 19th century, when, after the Berlin Conference of 1884-85, European powers scrambled to occupy and hold some parts of Africa. Before then the Portuguese had been satisfied with controlling a small portion of the northern area of the country and some isolated points along the coast, which had remained after they had been dislodged from most of East Africa, first by the Arabs, then by the British and the Germans. At the Berlin Conference, the Portuguese claimed the right of possession over the whole of the East African coast and part of its hinterland down to Natal; but the British did not let them get away with it. A series of litigations followed which ended with Portugal being allowed to control the present territory of Mozambique.

Soon after the Berlin Treaty, Portugal proceeded to negotiate with the various Mozambican rulers who controlled the various parts of the country. Where negotiations did not result in a satisfactory surrender by our traditional rulers, Portugal threatened, and often attacked with the purpose of conquest. The last wars of conquest ended in 1897 with the defeat of General Maguigane, who was the most indomitable of Emperor Ngungunyane's military leaders. This brave son of Africa was so determined to resist Portuguese control of our country that the Portuguese had to kill him before they could capture him, after defeating his army and arresting Emperor Ngungunyane.

The defeat of Maguigane's army was followed by a ruthless campaign of what the Portuguese cynically call "pacification of the native populations", characterized by mass arrests of able-bodied men, sending them to various Portuguese and foreign economic projects in and outside of Mozambique, leaving their wives and children at home. Those who survived were returned

to their areas of origin several years later, but many of them died there and quite a few of those who survived never returned.

Part of the programme of "pacification" involved the encouragement of Christian missionary organizations to establish mission stations, especially in those areas where there had been the most resistance against Portuguese domination. Where Christian churches had already been doing work amongst the African peoples, the Portuguese government offered to cooperate and even subsidize the teaching of the Christian religion to the African people, in order that the Africans may stop opposing Portuguese imperialism. Therefore, it can be said, without fear of contradiction, that right at the beginning of Portuguese colonialism the Christian Church allowed itself to be identified with colonialism and imperialism. We are well aware that the power structure of the time was more favourable to this connivance which the Christian Church allowed itself to engage in with the Portuguese government. We point out this fact especially because so many liberal Christians today are blind to the fact that their own institutions were at least in part responsible for the ease with which colonialism and economic imperialism were established in Africa. Later on in this paper, we will discuss other more direct involvements of the Church with the Portuguese government in cooperating to make the control of the Mozambican people more feasible.

After completing the conquest and "pacification" of the Mozambican people, the Portuguese government proceeded to establish a well-knit hierarchical structure of administrative units all over the country. At the top of the pyramidal system was the governor general, wielding his power from the capital city of Mozambique, first in the north and later from Lourenço Marques in the south. Under the governor general were the various district governors, below these were the district "intendentes" who supervised the work of administrators of circuits, who in turn had the duty of overseeing the work of "chefes de posto", each of whom directly controlled the daily lives of thousands of Africans in the country. To facilitate the work of the administrators and the "chefes de posto", the Portuguese government reestablished a small part of the traditional authority of a number of African chieftains. But in order to make certain that no one African ruler acquired sufficient power to ever challenge the white man, the Portuguese government split the various chiefdoms into small territories, each with only a few thousand people. All African chiefs were to be responsible

directly to either the circuit administrator or the "chefe de posto". Consequently the old political ties between the various African communities were severed, to be filled in by the Portuguese authority.

Having established complete political and administrative control of our country, and having handed over to the Catholic Church the responsibility of spiritual pacification of the people, the Portuguese government proceeded to distribute the natural resources of the country to the various economic interests which were vying to explore and exploit them. These natural resources included our agricultural land, the natural harbours of Beira, Lourenço Marques and Nampula; the five largest rivers of East Africa, all of which have their estuaries in Mozambique; our flora and fauna, including all kinds of hard wood, rubber plants, palm trees; wild animals for hides and skins, fisheries, etc.

The Portuguese government then leased out large tracts of our land to foreign companies. These companies acquired rights not only over natural resources to explore and exploit them, but they were allowed to directly control the lives of the African people living in the leased areas. Consequently, vast territories of the central and some northern regions of Mozambique were found in the anomalous situation of having a juxtaposition of governments: the Portuguese colonial authority as represented by its district governors, administrators and "chefes de posto"; and the local companies, which had ample rights to force all able-bodied men, and sometimes women and children as well, to work in their plantations at a nominal pay.

In the rest of the country, the government encouraged not only private companies to exploit some of our best natural resources for the benefit of Europe and Asia, but also arranged to establish companies which acquired exclusive rights to buy and hoard all the agricultural produce from African farms with market value for export and for reselling to the Africans at a much higher price during leaner years. At first sight this practice of leasing out to private companies the right to monopolize the purchase and sale of certain agricultural produce may seem innocent and natural; after all, this has been the practice in most Western capitalist countries for many centuries. It is when one studies the details of the laws regulating the system and when examining the actual activities of these concessionary companies that one begins to see the evils engendered by them.

It might be more meaningful if we could describe in some detail the activities of one or two areas of economic life in which this type of concessionary organisation operated: the disposal of cotton and rice. During the forties, there developed a great interest in the farming of both rice and cotton in Mozambique. Long before then a certain amount of cotton and rice were being produced in our country, but only in limited amounts. Perhaps because of the effect of the second world war on the countries which traditionally produced these commodities, the demand for them began to rise. Already by this time many Mozambican farmers were producing a great deal of rice; but cotton was almost exclusively farmed by big plantation owners, especially in the more tropical territories of the north and centre of the country. All of a sudden, in the early forties, a combination of private and government interests established a large corporation charged with the responsibility of a) investigating the possibility of growing cotton on a large scale in all parts of the country, and b) providing the African peoples with technical help to produce it, including cotton seed and some technicians. The Portuguese government provided supervisors and policemen to oversee the clearing of the land, the tilling, seeding, weeding, reaping and the packing of the cotton into bags for the final sale. Finally it was the duty of the Portuguese administration to see to it that all the bags of cotton produced that year were presented at the market places for the concessionary company to buy so that the African producer might not sell his cotton to any other buyer. In this way both the private company which enjoyed the monopoly rights and the Portuguese government were able to set the prices as they wished, thus assuring themselves the profit they wanted for the year.

When described in this general manner, this system may not appear as unusually inhuman as it actually is, partly because what has happened in other colonial territories may not seem significantly different from the above. Yet when one examines closely the areas affected by this system, one sees otherwise. We would like to highlight a few points here which underscore what we mean. While the production of cotton as a means of earning cash for the average African can be described as a good thing, the manner in which the average African farmer is induced to produce the cotton is contrary to his best interests. Most of the Mozambican farmers are primarily interested in producing food crops, whether these are cash earning or not. The production

of cotton as it has been carried out since the forties has tended to be imposed from above by the government under the pressure of the big concessionary companies. The manner in which this is done is best described by Professor Marvin Harris in his monograph entitled Portugal's African Wards (1958), thus:

"In this modern serfdom, the role of the medieval lord is exercised by twelve Portuguese companies, each of which has received monopolistic concessions over cotton production in vast areas of Mozambique. Indigenas within the concession areas of each company are assigned cotton acreage by the administrative authorities. They have no choice in the matter and must plant, cultivate and harvest cotton wherever they are told. Then they must sell the raw cotton to the concession company of their area at prices which are fixed by the government far below those available on the international market....In 1956, there were 519,000 African cultivators participating in the cotton campaign. ...the actual number of men, women and children being forced to plant cotton (on acreage taken out of food production) probably exceeds one million. In 1956, the 519,000 sellers received an average of \$11.17 per person as their family's reward for an entire year of work."

This system of agriculture, while it enriches the coffers of the European companies which directly profit from it, has a direct and often disastrous effect on a large proportion of the African population. Its effect is felt not only in the recurrent famines which debilitate the lives of millions of Africans, but during the planting, cultivating and harvesting periods, the average African is under constant persecution by the Portuguese administration police, who comb every African home, drive out every man, woman and child to the cotton fields every day, in order to make certain that during this period nobody does anything else but work in cotton. Often those who are caught working in their other crops are threatened, beaten or even arrested and sent to the local "chefe de posto" or administrator where they are treated as criminals, consequently being beaten with the feared "palmatoria".

The other major cash yielding crop in Mozambique is, as mentioned above, rice. As with cotton, the production of rice is regulated by the same rules. It is the big concessionary companies which finally profit from the system. African farmers are forced to sell every pound of the rice they produce during the year, even if their own families have to starve later in the season. If they have to buy it back, they are forced to pay several times more than they were paid for it.

All of these injustices are perpetrated against the African population, inspite of the existence of an official policy purported to protect the interests of the native people. Beginning from 1901, when for the first time all land not privately owned was declared property of the state and subsequent decrees set aside large tracts of land for the exclusive use of the African people, the official policy was supposed to be the protection of the interests of the native peoples. In theory, traditional lands, as differentiated from land under white colonization, belonged to the Africans. Article 38 of the 1955 Native Statute for Mozambique and Angola reaffirmed this policy:

"Natives who live in tribal organizations are guaranteed ...the use and development, in their crops, and for the pasture of their cattle."

This guarantee was largely kept in the letter, although its spirit was violated by the practice described above. Under the heavy pressure of European settlers, the Portuguese government yielded. Some of the native land, however, was taken over, without satisfactory compensation, and given to large plantations of sugar cane, tea, sisal and for the settlement of white immigrants from Portugal.

This ushers us into another of the many Portuguese contradictions in Mozambique: the establishment of the so-called "multiracial settlements" in the rich river valleys of the Limpopo, Incomati and Zambezi basins. They are known in Portuguese circles as the "colonatos". The system was dreamed up by Salazar's sociologists, who thought that any attempt to advance from a traditional African way of life to a modern industrial society in a short period of time would not be feasible. And that the best course to follow would be that of forming an agrarian society through the settlement of Portuguese peasants in government colonization projects, in some of which the African was to take part, and through the establishment of African agricultural colonies which would make possible favourable conditions for the economic and spiritual assimilation of the African. Part of this scheme was to help expedite the increase in the Portuguese population in Mozambique, but the officially stated aim was that of creating a semi-literate population of Africans and Portuguese holding rural Portuguese values, dedicated to the land and politically conservative, so as to absorb and divert the energies of the rising African, rendering him unable to threaten the large European economic interests represented by the agricultural estates, the main economic props of the colony.

The first serious attempts at establishing such "colonatos" took place in the early 1950's. The best known "colonatos" in Mozambique are to be found in the southern districts, especially in the Limpopo and Incomati valleys. For most colonatos in Mozambique, the emphasis has been placed on agricultural cooperatives. While there are a few African farmers at these agricultural settlements, the overwhelming majority of the farmers are white Portuguese immigrants.

While visiting Mozambique in 1961, we talked to some farmers who were members of government-sponsored cooperatives in Zavala, Chibuto and Chai-Chai. We also visited some new agricultural projects in the Manjacaze area, organized on the basis of the Israeli "kibutzim". The prevailing complaint among the African farmers, members of these cooperatives, was that the government did not allow them to bargain with the outside buyers of their produce. In other words, the cooperatives were being used as another cheap way of supplying agricultural goods to the great concessionary companies at the expense of the African farmer.

There are some Portuguese and foreign economists who are impressed by the few cooperatives now in operation in the southern districts of Mozambique. They believe that these institutions point the way to the future, and that the self-administration and democratic rule learned in the cooperatives may be an important first step to the replacement of the paternalistic government now prevailing in Portuguese colonies. Let us assume that there is a grain of truth in this point of view, still the fact that in 1960 there were 12,000 farmers participating in cooperative projects out of an estimated population of over 7 million, making a proportion of about one-twentieth of one per cent of the total population, reduces the value of such optimism.

There is one fact which we must always keep in mind about Portuguese colonialism, namely, that it is meant to exploit the native populations for the benefit of the economic interests of the European and other non-African populations. There can be no change in the attitude of the Portuguese government so long as the African population does not directly take part in the formulation of the policy of the government in power. We will return to this point later on, but let us now turn to the discussion of the official purpose of the Portuguese government.

The Role of the Church in Mozambique

Earlier in this paper, we hinted at the rationalizations given by the Portuguese government as to why it insists on pushing the Catholic Church into the forefront in the education of the African people. The Portuguese government claims that it has two purposes in Africa: one is to improve the material life of the African, while the other is to encourage the Portuguese Catholic missionary to improve the Africans' spiritual and intellectual life. Whatever there is in the form of concrete programmes for putting into effect the first part of the Portuguese colonial policy was discussed, at least in part, in the outline above. The second part of the policy is being realized through the use of the Roman Catholic missions. While the Colonial Act provides for the freedom of conscience and the freedom of the various religions, at the same time and in a contradictory manner, it provides for a special protection and assistance to the Roman Catholic mission programme. Departing from an earlier attitude held during the first two decades immediately following the establishment of the Republic, the Portuguese government recognized the rights and special functions of the Church, which are "to Christianize and educate, to nationalize and civilize the native populations". In Mozambique this policy is governed by appropriate constitutional provisions, beginning with the Missionary Accord of 1940, which spelled out in some detail the principles contained in the Concordat of 7 May 1940 between the Vatican and Portugal, and the Missionary Statute of 1941. Included in these agreements, the Portuguese government was committed to subsidize the Church's missionary programme, limiting the activities of non-Catholic foreign missionaries, and discouraging the influx of Catholic foreign missionaries. In the estimated population of Mozambique of 7 million, the number of people who subscribe to the Roman Catholic faith is estimated at 500,000. These are served by about 100 mission and parish churches, led by secular priests and fathers of various orders, including Franciscans, Dominicans, Benedictines, Lazarists and those of the Holy Ghost Congregation. In 1959 there were in Mozambique 240 priests and fathers. Of these only three priests were Africans. Some of the most important activities of the Catholic Church are "the founding and directing of schools for European and African students, elementary, secondary and professional schools and seminaries...as well as infirmaries and hospitals". The whole responsibility of educating the African people has been entrusted to the Roman Catholic Church, exclusive

of the government; this inspite of the fact that the overwhelming majority of the Africans are not Christians, let alone Roman Catholics. To this programme was also attached the responsibility of preparing those individuals who were to become assimilated to the Portuguese culture. The Portuguese believe that there is a better chance for an African to become a Portuguese in spirit if he is a Roman Catholic. This belief was often expressed by officials of the government, as illustrated by a statement in 1960 by Dr. Adriano Moreira, then Under-Secretary of State for Overseas Administration.

While emphasizing that political loyalty did not depend upon Christian qualifications, Dr. Moreira declared that Catholic missionary activity was inseparably linked to patriotism and that the formation of Christian qualities led to the formation of Portuguese qualities. It is this attitude which led to the separation of the education of the African children from that of the Europeans. This separation of the educational system of the two racial groups is more peculiar when one takes into consideration the fact that elsewhere in the world, the Catholic Church insists on educating the children of its members. Yet in Mozambique, the children of the Europeans, who are more than 95 per cent Roman Catholic, are left in the hands of the secular schools of the State. The intent of this policy is to indoctrinate the children of the majority of the native, black Mozambicans with Christianity, thereby assuring the government of a population which is loyal to Portugal. How the Portuguese could believe this fantasy is very difficult to understand in view of the example shown by other African states where the proportion of Christians, especially Roman Catholics, is much higher than in Mozambique. Our own neighbour, Tanganyika, has not only a higher Roman Catholic population, but it also has the first and only black African Cardinal the Catholic Church has ever had, and its first prime minister, who later became its first president, is a devout Roman Catholic. There is no evidence anywhere in Africa to support the idea, cherished by the Portuguese officials, that the more Catholics they will be able to create in Mozambique, the more Portuguese Mozambique will be.

This attitude of the Portuguese government is so entrenched that it constantly influences policy, even where decisions involving the admission of foreign Christian missionaries, Catholic or Protestant, into the country are concerned. Since the 17th century, foreign missionaries have been suspected of "denationalizing the natives", and of acting as advance agents for foreign

governments. When these missionaries are Protestant, the situation becomes worse; fears and resentments are multiplied. Consequently, for many years the Protestant missions in Mozambique have been hampered and quite often thwarted by a powerful combination of Catholic clergy and officials of the colonial government. From time to time public statements are made by high officials of the colonial government attacking Protestant missions, accusing them of fomenting anti-Portuguese sentiments amongst the African population. Lately accusations have been levelled against Protestant missionaries, alleging that they were responsible for the rise of nationalism in both Angola and Mozambique. This in spite of the fact that the leadership of the nationalist movements of the two countries is mixed religiously speaking. In our own Mozambique Liberation Front, the majority of the members of the Central Committee, which directs the whole programme of the struggle, are either Roman Catholics or come from Catholic families. The man in charge of our military action programme is a practicing Roman Catholic. The largest number of our students abroad, who have run away from Portuguese schools either in Mozambique or Portugal, are Roman Catholic. In the summer of 1961, when more than 100 university students from Portuguese colonies in Africa ran away from Portuguese universities to France, Switzerland and West Germany, over 80 of them declared themselves to be either Roman Catholic or to come from Catholic families. There is, therefore, no evidence to support the Portuguese position on this matter.

The African child in Portuguese colonies has the least opportunity of going to school in all of Africa. There are many reasons for this, but the most obvious ones have a great deal to do with a combined effect of the position of European economic interests, the state of literacy in Portugal itself and the lack of a clear, legal position on the part of the Portuguese government as to the exact responsibility of the State vis-à-vis the Catholic Church in the education of the African child.

While the African population was classified neatly into two social groupings, the assimilated and the traditional, indigenous peoples, one could more or less tell who was to be responsible for the education of which group. At that time the Missionary Agreement cited above had specified that the Roman Catholic Church would be responsible for the education of all the children of the native peoples, while the State would take care of the education of all the children of "assimilados", together with that

of the European and Asian children. The problem is those days arose mainly from the fact that the Roman Catholic Church was not sufficiently provided with funds to carry out this responsibility, not did it have a real interest in teaching the African anything but the tenets of the Catholic faith, which it naturally considered its primary responsibility. Today, after the government abolished the above classification and declared everybody "citizens of Portugal", the problem of who is really responsible for the education of the African child has become acute. While the Roman Catholic Church still operates under the Missionary Agreement, since it has never been able to reach but an infinitesimal number of the African children in its educational efforts, those who have no educational facilities are now left seated between two chairs: the colonial government and the Catholic Church. In the past, one could criticize the Catholic Church for not carrying out to the highest degree the responsibilities imposed upon it by the Missionary Agreement. Today, however, it is almost impossible even to raise the issue with the Church, since the population which falls under the definition of native in the Missionary Agreement is no longer clear. If every inhabitant of Mozambique, regardless of race and colour, is now a citizen of Portugal, what is the meaning of the word "indigena" in the Agreement?

The problem with the Portuguese government is that while it loves to constantly pass new laws and edicts, it is extremely incapable of relating the meaning and relevance of one law to another. So that one is now faced with an ever-growing number of legislative measures, many of which contradict each other. Finally the sufferer is that citizen who has no means of directly influencing either legislation itself or the administrative bodies which are supposed to interpret the laws passed. In Mozambique today this citizen is the majority African. The government continues to cater to the interests of the Europeans and Asians as faithfully as these communities have power to influence it, and they do, while the Roman Catholic Church follows programmes dictated by its own religious interests and the available financial means. The Vatican sets the policy and the Catholic Church adjusts it to the situation at hand, but no African group is able to directly influence policy-making within the church.

The result, in this situation, is that only a very small proportion of the African children find their way to school before they are of working age. In 1958, only about 400,000

children of all races were enrolled in any school, out of an estimated school age African population of over 2,500,000. Out of these only about 500 African children were enrolled in post primary schools, and less than ten were attending any kind of university programme. The Roman Catholic Church does not have any secondary school programme for Africans, save a number of seminaries, which concentrate on the training of future priests and catechists. The highest education that an average African child who attends school in Mozambique can aspire to is a Standard Three Certificate. A very small proportion of those who manage to pass the Standard Three examinations can continue one more year in one of the restricted elementary schools and hope to do his Standard Four, which is the qualifying year for either leaving school or entering secondary school, if one is available locally or if the child is less than 13 years of age at the time the secondary school opens that year.

The new policy gives the impression that any African child may attend any school near to his residence, including European schools. Yet there are many handicaps which make it difficult, if not impossible, for most African children to get to school: The language is probably the most important of these difficulties, but the availability of schools in most areas of Mozambique is a serious matter. For example, government schools exist only in those areas of Mozambique where there is a sufficiently large white or Asian population to justify them. The rest are missionary schools, which are far apart. The secondary schools are also for Europeans and Asians, with a sprinkling of assimilated Africans here and there. According to the 1958 statistics cited above, there were no more than 342 African students in technical and academic secondary schools in Mozambique, while Europeans and Asians had more than 15,000 students in the same schools. In 1960, at the largest academic secondary school in Mozambique (Liceu Salazar in Lourenço Marques), there were only 30 African students out of the school's population of more than 1,000. The Roman Catholic Church, which has the responsibility of educating the native people, does not have a single secondary school for Africans. Some of the Protestant missions, which are still allowed limited facilities for working in Mozambique, subsidize and administer boarding houses for some of the very few African students who attend secondary schools in the capital city of Lourenço Marques. There are also a number of private secondary schools and a number of secondary technical schools with a very small number of African students attending them due to the

exorbitant amount of the fees required.

The government has just established a university in Lourenço Marques, but according to information at hand, out of the 280 students enrolled, there is not yet a single African. There are a few Africans now attending university in Portugal itself and a few in some higher professional courses in technical schools in Portugal. But their number is insignificant in comparison to the thousands of white and Asian students who are in the same programmes. Every year thousands of white Portuguese students cross the borders to South Africa and Southern Rhodesia to study at the various levels of learning in those two countries, something that no Africans are allowed to do, even though some Africans manage to slip out and clandestinely register as local native students. (That is how the author of this paper managed to get his secondary and part of his university education in South Africa. But when the Portuguese and South African government found out, he was expelled from South Africa, thereby being taken out of the university.)

There was a time, before the establishment of the Salazar regime and a few years afterward, when the policy of the Portuguese Government was to educate as many African children as possible and as fast as the economic power of Portugal could afford. This policy was supported by those Portuguese leaders who had believed in the possibility of creating a Portuguese culture amongst the African people and who were convinced that the only way of achieving this was by giving educational facilities to as many African young people as possible. This policy was partly inspired by the prevailing liberal spirit of democratic Europe of that time, which died with the onslaught of the fascist movements in Germany, Italy and Portugal. In the early thirties, a counter force developed in Portugal, whose aim was to eliminate insofar as possible the secular influence which had dominated African education at that time. It was a combined influence of economic interests, especially large plantation owners, and religious groups, who thought that the more secular education of the Africans tended to be, the more problems the African was likely to raise for the settler. In the mid-thirties, a public debate ensued, centering on the question of whether the education of the native should be run by secular bodies or by the Church, and if the Church took over, whether it should stress religious teaching rather than the three R's. By the beginning of the Second World War, the policy began to take shape: the Portuguese Government negotiated a Concordat with the Vatican which resulted in the

Missionary Agreement referred to above, by which so-called Native Education was handed to the Church, while the Government concentrated on educating the children of the Europeans and Asians.

Nowadays, as a result of the pressures coming from all over Africa and the rest of the world, and especially because of the constant discussions of Portuguese colonialism at the United Nations, the Portuguese government has been struggling to disentangle itself from the knot which binds it to the Concordat, without violating the letter of the Missionary Agreement. It seems to us that the government is trying to return to the earlier conception of education, which was rejected in the forties in favour of a religious programme. In this connexion, we would like to stress the point that so long as policy is set by a government which does not represent the majority of the people, there cannot be a satisfactory programme for the education of the African children.

Labour Policies

Another phase of Portuguese colonial policy which irritates the African population in Mozambique has to do with labour laws. After Portugal had seen to it that the natural resources of the country were properly organized to serve the interests of the European settlers and the large foreign economic interests, it decided to harness the human resources to serve the same interests. The government rationalized its policies by talking about what it call the "obligation to work" as a characteristic of a civilized people. It claims that by nature the African is lazy and incapable of initiative. Therefore, it is the duty of the colonial government to take the initiative, forcing the native African to employ himself in some economic enterprise which will profit him and the country. If one were to look at the whole policy as a continuing system, assuming that it had some logic in it, one might state it in the following manner: If the main goal of the policy is assimilation, its achievement may be seen to depend upon getting Africans to put their services to profitable use for the State, the private employer and for himself. As early as sixty years ago, Antonio Enes, one of the first governors of the colony, insisted that the African had to be forced by every means possible to work in European enterprises. The use of African labour by Europeans has, over the centuries, been the main point of contact between the Portuguese and the Africans. All other programmes aimed at raising the African's cultural and economic

life, to assimilate him into the Portuguese community, whether through education, missionary work, health programmes, colonization schemes, etc., have been peripheral when compared with that of the "obligation to work". If one asked an African who has some acquaintance with other European colonial systems in Africa what he considered to be the main difference between the Portuguese and any of the other colonial powers, the answer would be that the Portuguese have the system of forced labour, while the others do not seem to have. This system has, of course, been influenced from time to time by forces outside Portugal.

The most clear statement concerning this Portuguese position was outlined by Professor Marcello Caetano, former Colonial Minister and Rector of the University of Lisbon, thus:

"The blacks in Africa have to be directed and indoctrinated by Europeans....The Africans have not learned how to develop alone the territories they have inhabited for thousands of years."

He claimed further that this belief in the Africans' obligation to work was a part of Portugal's vision of herself as a civilizing power in a primitive world inhabited by lazy children.

Another former Colonial Minister in Salazar's regime, Vieira Machado, stressed the same point in the following words:

"It is necessary to inspire in the black the idea of work, and of abandoning his laziness and his depravity, if we want to exercise a colonizing action to protect him....If we want to civilize the native, we must make him adopt as an elementary moral precept the notion that he has no right to live without work. A productive society is based on painful hard work, obligatory even for vagrants, and we cannot permit any exception because of race.

"The policy of assimilation which I conceive of must be complete. Therefore, it is necessary to establish a rule of conduct for the black which exists for the white, making him acquire a sense of responsibility. It is to be an unenlightened Negrophile not to infuse the African with the absolute necessity of work."

One of the amazing things about these pontifications is the assumption that the African is naturally lazy, therefore, he must be taught the value of work, when in actual fact all of the major economic successes which the Portuguese colonialists have ever had were due to the sweat and blood of the African labourer.

We shall return to this point later, meanwhile, let us continue to present the rationalizations of the Portuguese government as stated by its leading representatives.

As a result of these declarations the Portuguese government passed a number of labour laws to put into effect the above mentioned policy. In 1926, just before the Salazar regime was established, a decree was issued declaring that forced labour could be used in the public interest, which included private projects, involving a small remuneration. After a series of attacks by international organizations which accused Portugal of slavery, especially after the exposures made by Professor E. A. Ross of Wisconsin, U.S.A. in 1928, the Indigenous Labour Code was passed. This Labour Code was intended to give protection to African workers by defining a whole area of colonial labour relations, and altering some of what it acknowledged as "excesses" in the recruitment and treatment of African workers. It was aimed at guaranteeing to the African "full liberty to choose the work which best suits him." Since this Code never actually affected the labour practices to which the white settlers were accustomed, and since the international criticism continued, the Portuguese government felt compelled to issue another law, namely, the Colonial Act of 1930. This Act stated, inter alia, that "the system of native contract labour rests on individual liberty and on the natives' right to a just wage and assistance, public authority intervening only for purposes of inspection." Subsequently legislation on colonial matters included some labour clauses reaffirming the above laws. This was the case in the Imperial Organic Charter of 1933, the Organic Overseas Law of 1953 and the 1954 Native Statutes for the Provinces of Guiné, Angola and Mozambique. The Native Statutes declared, among others, that the State would try to make the native recognize that work constituted a indispensable element of progress, but that the authorities could only impose work upon him in cases specifically covered by the law. It went on to reaffirm what had been said before in other legislations, namely, that the Native may freely choose the work he wants to carry out, either on his own account or for others. Article 34 of the above Statutes says that the use of native labour by non-Africans rested on the Africans' freedom of contract and on his right to a just wage and assistance, and must be inspected by the State through its appropriate organs.

One peculiarity of Portuguese colonial practices is their

predilection for constantly passing laws with very little interest in setting up the proper machinery to carry them out. It seems to us that the Portuguese issue laws mainly in order to find something to quote when attacked by those concerned with certain injustices. When one reads a whole series of labour laws passed by the colonial government from 1899 to today, one notices that all of them are intended to correct abuses, and therefore are repetitive. The philosophy behind all these laws has always been the same, namely, forcing the African people to work, as if otherwise they might not engage in any remunerative labour activity. The 1928 Code tries to check abuses of the system while maintaining it intact. Therefore, it showed concern for the payment of wages, transportation, lodging and feeding of the workers and the provision of health and educational facilities. There was no intention of putting these directives into effect either before or after.

The Portuguese colonial government ought to have known that once the law demanded that the African should be forced to work, and as long as that law remained, the door was open for those in power to exploit the African worker.

Earlier in this paper we outlined some activities of the Portuguese colonial government which are aimed at the exploitation of the natural resources of our country for the benefit of Europeans and Asians. Later on we indicated that this exploitation included the use of the human resources as a direct instrument of the exploitation of the natural resources. The various labour laws above outlined indicate the legal measures which the Portuguese government felt compelled to promulgate in order to justify its actions in forcing the African worker to serve European and Asian interests to the detriment of his own. At this point it is necessary to extend this analysis to include the exploitation of Mozambique African Labour by the Portuguese government, cooperating directly with foreign governments and international economic interests.

It has often been indicated in international publications and discussed in conferences dealing with southern African affairs, that there exists an international chain of interests, economic, administrative and political, which cooperate with each other to control, hold and exploit not only the natural resources, but also the African peoples living in southern Africa. The Mozambique people are probably the most directly affected by these interests. The Mozambique African labour force, working in South Africa, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, amounts to about 500,000 by the

most conservative estimates of students of African migrant labour. In South African mines alone there are more than 150,000 Mozambican workers, 100,000 of whom are directly recruited in Mozambique by the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WNLA), authorized by the Portuguese government.

In order to facilitate the flow of Mozambique African labour into the South African mining industry, and at the same time enable the Portuguese government to derive the maximum benefit from it, the two colonialist governments signed a number of agreements which commit both governments to specific obligations. These include, inter alia, authorizing the South African Chamber of Mines, through a subsidiary company, the WNLA, to establish recruiting centres at strategic points in Southern Mozambique; a joint responsibility in establishing and maintaining a railway line between the main industrial area of South Africa and Lourenço Marques, the capital of Mozambique; the use of the Port of Lourenço Marques by South Africa to export and import about 48 per cent of its merchandise; assuring the Chamber of Mines of South Africa at least 100,000 Mozambican labourers every year. Further more, Portugal was given the right to collect onehalf of the wages of each of the Mozambican mine workers for the first four months, supposedly in order to defray expenses incurred by the Portuguese government while conveying the workers from their places of residence to the South African border. These monies have to be deposited in South African banks in gold bullion. For the rest of the two year contract, the Chamber of Mines deducts half of the African workers' wages and deposits them in South African banks in favour of the Portuguese government (also in gold bullion) to be paid back to the worker in Mozambique when he returns home, but this time in Portuguese currency without interest. Included also in the agreement is the obligation for the South African government to round up any and all Mozambican black men who may be found working in secondary industries or European homes or in private business in any part of South Africa, and force them to take up employment in the mines.

This agreement, which has been revised every ten years since its inception at the turn of the last century, greatly profits both colonialist governments. The South African mining interests are thereby enabled to acquire one-third of their work force very easily at practically no cost, while the Portuguese government is in a position to earn a sizable amount of foreign exchange without investing anything. Also, Portugal assured herself of a steady flow of South African goods through its port of Lourenço

Marques, thus earning a large amount of money when it would otherwise be difficult to compete with the neighbouring South African port of Durban.

It was at least in part to assure a steady flow of Mozambique labour to South Africa that the Portuguese government felt compelled to reinforce its stated policy of forcing the African worker to seek employment in European enterprises or else be liable to imprisonment. The latest of these measures states, among others, that all males between the ages of eighteen and fifty-five were under obligation to take up contracts with economic enterprises in and outside of Mozambique, unless they could produce proof that: a) they were self-employed in a profession, commerce or industry earning a given amount of cash per annum; b) that they were permanently employed by the State or private employer; c) that they were gainfully engaged as labourers for at least six months out of the year by the State or private employer; d) that they had worked within the last six months in South African mines or the Rhodesias under the legal agreements mentioned above; or e) that they were farmers who fulfilled the terms of various native farming statutes aimed at encouraging the production of cash crops. Anyone who failed to satisfy these requirements must be arrested and forced to work in government projects, or be induced to sign a contract to work for a private employer. Under such circumstances the African worker has no alternative but to constantly seek employment either at home or abroad. Since in Mozambique it is impossible to give employment to most of the able-bodied men between the age limits specified by the law, the only open alternative for them is to offer themselves for recruitment in the WLNA agencies scattered all over the country and take up employment as cheap labourers in South African or Rhodesian mines.

The Movement for Independence in Mozambique

When one adds these labour practices to the direct exploitation of the African worker in the production of cash earning crops, such as we described earlier in this paper, one may begin to understand some of the frustrations which are at the base of the movements for self-determination and independence in Portuguese colonies. On the other hand, it should also be obvious as to why Portugal is reluctant to even admit the right of self-determination for the African peoples under her colonial control.

Consequently, Mozambicans have decided to take the most

radical position possible, namely, complete independence from Portugal. Portugal is determined to hold on to our country by every means possible, including force of arms. The issue of our claim to independence has been put across to the Portuguese government for many years and in every way. We believe that without independence there cannot be a change in the situation in which we are found in Mozambique. We are not interested in any improvements handed out paternalistically by the Portuguese government; it does not matter how liberal these may be. We refuse to be treated like children, slaves or third class citizens by another people. We were a free people before the Portuguese ever came to our continent, and we do not need to be taught anything by the Portuguese, a people who are themselves in need of education. We can never be made to feel Portuguese, for we are African. The rest of Africa is not only becoming free from colonial and imperial controls, but it is taking definite steps to unite into one strong and progressive people. There is no possibility of Mozambicans choosing anything else but being part and parcel of one and United Africa.

The above is said not only in order for the Portuguese to take note, but also for any other peoples and interests to understand what our attitude is. Since we are speaking in Italy, the country which traditionally has been associated with the Roman Catholic faith, and since the Portuguese government tries to implicate that faith in its imperialistic ambitions, we feel that we must make a direct appeal to those Catholics who really believe in freedom, and therefore do not share the position of the Portuguese government.

It is now necessary to give a bird's eye view of the position taken by the Roman Catholic Church of Mozambique concerning some of the problems outlined above. In general, the Portuguese Catholic hierarchy supports the programme of the Salazar regime both at home and overseas. Most Portuguese Catholics are Portuguese first and Catholics second. To many of them being Portuguese and being Catholic are one and the same thing. Consequently, we know of no instance during the last 40 years when the Roman Catholic Church of Portugal felt compelled to protest officially against the many excesses of the Portuguese Government's colonialist actions against the African people. On the contrary, the highest officials of the Church have tended to come out in support of the status quo. The only exception to this rule has been the position of one leader of the Catholic Church in Mozambique, the Bishop of Beira,

Monseigneur Sebastião Soares de Resende. For a number of years this churchman dared question the Government for its treatment especially of the African cotton growers. He wrote in his monthly pastoral letters, published in a Church publication, criticising the manner in which the Government was carrying out some of its African policies, but with little or no success. His intention, however, was to liberalize the policy rather than change it radically. When finally some of his criticisms began to annoy the Salazar regime, he was ordered by the Vatican to stop publishing them. Subsequently the Government curtailed some of the privileges which he had previously enjoyed, including taking away his responsibilities as the Director of the only secondary school in Beira. Bishop Resende is one of the Portuguese liberals who believe in the possibility of the creation of a new Brasil in Africa, where Portuguese culture would flourish even after independence. The impression one gets of his position, as gleaned from some of his pastorals and a daily newspaper which he is purported to control, is that Bishop Resende can conceive of an independent Mozambique only within a community of Portuguese interests, cultural, religious and economic. However, since he has never felt compelled to formally state his position, we will refrain from speculating further.

The clearest statement ever made by a Portuguese Catholic leader of any standing concerning the question of self-determination and independence was by Monseigneur Custodio Alvim Pereira, Auxiliary Bishop of Lourenço Marques. If his position is to be taken as representative of the Roman Catholic Church, then the Church is unequivocally against independence. In a recent circular which was read in all Catholic Churches and Seminaries in Mozambique, Bishop Pereira outlined ten points intended to convince the clergy that independence for the African people is not only wrong, but against the will of God. The Statement ran as follows:

- I. "Independence is irrelevant to the welfare of man. It can be good if the conditions are present, (the cultural conditions do not yet exist in Mozambique, sic.)
- II. "While these conditions are not being produced, to take part in movements for independence is acting against nature.
- III. "Even if these conditions existed, the Metropole has the right to oppose independence of the freedoms and

rights of man are respected and if it (the Metropole) provided the well-being, the civil and religious progress of all.

- IV. "All the movements which use force (terrorists) are against the Natural Law, because independence, if it is to be assumed that it is good, must be obtained by peaceful means.
- V. "When the movement is a terrorist one, the clergy have the obligation, in good conscience, not only to refrain from taking part, but also to oppose it. This (obligation) derives from the nature of his mission (as a religious leader).
- VI. "Even when the movement is peaceful, the clergy must abstain from it in order to have spiritual influence upon all people. The Superior of the Church may impose that abstention; he imposes it now from Lourenço Marques.
- VII. "The native peoples of Africa have the obligation to thank the colonialists for all the benefits which they receive from them.
- VIII. "The educated people have the duty of debunking those with less education of all the illusions of independence.
- IX. "The present independence movements have, almost all of them, the sign of the revolt and of communism; they have no reason; we must not, therefore, support these movements. The doctrine of the Holy See is quite clear concerning atheistic and revolutionary communism. The great revolution is that of the Gospel.
- X. "The slogan 'Africa for the Africans' is a philosophical monstrosity and a challenge to the Christian civilization, because today's events tell us that it is Communism and Islamism which wish to impose their civilization upon the Africans."

The reaction of our people to the above situation was, as it can be expected, a demand for our freedom now. The movement to effect this demand has taken different forms at different times since the final defeat of our resistance forces at the end of the last century. From time to time local uprisings against Portugal took place led by the people themselves. Each time the Portuguese

Government used ruthless methods to crush them down.

However, our demand for self-determination and independence has not always followed a military line. Quite early in this century, nationalist sentiments were expressed by the African people in the form of political organization, the use of the press and by the formation of para-political associations. This process has continued until this day. The Mozambique Liberation Front is a result of a merger of various political groups which were organized in and outside of Mozambique during the last ten years. The Mozambique Liberation Front or FRELIMO is an attempt to rally all our nationalist forces together into one militant movement in order to effect a quicker blow upon the reactionary forces of Portugal.

Portugal refuses even to discuss the question of our independence, alleging that we are already a free people within the Portuguese nation. The example shown by other colonial powers in Africa has not yet been understood by the Portuguese Government. On the contrary, the Portuguese believe that one day the British, the French and the Belgians will return to Africa to re-impose their authority upon their former subjects. The Portuguese even believe that they will one day convince the African states which support the nationalist movements in Portuguese territories to withdraw their support. Thus, from time to time, Portugal's representatives at international conferences try to persuade African statesmen to visit Portuguese colonies "in order to see for themselves how happily the Europeans and the Africans live in peace and friendship with each other." Last August 1963, Premier Salazar, in his occasional policy statements on the African colonies, declared that there was no need for Africans in Portuguese colonies (which he chooses to call "provinces") to want to free themselves from Portugal, since, he argues, they do not exist without Portugal, and that if the Portuguese Government withdrew from Angola, Mozambique and Guinea, there would immediately be chaos and intertribal wars. He insisted that it is better for the Africans to accept the gracious gift of the Christian religion which the Portuguese have brought to them than to seek freedom, which he interpreted as a return to what he called "savagery and barbarism". He then appealed to Portugal's friends and allies in the West not to encourage or support the movements for independence in Portuguese Africa.

Later in the same year, the Portuguese Government passed a new law, the Organic Law for Overseas Provinces, aimed at

specifying the rights and duties of the inhabitants of the African colonies of Portugal. This Organic Law is in fact an extension of the rights already enjoyed by the provinces of Portugal in the Iberic Peninsula. Yet during the discussions on the future of Portuguese colonies at the United Nations last October, the Portuguese delegation tried to put across the point that this new organic law was intended to give more autonomy to the "overseas provinces", and thereby in some practical way satisfy the United Nations demand for self-determination. Concerning this, we had occasion to refute this point of view by pointing out, inter alia, that the new Organic Law is a centralizing rather than a decentralizing law. While it may give the impression of yielding certain powers to the "overseas provinces" which traditionally belong to Lisbon, at the same time it reinforces the authority of the central government in Portugal. This may sound contradictory, but it is not. Up till now the Portuguese "overseas territories" were provinces of Portugal only in name. In actual fact, they were administered as de facto colonies. Therefore, this new organic law just extended the rights which normally belong to the metropolitan provinces of Portugal to the African "provinces" as well. This, for an outsider whose understanding of Portuguese colonialism is inadequate, may give the impression of satisfying the demands of self-determination.

In this new Organic Law, for example, there are measures to enable the people of the "provinces" to establish provincial, district, parish and tribal councils, based upon elected and appointed members. It is also indicated in the law that some provision will from time to time be made for the consultation of the people in the form of referenda to see whether or not certain measures taken by the Government meet with public approval.

At the United Nations discussions last October, the Portuguese government was trying to imply that these provisions meant that Portugal was acceding to the idea of self-determination both in its spirit and letter.

In order to expose this Portuguese trickery, we simply pointed out, among other things, the fact that there is no provision in this law as to the basis upon which the franchise would be determined. In other words, the inhabitants of the "provinces" of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea were supposed to have the new rights of establishing a number of legislative, consultative and local councils, and they were supposed to have the right to consultation by referenda, but it is not shown who amongst these

inhabitants was to enjoy these rights. In connexion with this, the law itself mentions, in passing, that the local authorities would decide as to who shall vote. That is to say, the local governors and their advisors will decide as to who shall be eligible for the exercise of the vote. Judging by what is going on now, we would have no difficulty in predicting who would be the most favoured inhabitant out of the three racial communities now living in Mozambique. Obviously, it will be the European and the Asian. Amongst the few African inhabitants who might get the vote, we would easily predict that those few who can read and write. Amongst these it would be especially those very few who are able to speak Portuguese, whose number, according to very liberal estimates, is infinitesimal, being less than 10 per cent of the total population.

NATO Supports Portugal

All of these maneuvers are intended to thwart the efforts of the African people to gain freedom. It is important to note that Portugal enjoys the support of most Western European powers, either through bilateral agreements or through the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, with the United States as the main supplier of weapons and funds. Politically, except for the present British Conservative Government, there are no countries that are willing to stand up openly in support of the Portuguese position. Most of the allies of Portugal in the West hide behind the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, arguing that this military alliance is for the defense of the so-called free world against Communism and not for upholding colonial interests. When we present facts conclusively indicating that Portugal does use the weapons given under NATO for the suppression of nationalist aspirations in Africa, the Western allies of Portugal insist on saying that Portugal is an honourable nation, it cannot divert the weapons which are for the defense of Western Europe into Africa. At the United Nations, the United States often said that there was a written agreement signed by all members of NATO to the effect that weapons given for use against Communism could not be used for anything else. Several African members of the United Nations directly challenged the United States delegation to produce a NATO document which Portugal signed, but in vain. Even assuming that such a written commitment did exist, Portugal could still be acting within her rights if she insisted, as she always does, that her African territories are part and parcel of European

Portugal, and that the nationalist movements against her presence in Africa are in fact Communist-inspired, if not outright Communist.

In this respect, we also have good reason to believe that at least some of the Western powers agree with the Portuguese position, for from time to time we receive concrete information indicating direct participation by NATO member states in the preparation of some of the officers of the Portuguese Army who serve in Africa. Furthermore, we have evidence showing that at various times some parts of the NATO forces have been deployed to Portuguese colonies to help create an atmosphere of security which the Portuguese need so badly today. In March 1961, when the Angolan uprising began, a United States Marine air-borne group was dispatched from a Spanish base to Luanda, and did not leave Angola until a few weeks later, when it was clear that the Portuguese Army could handle the situation without direct NATO help. We also know that the facilities of NATO are now being made available to the Portuguese armed forces for the movement of Portuguese soldiers from Europe to Africa and back.

The British Conservative Government has made no bones as to its position concerning Portuguese colonialism: it supports it completely. In August 1961, the Labour Party expressed strong objections to the fact that the British Government was blatantly supplying Portugal with ships and other weapons clearly intended to defend her presence in Africa. The response of the British Government was an unequivocal defense of the right of the Portuguese to stay in Africa and for Britain to continue to give whatever support she could afford to help her traditional ally. The United States has tended to be more hypocritical in her stated position, although her actions are definitely equal to those of the British. She claims at international conferences that she subscribes to the ideals of self-determination, therefore she is not in sympathy with the declared position of Portugal concerning the future of her African colonies. But at the same time, it is common knowledge that the United States is the main supplier of weapons and large amounts of funds with which Portugal is able to carry out the war in Angola and Guinea, and for preparations to suppress any future uprisings in Mozambique.

Other Western European powers, such as West Germany, France, Italy, etc., have not yet come out officially either way. But we have information as to the support which Portugal receives from West Germany and France. Both of these powers give large amounts of weapons to Portugal, and West German banks and other financial

interests are reliably reported to be investing a great deal of money in Portuguese projects directly connected with overseas territories. According to the Economist Intelligence reports of August 1962, West Germany has in that year alone invested hundreds of millions of dollars in Portuguese business dealings in Africa. West German companies are deeply involved in economic ventures in Angola and Mozambique, thus helping to prop up Portuguese colonialism.

Summary and Conclusion

To sum up, we may say that:

- a) Portugal does not recognize the right of self-determination as defined by the Charter of the United Nations;
- b) Portugal does not believe in, nor does she respect the democratic ideals which the Western nations say are the basis of their defense pact which is the North Atlantic Treaty Organization;
- c) Portugal enjoys the moral support and material aid of a number of Western powers which seem to be interested in exploring and exploiting the natural and human resources of Africa;
- d) Portugal is using NATO in order to consolidate her own interests and maintain her privileged economic position at the expense of the African peoples;
- e) Portugal is implicating the Roman Catholic Church in an outmoded colonial and imperialist system, thus violating one of the moral commitments of the Catholic Church;
- f) Portugal is prepared to sacrifice our people, and some of her own, simply in order to defend an archaic system of government,

and still enjoys the actual material support of the Western powers, members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Even after all the public denunciation of Portuguese colonial policy by various members of the United Nations, Portugal still believes that there is hope for some of her allies to come out squarely in support of her position. The difficulties which occurred in East Africa recently have sparked some hopes in Portuguese official circles of a drastic swing in the position of such NATO powers as

the United States in favour of an anti-self-determination attitude. In this connexion, in a recent statement to newsmen by a high government official in Lisbon, it was stated that Portugal expected "greater sympathy and understanding from the United States" in regard to the issue of Portuguese possessions in Africa. The government official is reported to have said that the United States was expected to "exert a certain amount of pressure on some independent African states to end the three year old guerrilla war in Angola." Whether or not these hopes of Portugal's will materialise will depend on the meaning which the United States will attach to the determination of the African states to help liberate the rest of Africa. We believe that the position of African independent states should influence American foreign policy on this matter, and we hope that the United States will not dare defy all of Africa in order to please Portugal. However, if the hopes of Portugal do materialize, it would not surprise us very much, since the United States seems to be progressively leaning toward a reactionary line of action in foreign affairs.

It is against this background that the Mozambique Liberation Front arose. FRELIMO is the crystallization of the suffering of millions of our people, desiring to free themselves of Portuguese oppression. It is the continuation of a struggle which began with the imposition of Portuguese colonialism and imperialism in the middle of the 19th century. The Mozambique Liberation Front is the practical expression of the feelings of a generation which can no longer accept Portuguese colonialism, it does not matter with what rationalization it may clothe itself. It is a reaction of our generation against Portuguese enslavement of our people; it is a revolt against Portuguese hypocrisy. The Mozambique Liberation Front is an expression of the desire of the African peoples to be free from European imperialism, the same kind of reaction which has taken place in other parts of Africa. It is a continuation of the spirit of independence which drove the people of Ghana, Nigeria, Congo, Tanganyika, Kenya, Egypt, Algeria, Tunisia, Guinea, etc. to take action against European political and economic interests. It does not matter how many soldiers the Western NATO powers pour into our country; it does not matter how many tons of weapons they supply to Portugal; it does not matter how many millions of dollars the United States gives to the Portuguese military and commercial interests, the Mozambican people are determined to rid themselves of colonialism and economic imperialism once and for all and they will win.

Whatever may be the position of Western powers, our struggle will continue to the bitter end. We are conscious of the difficulties which the struggle will incur, but we are certain that the victory belongs to us. Our people are decided, our revolution will not relent so long as Portuguese colonialism and economic exploitation continue. We have many supporters among the peoples of the world. Africa has decided to liberate itself, therefore, we can expect a great deal of support from our own continent; but the final victory must depend upon our own efforts. We expect no other people to liberate us except the people of Mozambique; nor do we want any outside people to come and liberate us. We alone are responsible for the liberation of Mozambique.

Once the peoples of Africa, the more than 250 million souls, have awakened and decided to take up arms against colonialism and imperialism, there is nothing that can stop them. We are firmly determined to break the chains of imperialism once and for all in our continent, and we will fight, using every available means to reach our desired goal: complete freedom.

Already our preparations for the final struggle are progressing satisfactorily. As we have stated many times before, our struggle for national independence is only the first step, and a necessary one for our revolution: after political independence we will have to continue to fight for the progressive elimination of all the vestiges of colonialism and imperialism which are likely to try and indirectly enslave our people and keep them backward and poor for a long time. We believe that our struggle is the same as that of millions of other people in the rest of Africa, Asia, the Americas and Europe, who are working for their emancipation from all sorts of arbitrary rules and powerful economic exploitations. So long as our struggle is part of the world struggle for the freedom of mankind, there is no fear. We will win.

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