## Further on Visit by Mozambique's Chissano

Addresses Expatriates in Blantyre
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[Speech by Mozambique President Joaquim Chissano at a meeting with Mozambicans resident in Malawi; on 5 Jul in Blantyre—recorded]

[Text] I will focus on three issues: war, our people's unity, and education in Mozambique. That is what you have asked me to do. I shall also speak about a few other issues. We have not been able to speak to you directly for a long time. It is therefore difficult for us to guess the extent of your understanding of the situation in Mozambique. It is difficult for us to guess the extent of your expectations. All of you here shouted "Long Live Frelimo". However, we don't know if you shouted "Long Live Frelimo" because you feel Frelimo is like a god who can solve problems from one day to the next; that Frelimo is like a god who will bring down rain when he wills; or that Frelimo is like a god who will give to each what he needs. We, therefore, don't know if that is why you shouted "Long Live Frelimo". It is difficult for us to imagine the extent of your expectations. We haven't had time to meet occasionally and discuss our problems.

However, there is one thing we can guess. Since we arrived here, we feel there is trust in Frelimo. That we know. There is trust in Frelimo as a vanguard party of the entire Mozambican people. There is trust that Frelimo can guide us and lead us to victory. But what kind of victory? Victory does not merely mean the elimination of armed banditry. Victory means achieving the objectives that have always been the objectives of our struggle for national liberation.

In the first place, victory means a Mozambican should feel free to participate in his country's development, that the Mozambican people should feel free to offer their physical and intellectual potential to develop their country. When we feel that the Mozambican people, every Mozambican man and every Mozambican woman, every

Mozambican child, are giving their best, we shall, then, be able to count on the potential of the Mozambican people. We shall be able to say that the Mozambican man and the Mozambican woman are truly free. This is the meaning of independence. We fought so to be independent and free. We fought to resolve our problems and our future—our future as individuals and the future of our children. We did not fight so we could fold our arms hoping that what we want will fall from the sky.

All we wanted from the Portuguese was our freedom. We asked nothing else of them. When we negotiated with them, there was nothing else we demanded, apart from our freedom. That is the only thing we demanded. But, now, we tell the Portuguese that if they want to assist us, we are ready to cooperate. We want to cooperate, and I think that is the reason why you are here—whoever you may be may—a businessman, teacher, carpenter, mason, official, cooperativist, employee of a state enterprise which looks after your interests, and so on.

In Mozambique there is no room for any other party. It is not because Frelimo has decided that. The Frelimo party itself is the result of union of a several forces which fought in Mozambique. Accordingly, it is not Frelimo that will demand that forces should not unite. It is because the Mozambican people are already united behind and around Frelimo. The entire Mozambican people are already united around Frelimo, be they cardbearing members or without card. They support Frelimo. [applause]

What is more, we have moved forward to consolidate our unity. We have opened doors and said: those who left, please come back. You will be welcomed [applause]. it was a difficult decision, because those who left would lock people inside a bus, spray it with fuel and burn people alive in cold blood. We sat down and pondered whether it is possible for a Mozambican, of his own initiative, a Mozambican who is just like any other Mozambican, to behave like this. We said no. A Mozambican would not, of his own initiative, engage in this kind of action. There must be someone who is deceiving this Mozambican. That is why we said to the Mozambican: Do not fear. You have a chance to prove you are a Mozambican, that you can repent, that you join others to build your country. Come back. It is very difficult to take this kind of decision. It is not easy.

I say this because I know some people here are infiltrated elements. Those who have left are always able to infiltrate. They are always with us. That is why I say this, so they can hear and carry the message to the others, that the decision we made was not an easy one. Still, we made it, because we love our people, We feel they have been attacked by a disease. We want to help them get rid of that disease. [applause]

That is what I have to say about national unity. We made this decision to avoid splitting the Mozambican people. We don't want to see the Mozambican people divided. Frelimo defeated Portuguese colonialism because the Mozambican people were united. They rose up as one and fought against colonialism. We won and we shall win, because we have once become aware that it is necessary to rise up, all of us, and fight for the victory of the Mozambican people. [applause]

Blantyre was our struggle's major organization center during the colonial period. We organized ourselves, in cooperation with the Malawi Congress Party, the Malawi Youth League, the Malawi Young Pioneers [preceding words in English] and Chitifuko Cha Amayi [Women's League]. It was here that we organized the struggle for the liberation of Mozambique.

We are here again today to tell our Malawian friends, as well as Mozambicans living here, that the struggle continues, that the struggle continues not only to expel armed bandits but also to achieve the victory that we aspire as I mentioned above—to be able, in liberty, to use our initiative and our intellectual and physical potential to develop our country.

This is what I want to say about unity. We fought to free our resources, because our country is very rich in agriculture and mineral resources. What is more, we have the potential to develop our industry locally, and at the national level. Accordingly, we will be able to say we have won when we have been able to end famine in our country. We will be able to say we have won when we become an exporting country, because we have a country that can export. We can export corn, rice, sugar, beans, cotton, and much more, including timber and clothes. We are not fighting just to cover our bodies with a few clothes. We are fighting to dress well, eat well, and sleep well. That is what we are fighting for. This is the task of a Mozambican wherever he may be-to fight against the armed bandit and fight for the development of our country. And we should start now. We should not wait for the end of the war. We can do this right now.

As for you here, because you are Malawi residents, and like living in Malawi, you need not bother because you may, right from here, participate in the building of your country if you have relatives. Why are Europeans able to come from Europe and invest in our country, while a Mozambican who is abroad is unable to do so in is own country? Why? Why wouldn't a son who lives here, or a grandson, be able to build a small, improved, house for his grandparent. That in itself is an investment. It is a way of developing the country. Why not buy a yoke of oxen, a plow to help a (?mother) or an uncle? Why not? Why not help a nephew at home by opening a small shop for him? This is what we mean by national unity. This is what we mean by struggle, by war. This struggle must be waged by all the Mozambican people wherever they may be.

Currently, we are launching a major military and political offensive. That is why the armed bandits are suffering defeats at this very moment. They had occupied almost all of Zambezia Province. However, now almost

all of Zambezia Province is in our hands—from Quelimane to Milanje. [applause] We have reoccupied district headquarters. We have reoccupied locations and we are currently hunting down the armed bandits in the bush where they are found. We are doing this not only in Zambezia but also in Maputo, Nampula, Manica...in all corners of our country.

Now, very often, when we reoccupy areas, we discover the residents have sought refuge in Malawi, or Zambia, or Zimbabwe, or even South Africa. We tell them they must prepare themselves to return home because we cannot leave our lands empty. They must find courage and return to resettle in those areas and prevent the armed bandits from coming back. The more empty land, the more the enemy will maneuver.

My second issue is linked to the war. I see young men, I see many young men here. You must know that compulsory military service is every Mozambican's duty. In Mozambique, we are are organizing all the people so every Mozambican can defend himself and his family, his children, parents and grandparents. This is because our Armed Forces cannot be in every corner of the country, in every village, to protect our people. Even if we had 500,000 soldiers, it would be impossible to station soldiers in every village to protect our people. That is why every Mozambican should be able to defend himself against armed bandits; to defend himself in an organized way, so when armed bandits come to a village there is no panic. All the people should not run away. They should resist. The armed bandits should find resistance everywhere they go in Mozambique.

When we began this kind of work, some people came to ask us if we were afraid. How will you control the weapons you give to the people? We told them we are in no way afraid of our people. We have full trust in our people, because our people defend Frelimo and they defend their government, because this government belongs to the people. Accordingly, those outside the country should know they have a duty to perform—that is, compulsory military service, to join the Armed Forces. Above all, they have the duty to prepare themselves to defend their homes when they return home, particularly those who are here, outside temporarily, and are preparing to return to Mozambique. They have this duty to prepares themselves. It is not just to prepare themselves to fight against the armed bandits at their bases, but to defend their gardens to defend the factory where they work, to defend a mill, to defend a car or a tractor. That is what we mean. This is possible only with unity.

I said earlier that we would speak about these two issues, of unity and war. This is only possible when there is unity among the people, when there is unity between the people and the government, when there is unity between the people and the party, when the party and the people are only one body and when the government and the people are just one body. To achieve this, we need organization. That is why the work you are carrying out to create an association of Mozambicans living in Malawi is important, so that you

may know each other. [applause] So that you may all know the goal you should reach at every interval, so you have a venue where you can listen to watchwords to solve the Mozambican people's problems, which are also the problems of all of us.

That is the reason why I put aside some of the issues raised here, because some of you would have asked:
What about supply in Mozambique, what about telecommunications, will we have shoes there or not, and so on.
All these problems will be automatically resolved once these two problems of unity and war are resolved. All these problems will be resolved once we can solve the problem of organization and the problem of freeing our potentials. This is because all these things I have mentioned should be carried out by us. All these things must be produced by us. All these things will come from our skills. Water, food, bed, houses, will all depend on our skills. There is nobody else who will do this for us.

Some will say you just have to go to the World Bank and get money. To go to the World Bank and get money to solve one's problems! Well, they will give you the money but when they come back for it, they come to acquire the whole country. [applause] They will loan you the money, but they also tell you that you have to pay so much interest.

They will tell you that you may repay the amount 20 years from now, that is not a problem, but you have to pay this much interest. If you add up the interest we will be paying them, we find out in the end that they own the whole country. That is why our watchword should, in the first place, be to rely on our efforts and potentials. We must rely on our own efforts.

You congratulated us for opening a consulate. The consulate has one primary task. The primary task is to enable us to go to the consulate and see how many Mozambicans live in Malawi, those who went there voluntarily to register themselves. This would permit the consulate to organize, solve or help solve some problems which are within its sphere, the problems facing Mozambicans outside. There are Mozambicans who have problems with certificates. There are Mozambicans who are arrested, sometimes because of thuggery. Still, the consulate must always know. If one is not registered, we would not know whether this one is a thug, a Mozambican, or a professional thief.

I think the consulate is waiting for you to register, apart from forming the association where you will resolve your own problems as a united body. However, the consulate, as a government representation caring for your interests, must have your names registered in the consulate. We recommend that you register at the consulate. You do not have to wait until you face problems to appear at the consulate. You should to there now.

We are happy that you are organizing yourselves. In other countries, there are similar organizations of Mozambicans, associations of Mozambicans. In Angola,

there is a very active organization, although it is mainly composed of women. It is very active indeed and it already has written statutes. It is already recognized by the Angolan Government. We have an association of Mozambicans in Zimbabwe. We have an association of Mozambicans in Zambia. An association of Mozambicans is about to be formed in Tanzania. We have an association of Mozambicans in Lisbon. An association of Mozambicans is about to be formed in the United States. There is an association of Mozambicans in London and it is very active, although there are not as many as there are here. This means the Mozambican truly wants to have his identity and maintain it, and to maintain his culture and serve as an ambassador of the Mozambican people wherever he may be.

We have just said here, once again, and we would like to repeat it, that a Mozambican is free to live wherever he wants. Wherever he chooses to live, let him live there. [applause] A long time ago, when people did not want to live in the country, they would live in Mozambique clandestinely because they though they were forbidden to live wherever they wanted to live. Today, there is no such a thing. You may leave the country and go wherever you want and present yourself at the Mozambican embassy; if there is one there. Tell the embassy that, look, I live here, I want to live and I want to work here. You may live there 10 years or 20 years as you wish. Obviously, we shall continue to say that whoever left the country clandestinely ran away. But whoever left legally did not run away. he just left the country since he has a right to do so. [applause]