

# ▶ MOZAMBIQUE

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January 11, 1991

To: Mozambique Support Network Members  
From: R.W. Prexy Nesbitt  
Senior Consultant in the United States  
for the Mozambique Government

Re: Update and Reflection on Mozambique

Attached to this memorandum is a rather extensive report/reflection which I hope will update you on the situation in Mozambique. It is intended for MSN members. It is not for reproduction or general circulation, though most of the contents can be used with discretion. The exception is the section about mssrs. Simango, Nkavandame, and Gwenjere which is intended only to alert MSN people to a potential problem for us in this country as supporters of Mozambique.

I share this piece with you in the hope that it will help to clarify the situation in Mozambique and strengthen us for the work in the months and years ahead.

One other point: the legal investigation into US supporters of RENAMO continues. An important announcement about this matter will be forthcoming within a few weeks.

A luta continua.

## The January 1991 NOTE on SOUTHERN AFRICA

Dear Friends,

Please accept my warmest greetings and best wishes for a joyous holiday season and a prosperous 1991.

I have just returned from an intensive month of travel and work for Mozambique in Europe and in Southern Africa. I participated, along with the new coordinator for the Mozambique Support Network (MSN) - Ms. Sessy Nyman - in the ECASAAMA Conference on Mozambique in Paris (ECASAAMA being the European Campaign Against South African Aggression Against Mozambique and Angola). And then I spoke at the A Luta Continua Conference on Mozambique and Angola in London on Saturday, December 2, 1990. These two conferences were followed by two weeks of extensive travel in Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

Throughout the trip I met with dozens of people and discussed and analyzed the changing situation in Southern Africa. I met with long time Mozambican, Namibian, Zimbabwean and South African leaders and friends, long time Southern African solidarity workers ranging from missionaries and teachers to agronomists and engineers. During the time in Mozambique and Zimbabwe, I was also fortunate enough to formally interview at some length twenty-five different "ordinary" Mozambican or Zimbabwean workers and peasants all of whom were direct victims of RENAMO and South Africa's war of destabilization. I say "fortunate" because I feel honored to have been allowed this time by such courageous and hardy people as the "ordinary" Mozambicans and Zimbabweans who have lived through the nightmare South Africa and its friends are involved in sponsoring. I have believed for a long time, but this trip deepened the insight, that Southern Africans, besides being survivors, are a people who provide a unique profile of courage and consistency. Despite the killings, the brutalization, the dislocation, the trauma and the pain which nearly all Mozambicans experience, somehow they endure. Mozambique, the nation, is in some ways like a huge body: the head has been split by an axe; the legs have been cut off; and the arms wrenched off. It is lynched, spent, dangling, on a rope and yet the heart beats ever so strongly. Despite all the grief and suffering Southern Africans, especially Mozambicans, not only persist, but persist with an amazing sense of humanity, warmth and hospitality and a marked absence of acrimony and hatred. In one late night discussion about RENAMO's attacks on them with a group of hospital workers in Mozambique's Inhambane Province, I was moved to tears by the fact that this group kept asking me about the homeless and the drugs in the USA and about "how is it over there for the blacks and the Indians?" They were worried because they'd heard that "bad things were happening to people in the USA."

I am not sending this note out, however, friends, to simply relate a lot of admittedly personal and subjective thoughts. Rather, I want to share with you some observations and insights which I hope will help to explain the situation evolving in Southern African and some of the work before us as people engaged in solidarity with the struggle there (and engaged in the struggle at home). Hence, I offer the following:

- 1.) Now is the time when Mozambique and the Mozambican people, led by FRELIMO party, most need our concrete solidarity and support. UNICEF estimates that a minimum of 1.3 million people died in Angola and Mozambique between 1980 and 1988 as a direct or indirect result of Pretoria-sponsored wars and that those wars over the same period have cost the Southern African States' economies between US \$60.5 and US \$ 62.45 billion. It is these wars, Professor Reginald Green reminds us, that are the main reason why Angola and Mozambique have the highest rates of

infant mortality in the world. The Southern African Research and Documentation Center in Harare (SARDC) dramatically points out that in 1990 war and war-related famine deaths in the six frontline states add up to 15,000 deaths every month. Zimbabwe has recently experienced stepped-up attacks by RENAMO along the eastern border with Mozambique. President Robert Mugabe told the Zimbabwean parliament on December 11 that since January, 1990, 81 Zimbabweans had been killed, 79 injured and another 79 kidnapped. He also mentioned that it cost Zimbabwe an estimated US\$ 500,000 per day to assist in guarding the Beira Corridor.

The 1991 Emergency Update and Assessment of 1991 Needs, prepared by the Government of Mozambique and the United Nations, says that 1.9 million internally displaced Mozambicans will need emergency assistance in 1991. It says further that when security has been established in the post war periods, there will be 850,000 more returnees from neighboring countries who will need immediate emergency assistance. Additionally, Mozambican Finance Minister Majid Osman reminded the Paris Conference that "because of the war and destabilization 60% of Mozambique's rural population falls into the category of absolute poverty." What it all boils down to is that next year, Mozambique will need more than 1 million tons of food aid to avert mass starvation. This, at a time when next year, because of the Soviet Union's internal problems and hence its termination of its oil concessions to Mozambique, the oil and gas bills in Mozambique will go from \$0 to \$140 million.

For me there is no alternative to supporting Mozambique and to try to increase the amount of political and material support that can be mobilized from the United States. It is true that Mozambique has changed very much. Change is occurring very rapidly. Each day brings new developments - usually, as one Mozambican union official said, "great huge new developments."

The partial cease fire with RENAMO, the new constitution, multipartyism, elections, the formal abandonment of scientific socialism and the adoption of democracy - all these events and developments mark a new and extremely difficult new period for young Mozambique, for the Mozambican people and for the FRELIMO party. Mozambique is entering a historical period that is an abrupt rupture with certain past political traditions and yet is the continuation of other traditions. And yet, Mozambique remains, it seems to me, a nation where the government, despite all the limitations, problems and new directions, fundamentally is committed to the people and the people to the government.

At a press conference in Maputo on November 29, 1990, convened to provide information on the new constitution and on the peace agreement with RENAMO, President Chissano was asked whether he still regarded himself a socialist. His response is worth quoting at some length:

"In my opinion and in my conviction socialism is a necessity, above all for a country like Mozambique. Therefore, FRELIMO will continue its political struggle for the building of socialism."

"FRELIMO was, however, aware," he said, "that socialism cannot be built just on wishes but through hard work of economic and social construction." "FRELIMO," he added, "has always opted for socialism as a necessity for the Mozambican people and we shall continue on this path... This mustn't confuse anyone. We think that the use of market forces is not necessarily in contradiction with the final aim of building socialism."

## **2.) Recent Developments in Mozambique:**

### **A. The Rome Agreement**

For years war has been the overriding reality in Mozambique. And everyone, but everyone wants to see war end once and for all. Thus, there was a generalized, if cautious, optimism that the partial ceasefire signed by the government of Mozambique and the MNR in Rome on December 1, 1990 was the beginning of a movement towards a general ceasefire. The December 1 agreement, concluded at the Santo Egidio Catholic Community in Rome, basically addressed one issue: namely, the role of the Zimbabwean military forces in Mozambique. The following are the basic terms of the agreement:

- A. Beginning January 5, 1991 the Zimbabwean forces will be confined to the Beira and Limpopo corridors;
- B. The Zimbabwean troops will end all military operations of an offensive nature and RENAMO will cease all attacks on the Beira and Limpopo corridors. (RENAMO also gave a verbal commitment to cease cross border attacks on Zimbabwe and Zambia);
- C. The Corridors Ceasefire is to be verified by a Joint Monitoring Commission which will be sworn in on December 18 in Rome. The Commission will consist of three representatives each for Mozambique and the Bandidos and three more from each of eight different countries. Two of the three representatives are to be military personnel. The third is to be a civilian. The eight countries designated by the Mozambique government and RENAMO are the USA, USSR, Britain, France, Portugal, Zambia, Kenya and the Congo. Zimbabwe is an additional member and the Commission will be chaired by the Italian government representatives, the mediators at the Rome Talks. The United States representative on the Commission will be headed by Richard Roth, Deputy Director for Southern African in the State Department;
- D.) The Mozambique government and the RENAMO delegation ask the Italian government and other member governments of the Joint Monitoring Commission to solicit and organize sufficient financial and technical support to assure the efficient operation of the Commission.

There are no illusions about the agreement reached at Rome. As Mozambique Government Delegation leader, Minister of Transport Armando Guebuza, characterized the Agreement: "We recognize that this setup is far below the expectations of our people and of the international community... We hope that this is not an accord about how to continue the war... We are determined that it be an agreement about how to bring the war to an end." The Rome Agreement should be seen as a first step with perhaps one additional side benefit. And that is that peace in the Limpopo Valley will facilitate Britain beginning the £29 million railroad reconstruction aid project scheduled for the 335 mile Limpopo River Railway.

### **B. The Over-All Peace Process**

The initiative which the Mozambique government has begun towards ending South African-backed RENAMOS's ravages is not going to be an easy undertaking. Mozambican Ministers involved anticipate that this will be their major, if not sole, activity for quite some time.

As many might recall, the first round of attempted peace talks took place in Malawi. But these efforts were abortive partly because the RENAMO delegation and its Kenyan advisor, Mr. Bethwell Kiplagat "were not ready." The current round of

peace talks, and the two previous ones, held in July and August, took place in the Rome headquarters at the Santo Egidio Community. Four observers at the initial talks were asked to become mediators. They are:

- 1.) Mario Raffaelli, representative of the Italian government;
- 2.) Andrea Riccardi, member Roman Catholic Lay Charity, the Santo Egidio Community;
- 3.) Mateo Zuppi, member Roman Catholic Lay Charity, the Santo Egidio Community;
- 4.) Jaime Goncalves, Catholic Archbishop of Beira, Mozambique.

As was the case with the July and August sessions of talks, the Mozambican Government delegation was led by Minister of Transport, Armando Guebuza and included the Minister of Information, Teodato Hunguana and Presidential Aid and former Ambassador to Zimbabwe, Francisco Madeira. The RENAMO delegation was headed by the head of RENAMOS's Foreign Affairs Department, Raul Domingos.

The role of the Zimbabwean armed forces in Mozambique was only the first issue to be discussed at the talks. Many, many issues, some even more involved than that of "foreign troops," remain to be broached. Among them are: the future of the RENAMO armed forces; a total ceasefire and how to maintain it; RENAMO's re-integration into Mozambican society. Additionally, there are issues that will emerge for FRELIMO and the Mozambique government since the government is risking its credibility in even pursuing the talks option with the Bandidos. (There is a school of thought that believes that despite the very recent successful drives of the FPLM forces in general Mozambique no longer has the military options as a viable alternative path). In short, the enemy which the Mozambique government will continue to face (do I hear echos from Nicaragua?) was and remains more than formidable.

Already, one issue which has already surfaced and which holds tremendous dangers and pitfalls is that of the need for FRELIMO to account for the fates of several well-connected and Western-oriented former FRELIMO leaders. The question(s) posed, ones which will see continuous and insistent formulation and reformulation, a la the SWAPO Human Rights issue at Namibia's independence (i.e., did SWAPO abuse human rights when they were conducting the liberation war?), are: Where are the Reverend Uria Simango, FRELIMO's former Vice President; Lazaro Nkavandame, a prominent Makonde leader and early member of the FRELIMO Central Committee; Father Mateus Gwenjere, a Catholic priest who headed a racially based effort to split FRELIMO in the late 60's; and Joanna Simiao, a leading Macua opponent of FRELIMO from Nampula? Besides surfacing at the talks the Simango et al question will appear in other forums as well. One such forum, coming up eminently and a potential image problematic for Mozambique is an upcoming Human Rights Watch Report<sup>1</sup> on Mozambique - drafted, as I understand by Karl Maier, a Western correspondent based in Maputo. Another forum may be the churches.

In this respect I am concerned about the history of attacking Mozambique on church-state relations by erstwhile United States-based religious freedom advocates, like the conservative Republican Senator from Wisconsin, Robert Kasten. But I am

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1 The October 1990 Report on Malawi entitled Where Silence Rules: The Suppression of Dissent in Malawi is an important and very comprehensive study. Copies will be available soon in the MSN office.

also concerned about the growing and decidedly political profile which the Catholic Church (not one of FRELIMO's historical allies) is assuming or trying to assume in various African conflicts. The December 28, 1990 Christian Science Monitor, for example, notes that a Catholic church dominated Civic Association of Angola may emerge as the most viable political alternative to the MPLA.

It is Kenya and various countries and entities linked to Kenya, however, that will be one of the decisive elements in the success or failure of the over-all peace process. It is common knowledge throughout the region that Kenyan President Moi facilitated Dhlakama's setting up at least one military training camp near Mombasa. Further, one of Kenya's powerful military personalities, Brigadier Opani, is a key figure in Kenya's support for RENAMO. It is also widely known that a 400 member RENAMO armed group entered Tete Province from Malawi after being trained in Kenya. The August 28, 1990 Independent newspaper (London) has reported that "recent RENAMO arms purchases in Europe, principally West Germany, have been shipped to Kenya before delivery to rebel-controlled areas in Mozambique."

On my recent trip, much to my dismay (as an ex-employee) I discovered in Geneva, Switzerland that a RENAMO four person delegation, including Dhlakama, had been received in the World Council of Churches by the General Secretary himself, Emilio Castro. Further I found that it had been set up by Kenyan Foreign Affairs Permanent Secretary Bethwell Kiplagat utilizing his African church and ecumenical connections. (While in Geneva I tried to project to WCC staff how harmful to the image of the WCC a headline reading "WCC RECEIVES RENAMO" could be.) Apparently, the visit to the WCC in Geneva coincided with an additional visit there to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). Once again the Kenyan factor was elevating its ubiquitous head.

Nonetheless, complexities and obstacles notwithstanding, the talks and the peace process are being followed religiously by Mozambicans everywhere. There is one over-riding desire all over Mozambique and that is a desire to end the war. In large parts of Mozambique war has reduced living to sheer, stark survival. There are zones where people forage for wild roots, leaves and pieces of bark. In some places they fight off rats competing with them and then kill the rats for food. During a late night talk in Inhambane Province, long time cooperante and Mozambique activist, Ruth Minter, pointed out that people in Mozambique "find it hard to think long term about anything" They are grateful, she noted, that for one more day they have escaped the "Bandidos." They are weary of news of deaths and land mines, of kidnappings and rapes. Thus, everywhere in Mozambique people are tired. Everywhere one sees or feels a fatigue that permeates everything; that shapes all decisions and, perhaps, constricts all dreams.

### C. The New Constitution

From October 5 until November 2, 1990 the People's Assembly, the Mozambican Parliament, met in special session to ratify the new Mozambican constitution. The constitution itself is the product of a nationwide public debate which began in January 1990 and lasted to June. In many respects the new constitution and the process to approve it have the mark of FRELIMO. It is characteristic that there would be meetings held in villages, refugee camps, and workplaces throughout the country so as to assure that the Mozambican people could participate fully in the

shaping of a new constitution.<sup>2</sup>

The end result of the process is a constitution which, while disappointing to some because it is "not revolutionary enough," is an instrument that fully reflects the economic and political realities within which Mozambique today is situated. Much has been said in the Western press that the new Mozambican constitution drops the word 'socialism'; that the state is now named 'Republic of Mozambique' omitting the word 'People's'; that the 'People's Assembly' is now called the 'Assembly of the Republic!' All of this is true. But what is absent from most US commentaries just as the subject matter itself is absent from the US constitutional framework is any discussion of Article 72 which says "All citizens shall have the right to live in a balanced environment and the duty to defend it;" or Article 54, section 1 which states:

"Medical and health care for citizens shall be organized through a national health service which shall benefit the entire Mozambican people."

The general thrust of the new constitution is a clearly progressive one. The new constitution maintains all land as state property. But it also says that all citizens have the right to use land so long as the social purpose of that land usage is taken into consideration. In fact, it goes further to say that while land rights shall be created "such rights shall not be used to favor situations of economic domination or privilege at the expense of the majority of citizens." (Article 47). There is a certain pride in the new constitution in Mozambique; a pride not only in the new constitution itself but also in the solemnity and inclusiveness of the process which created it. The additional clauses (like those above) resulted, like other key sections of the constitution, from intense analysis, debate and struggle. It was debate and struggle at the Assembly, for instance, that forced the dropping of an original land use formulation calling for individual ownership of land. The clause on press freedom was not in the original draft but it was the struggle of the National Journalists Organization that created not only a section on press freedom and freedom of expression but one on the right to information, as well.

Closing these brief observations on the Constitution: What I feel in the new constitution, particularly from the Preamble and from Part 2 entitled "Fundamental Rights, Duties and Freedoms" is a sense of history. The new constitution breathes the long, intense passages which Mozambique has been through; the tremendous epoch of history (slavery-colonialism-national liberation struggle) squeezed into a relatively short life span. The new constitution embodies values which one wishes could be found in the constitutions of the so-called 'democratic' 'free world'.

#### **D. Multi-Parties and Elections**

The new constitution means that Mozambique will now have a multi-party political system. In the debates on the new constitution a clear majority, especially amongst the peasantry, were opposed to multiple parties. But the Assembly decided that there was a sufficient number for multiple parties to warrant a change and, moreover, the adoption of a multi party system would serve, it was agreed, as a powerful incentive to get RENAMO to abandon violence as its major means of political discourse.

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<sup>2</sup> This is the same approach used in Mozambique when the legal system was being transformed. Then it was a process of grassroots consultations that syncretized elements of traditional and Western law. It is all movingly described in Albie Sachs and Gita Honwana Welch's new book, Liberating the Law: Creating Popular Justice in Mozambique (1990) available through the MSN office.

In mid-December in an effort to further institutionalize multi-partyism, the Mozambican Parliament passed laws to govern the registration and activities of political parties. The Parties Law stipulates, for example, that political parties cannot be involved in the use of violence, that they must be national in scope and be headquartered in Maputo. Specifically outlawed, under the new law, are parties "of a separatist, discriminatory or anti-democratic nature or those based on regional, ethnic, tribal, racial or religious groups." The law also says that the parties established can have international political affiliations only insofar as these bodies "do not pursue aims contrary to the established social and political order in the country." Several new parties went public while I was in the region. Among them are UNAMO (Mozambican National Union), PALMO (Liberal Democratic Party of Mozambique) and PADIMO (The Democratic Party for the Liberation of Mozambique.)

Mozambique's elections are currently scheduled for late 1991. Whether that date will be kept or not remains to be seen, for much has yet to be done before circumstances conducive to the conduct of elections are created. (1.) The roads, for example, in parts of Mozambique remain mined. 2.) The question of how many bandits will lay down their arms when a general cease fire is reached. 3.) The whole problem of the non-RENAMO bandits spawned by the last ten years of generalized apartheid-derived violence and destabilization). All of these questions are yet to be resolved.

Then there is the question of the elections themselves. Leadership in Mozambique are painfully aware of the results in the Nicaraguan elections. People are discussing what is referred to as the Chamorro factor but more importantly, they are discussing how elections themselves, given a certain financing, information flow and technology, could end up being a weapon against FRELIMO. And for better or for worse, some of FRELIMO's ancient enemies - well financed masters of misinformation - are already slithering back into Mozambique as candidates in democratic elections. I know this very well for I had to greet one of them publicly in one of Maputo's largest churches.

FRELIMO itself will have to re-tool for the elections. It has to re-build at the grassroots level, especially in urban areas where it has to contend with the profound and generalized cynicism to be found in Mozambique's cities. Young people especially must become a target of FRELIMO's efforts. I remember sitting in the stands at an Eric Clapton-P.J. Powers concert in Maputo during the Fifth Congress and feeling the energy of the 75,000 people in attendance. A most senior FRELIMO leader's wife was with me and at one point she wryly commented "FRELIMO can't get out people like this anymore!" Well, now FRELIMO must get out people. It must mobilize. It must act efficiently and quickly. It must impart information. It must strengthen its organizational ability and the ideological clarity of its membership, especially that of the younger cadre.

Two of the areas, for instance, where much, much work needs to be done are around the question of race, racism and gender. Among some - not all - of the older members of FRELIMO there is tremendous clarity, depth and wisdom about these questions. What they know is the product of years of struggle, arms-in-hand at a very intense level. (The 1968-69 internal crisis and two lines struggle within FRELIMO immediately springs to mind). But there are now two subsequent generations of FRELIMO's children who neither lived through the Gwenjeres/Vilanculos-types and their racist demagogery, nor have they had extensive and updated orientation and training about the current racial, gender, ethnic, nationality and regional problems and tensions which Mozambique, like any

twentieth century society (let alone one under the thumb of apartheid and imperialism) has and must resolve. Let me be clear. Do not misunderstand me. I do not think for one second, as some do, that Mozambique has lost its commitment to a non-racial society. That objective remains. What must be instituted and deepened in this new historical period for Mozambique is mechanisms of actualizing into daily living the rhetorical stance of non-racialism. And, of course, this must be extended into an anti-sexism and homophobia-free way of living as well. In both of these areas, there is a tremendous amount of work yet to be done. Women remain subordinated and underrepresented in Mozambique. The economy and polity both reflect this, as do social relations. The Organization of Mozambican Women (OMM) has its work cut out, especially given the new political context wherein OMM, like other mass organizations, will operate independent of FRELIMO tutelage and guidance, carving out its own political space, seizing its own initiatives. The Fourth Conference of OMM meeting in Maputu November 29 to December 4 already has begun this process. Besides electing the new Secretary-General Teresa Tembo, the Conference began the process of gaining more political power with its unanimous demand that a Minister of Women's Affairs be created within the government. The new situation will hopefully see the emergence of many more women leaders in all sectors of Mozambican society.

All of this, incidentally, represents an arena in which we, as the MSN and as "antigos amigos," can share the work on these challenges since we have so much to do in our own U.S. society on these very fronts. This is an arena where we can increase the exchange of information, experience and initiatives.

Thus, I share with you, my friends, that the elections and the period ahead for Mozambique will not be, as old folk in the U.S. South say, "no crystal stair." Rather, it is probably going to be one of the most perilous times conceivable for any nation.

\* \* \*APOLOGIA\* \* \*

*I must move forward with this note. I apologize. What began as a note has grown into an epistle, a piece with the length of one of Ruth Minter's circular letters but lacking the quality of her excellent communiques. (Contact the MSN office if you have not read her November 6 letter to MSN friend.)*

### **3.) The Relationship of Developments in the South African Struggle to the Struggle in Mozambique**

There is a political poster which recently has been created by the Mozambique Solidarity Action Interim Committee (MOSAIC) in Johannesburg. (It is appended to this Note). In the text of the poster there is reference to a speech given by Nelson Mandela where he talked of the "special relationship between South Africa and Mozambique"

Graca Machel emphasized the same point to me when she described for me the visit of Nelson Mandela to Maputo. She talked about how historical it was and about how it especially affected her, given "the particularly loving embrace" she had received from both the Mandelas when Samora was killed October 19, 1986. (This is evident in the correspondence between Graca and the Mandelas. It is reprinted in the introduction of Ian Christie's biography of President Machel entitled Machel of Mozambique). Graca continued on to share with me that Nelson had shared with her that the occasion of Samora's funeral was the only time he ever requested the authorities to allow him leave from prison.

The story which Senhora Graca Machel shared with me underscored for me the interwovenness of the struggle in South Africa with the struggle in Mozambique and elsewhere in Southern Africa. Since the events of February this year people in Mozambique

have been following with greater anticipation than usual the process of negotiations between the government and the ANC. In Zimbabwe, too, this is the case. Moreover, in Zimbabwe since Mandela's visit, there has been a public and political embracing of the ANC (and rejecting of the PAC) which has taken place at the highest level, i.e., by President Mugabe himself.

In the region the political developments in Mozambique, in Botswana, in Namibia, in Angola, in South Africa are not treated separately as they are in the United States - even by the solidarity and anti-apartheid communities. There is an absolute clarity that what eventually happens in South Africa will decisively shape what happens in Mozambique and that the directions taken in Mozambique will affect the future possibilities for South Africa. This recognition stems from current realities like the fact that RENAMO personnel possibly imported from colonial Rhodesian and Angolan armies, and RENAMO type methods taught in Malawi and Namibia are now being used inside South Africa. And it stems from the history of mutual engagement that FRELIMO and the ANC have shared going back to shabby offices across from each other on Independence Avenue (near the Clock Tower) in far away Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania. This recognition is rooted in the lives of all the Mozambican miners who have worked on the Rand and all the South African and Rhodesian settlers who once partied in Lourenco Marques and Beira and today constitute a new wave of investors in a post RENAMO Mozambique.

The political developments in South Africa impact Mozambique not only in terms of obvious results like: an ANC-run South Africa would mean the absolute terminating of South African sponsorship of RENAMO. All the political struggle now raging in South Africa is crucial to the people in Mozambique. The vital debate currently going on in South Africa within the liberation movement about the kind of socialist society (how the economy will be organized? land redistribution? migrant workers? restitution? type of parliament?) envisioned for post apartheid South Africa is being attentively followed and discussed by many in Mozambique. A major regret, though, is that so much of the literature of that debate (for example, the September 1990 Special Edition of the South African Labor Bulletin) is only available in English. Nonetheless, the kind of political culture which ultimately emerges in South Africa in terms of questions like race is very important for Mozambique. Whether it is a South Africa where the dominant theme will be the non-racialism of the ANC or it will be the one settler-one bullet vindictiveness of the PAC is obviously a question of great importance to Mozambique, especially in terms of the future directions of a younger generation of Mozambicans, many of whom are grappling with their political identities. I've spent much time in the last several trips with young Mozambicans and there is a tremendous thirst for more information about race and racial struggles in South Africa, in the United States. (I'm involved in trying to get multiple copies to Mozambique of the new and excellent reader on South Africa's struggle for non-racialism which Julie Frederikse has edited, The Unbreakable Thread: Non-Racialism in South Africa. Too often this kind of material is not available in Portuguese or is far, far beyond the average Mozambican student's non-existent budget).

People are following the events in South Africa for other reasons as well. The developments in South Africa coinciding as they do with: 1.) the ending of the Cold War and 2.) the collapse of the socialist governments in Eastern Europe (and the decline of North-South assistance pacts) mean that throughout the Southern African region there is a sense that the region itself is going to have to shape its own economic future. People in Southern Africa today are approaching the future in terms of regional cooperation and regional economic integration.

In fact, it is not so much a question about whether there should be more regional economic cooperation, but how and on what terms such cooperation should be built. Many leaders in the region have been following carefully the formulation of future policies like the ANC

Economic Policy Paper of September 1990 which called for "greater regional economic cooperation along new lines which will not be exploitative and which will correct imbalances in current relationships." Many of the SADCC leadership were delighted with this perspective and there is much talk about a post-apartheid South Africa which will be the engine for the development of the entire region - especially in an era where "South-South" cooperation has to replace the aid and cooperation packages which once came from the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and Euro-America.

It is not wholly a jubilant mood with which people are greeting all these developments. There is a great awareness in the region that developments taking place now could result in a future regional situation with even greater inequities, disparities and imbalances. What could result is a configuration with the potential that the region would become more dependent on a South Africa that would not be at all concerned with principles of fairness, but rather would be patterned after countries like Moi's Kenya to the North.

For Mozambique, for all the Southern African countries, very, very much is riding on what kind of society emerges in the post-apartheid South Africa.

#### **4.) Mozambique: The Future and An Appeal for Concrete Solidarity from the United States**

Is 'the Dream' dead in Mozambique? I think not. I do not believe that it has died. I do not believe that Mozambicans love their country and its independence less. Despite all the problems and the horrors, like one million people dead in less than 10 years, I do not believe that all the trained people working in the State for those miserable and unreliable pittances of salaries have now left for the rich NGO jobs, largely available to expatriots and now being dangled before a select few Mozambican. I do not for one minute believe that all the Marxists, socialists, democratic socialists and revolutionaries are gone from either FRELIMO, the party, or Mozambique, the country. I do not believe that all the people who love Mozambique are gone. If, in fact, being a socialist and revolutionary is in large measure about the basic values one holds -vis-a-vis race, gender, sexuality, organization of society, what's good in life? what's just? - then I believe that Mozambique remains essentially a nation where the basic orientation remains in creative rather than disruptive, constructive rather than destructive, life-affirming rather than life-negating directions. I think it not an accident that the Mozambican polity per se generally loves and appreciates its children as children and that capitalist politics often see their children as future consumers, future providers, future wage earners, future objects to be possessed in what's a deadly and relentless process. I believe that Mozambique is still about the things that we hold dear like peace, health care, education, the right to a name, loving children, and deeply esteeming elderly people.

In my opinion there is too much Mozambique-bashing going on by the Western - especially the Canadian and U.S.A. - "Left" these days. And my opinion is that the U.S. "Left" is the last "Left" in the world which has any right to be involved in criticizing other people's revolutionary struggles. What do we in Babylon have to put forward to the world in terms of solid revolutionary theory and empirical evidence of actual revolutionary transformation of the lives of people in the U.S.A.? Too often all we can bring forward are a multitude of tiny, class and race-homogenous groups united by the fact that daily all of them are steadily isolated and irrelevant to the lives of most of the American people. Our "Left" must be as far from what Amilcar Cabral always refers to as "the source" as any "Left" anywhere in the world.

None of this is to say or suggest that the future for Mozambique is an easy one. On the contrary, it is decidedly grim and difficult. I talked to a number of people doing health care work. They all talked about how the departure of so many Eastern European, Soviet and

Cuban doctors, nurses and technicians are leaving hospitals and clinics completely below sub-adequate staffing levels! (One recent estimate said that between 25-50% of the doctors in Maputo General Hospital would be leaving Mozambique by the beginning of 1991).

The future and its difficulties are not options for the Mozambican people and their leadership, FRELIMO. The Mozambican people cannot decide that the situation is not revolutionary enough, not "correct" enough and therefore abandon their country.

The future that I am most worried about is the future work of the solidarity movement. Today the U.S. anti-apartheid movement is grasping for direction. Moreover, the anti-apartheid movement has not yet become coherent and solid as a solidarity force for Mozambique, for Angola, for Namibia, for the ANC.

I think that there has never been a moment when concrete support to Mozambique was more critical than right now. The gaping holes of aid, assistance and support left by Eastern European cooperantes and workers need to be filled. This is the time for us to be mobilizing concrete support for Mozambique, whether in the form of hard money or the two new ambulances Chicago City Council Member, Helen Shiller, is organizing or the steady flow of medical personnel which Seattle's Mozambique Health Committee keeps sending to work in Manica Province.

This is the time when people in solidarity with FRELIMO and Mozambique need to be generating resolutions in state legislatures and city councils memorializing FRELIMO and condemning South Africa's RENAMO. We need to be flooding editorial offices and TV newsrooms with letters and calls whenever we see or hear the phrase "The civil war in Mozambique."

This is the time to organize more educationals about South Africa, Southern Africa, Angola, Namibia and Mozambique, more educationals about the inter-relatedness of the frontline states and SADCC. How long has it been since you've read an article about Namibia? Additionally, we need to do educationals and more articles about the Kenyas, Malawis, Zaires and Swazilands of Africa. Also the solidarity movement needs to be tripling the number of people who subscribe to the MSN newsletter, Africa News and other publications.

Solidarity activists need to work more with institutions like the church, often already involved in Southern Africa and not isolate themselves away from such institutions. We need to become more familiar with and coordinate with some of the various NGO's like World Vision that are now pouring into Mozambique and not segregate ourselves away from them. We need to geometrically increase the numbers of people who visit Mozambique and Southern Africa - especially journalists, communications, cultural workers, trade unions and youth groups. It is imperative that we increase contacts with black church membership - especially at the level of the person in the pew and the smaller storefront type churches. We need to now be challenging the black church and peace movement activists to become engaged in ending 'destabilization' in Southern Africa and in helping with the Southern African reconstruction effort. We must make a special effort to reach the environmentalists and help them to broaden their "concerns" from elephants and firewood to people and a broader ecological and socio-economic structural perspective. If they now mourn 'the passing' of elephants in Kruger National Park, let's get them to mourn 'the passing' of the Mozambican people - RENAMO's victims- in, around and all over the Park!!

My trip convinced me that this is a tremendous historical moment for organizing (not mourning or genuflecting) on behalf of Southern Africa's future. In South Africa, in Mozambique, in Angola and Namibia, new challenges and obstacles to mobilization are emerging daily. Yet it is crucial that people surmount them and they do so. The Southern

African people through their organizations like the ANC, SWAPO, MPLA and FRELIMO must organize at new levels using new approaches with renewed energy. The solidarity movement in the US cannot do less.

I want to close this "NOTE" with a final somewhat sad observation about "critical solidarity" - a phrase much in vogue among some solidarity activists these days. In Paris at the ECASAAMA Conference on Mozambique November 23-25 there was a moment in the opening session when a panel of five Mozambicans, temporary students in European countries, were brought to the stage to respond to the opening talk on the situation in Mozambique. It was the first time in the Conference that the Mozambicans present were introduced. They stood up and came forward, four men and one woman. Much to my shock they were greeted by only silence as they mounted the steps and took their seats on the stage. There was no applause, no 'viva Mozambiques!' We were not asked to stand or to rise in a moment of silence to all those hundreds of thousands departed in Mozambique. There was only the sound of the Mozambicans' iron folding chairs scraping the wooden stage floor as they sat down. I was embarrassed. I was stunned that this was how our meeting of solidarity activists greeted the representatives-the survivors-of Mozambiques "killing fields." I have thought about this incident very much. I hoped then. I hope now that this was not a demonstration of 'critical solidarity'.

Que Viva FRELIMO!  
Que Viva Mozambique!  
A luta continua!

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