

who have not reached the status of an assimilado never to use his own language and to live in an entirely European style. Even then this aspirant may not use the public facilities reserved for

whites, does not get employment on the same level as whites and any professional work he manages to do is strictly limited.

Apart

from the other failings of the system, its final condemnation is that very few Africans have been affected.

Out of a population

of over seven million, there are in Mozambique less than five thousand assimilados.

Portugal itself is a poor and backward country, with an area a fraction of that of Mozambique.

She has scarcely any

mineral resources, a shortage of cultivable land, her per capita income is perhaps the smallest in Europe.

Slave labor in Africa

is essential to her well-being; complete exploitation of her African colonies is seen as the only means of maintaining her "prestige" and the high standard of living of her ruling class.

Portugal sends her poor and unemployed to work in Africa rewarding them with 13nd.

She is thus building up a strong class of industrial white workers in these territories.

Having brutally crushed resistance to political control in Mozambique, the Portuguese handed over to the Catholic Church the responsibility for the "pacification" of the people and then distributed its resources to the various economic interests anxious to exploit them.

Large land

was leased to foreign companies, which, in addition to acquiring rights over the resources, were allowed to control

FREEDOM, DEMOCRACY, COURAGE and FREE PEOPLES.

Suddenly, these

same words were being huried at them from distant parts of  
their "empires."

Pan-African movements were under way.

'workers

federations were being formed, and the Eoyptians were causing  
the British so many headaches that in the finai "cieran-up" of  
the war, they were afraid to turn their backs on Egyptian  
regiments in their own army.

Faced with tremendous pressures from international  
bodies and from their far-fiung coiohies, most coioniai powers  
began conceding some rights of seif-determination to peopies  
under their control.

They agreed to consider certain steps  
towards independence and began talking about democratic forms  
of government.

Not so Portugal.

That government stoutiy prociaimed that  
her African territories did not need â\200\235independenceâ\200\235 since they  
were an integrai part of Portugai, which â\200\234piaces on paraiei  
lines the interests of EurOpeans as icndcrs in the transforma-  
tion of backward regions and the interests of the natives as  
a mass prepared te become part of a future civiilizcd peopia "  
In 1923: this poiiicy of â\200\234equalityâ\200\235 and "assimilation"  
was so convincingly explained to H.E.B. DuBois that, for a  
short time, he was compietoiy deceived.

That year an organiza~

tion of African and muiatto students of Lisbon had participated  
in the Third Pan-African Cehgress which met in London.

Before

he obtained the Ph.D. degree from Northwestern: then came his great onportunity.

The United Nations named him to the Economic Commission for Africa to do research in African urbanism.

In this capacity he came to know African ambassadors, statesmen and nationalist leaders with whom he compared notes and experiences: he broadened his knowledge and grew in understanding.

And in 1961, with his bride, he was able to take his leave in Mozambique.

Though traveiling on a U.h. passport?

this was a risky undertaking, for alreaĩ-\201y Eduardo Mondiane was a â\200\234marked man.â\200\234

But though the poiice dogged his steps and harassed his movements, the Mondianes traveied over much of the country and were enthusiashticaiiy received by the native peoples. What he saw and heard during that trip, plus the eagerness with which his people fiockeĩ-\202 about him? burned deep into his heart. He left the country reluctantiy.

Not long after returning to the United States; Dr.

Mondiane aecepted the appointment at Syracuse University and was a founding member of the Program of Eastern African Studies.

Syracuse University's creation of the Eduardo C. Mondiane Hemorial Fund? your gathering today to remember and honor a former coieagueg your resolution to increase efforts to soive the probiems to which this scholar dedicated himselfa bear witness to his life and work here.

Yet, his time at this University was short.

For now

his mind was on fire with ideas of organizing a movement to

information, of discussions and of drawing up resolutions, petitions and pleas which were presented to international bodies.

But by 1945 the Pan-African movement had reached a new and more mature stage.

With representation from the African

Railway Employers Union, the Trade Unions of Nigeria and Sierra Leone: the Pan-African Federation of workers in Europe, representatives from Tanganyika, and South Africa, the tone of the Congress was more positive and even militant.

Its Declaration to Colonial Workers, Farmers and Intellectuals

'  
"We affirm the right of all Colonial Peoples to control their own destiny.

All colonies must be free from foreign imperialist control, whether political or economic. .

. We say

to the peoples of the Colonies that they must fight for these ends by all means at their disposal."

From this 1945 Congress, representatives returned to their countries fired with the ideas and aspiration of Pan-Africanism which now began fermenting in its natural habitat.

Among those who went back were Jomo Kenyatta, who began the struggle for independence in Kenya and Kwame Nkrumah, who after a long absence returned to Ghana, then known as the Gold Coast.

"Liberation of Africa" and "Development of Africa for Africans and not merely for the profit of Europeans" were slogans which were sounded throughout the continent.

were always muffled and sad.

The boy thought on these things;

he had heard the tired bitterness in the Old ones' voices when they spoke and his own heart was heavy.

He tells us that the fact that he went to school at all, "I owe to the far-sightedness of my mother, who was my father's third and last wife, and a woman of considerable character and intelligence."

"Bush schools" was what the Portuguese called them, speaking contemptuously of these efforts of some few valiant missionaries.

But to many African mothers these schools brought a ray of hope, since they provided a possible way through for their sons, whose traditional futures had been so drastically cut off.

From the time he was ten years old, young Eduardo worked and studied at Swiss Presbyterian bush schools.

He listened and learned and read everything that came to his hands.

Part of this time he lived in the home of a Swiss missionary, who appreciated the boy's exceptional capacity.

Meanwhile, the Second World War was fought and won for the Free Peoples."

Eduardo was in high school when in 1945 the Pan-African Congress met in Manchester, England, and ignited the torches of liberation which were carried from that Congress into the remotest parts of Africa.

Until that time the work of the Pan-African Congress had emphasized the importance of coming together," of disseminating

EDUARDO CHIVAMBO MONDLANE:

HIS CONTRIBUTION TO RESOLUTION AND EVOLUTION

By

Shirley Graham DuBois

He was a man of peace, a man of strength and a giant intellect.

He was an African patriot, a leader of his people, who served them always, unmindful of himself; of dangers - seeking no reward save that final accolade:

"well done!"

He walked this

Earth with dignity unbowed by adverse blasts, his spirit free and unfettered, proud of his people and his land, his eyes were lifted to a vision which pushed back horizons of time and place and unfolded the "immortal years of God."

He died in the cause of freedom.

January, 1969.

The piece, Khartoum, Republic of Sudan.

From all parts of Africa we had gathered there for a conference. Similar to, yet very different from the Pan-African Congresses called together by W.E.B. DuBois and others, in Europe, beginning in 1900.

Those meetings assembled for the purpose of bringing into closer touch the peoples of Africa and of African descent throughout the world.

They exchanged information and sought ways

and means to free the enslaved continent from the chains which bound her.

They appealed to the enlightened world for understanding, drew up countless statements and resolutions to place before every international body -- the first going to the Versailles

I recall Dr. Mondlane as he talked with us in small groups.

Relaxed, genial, cordial he listened, weighed and considered before offering his opinion on any question raised.

Never dictatorially always earnestly, with sound logic out of his own varied experiences and broad knowledge he counseled those who sought his advice.

He was a brilliant conversationalist, was endowed with a fine sense of humor; his deep laughter was contagious.

Later that month I served on a panel of which he was Moderator at an Arab Conference in Cairo.

Our panel had to wrestle with the problem of self-determination for the Palestinian people.

It was Dr. Mondlane whose skillful handling of this question brought forth the resolution unanimously adopted in the final session of the Arab Conference.

Three weeks later he was assassinated - killed instantly by a bomb hidden in a package of books.

Why?

The answer is clear.

Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, in the forty-nine years of his dynamic life, had become a very real threat to Portugal's power and exploitation of Africa. By organizing resistance to Portugal he came into conflict with all neo-colonialist designs.

Under his leadership, the people of Mozambique were claiming their land.

They were

-11"

This is the land in which Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane  
was born

on the 20th of June, 1920 -- three years before the  
Portuguese officials in Lisbon were explaining to the Pan-African  
Congress the advantages enjoyed by Africans born in their "over-  
seas provinces."

He says of himself, "Like most Mozambique children, I  
began life in a village, and until the age of ten I spent my  
days herding the family livestock with my brothers and absorbing  
the traditions of my tribe and family."

Gaza district in southern Mozambique was a burnt-out,  
depopulated area.

The bare maintenance of life was difficult for  
its people.

One can see this little black boy, his bare feet  
kicking up the dusts guiding his few goats and sheep into the best  
possible pastures, and then, finding a shrub or knotty tree under  
which he could sit, protected  
from the sun.

There was little  
attractive in the landscape, but as he lay back looking up at  
clouds moving slowly across the blue sky, he could think.

He  
recalled the stories he had heard when the fathers of the village  
assembled in the evenings.

The boy heard them talking of the  
"old days" -- days of plenty when the people came together for  
feasting -- of how the hunters came in with much meat -- of singing  
and dancing, when the drums were happy and gay.

He heard about  
how his grandfather, a Big Chief, had led the people against  
strange enemies who had come from "outside" -- how these evil  
ones had killed many, and burned their village.

Now the drums



Thus it was that when Eduardo Mondlane managed to obtain the matriculation Certificate of the Joint Matriculation Board of South Africa, which allowed him to study at the Jan H. Hofmeyr School of Social Studies in Johannesburg, the African Congress of native peoples had been formed in South Africa and black people there were shouting â\200\235Free - dom!"

It was inevitable that Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane responded to these activities.

Above the traffic of Johannesburg streets, he heard the beating of his village drums.

He remembered!

He remembered!

But he persevered in his studies and had reached Witwatersrand University in South Africa when, with other students, he formed a student resistance organization.

"In 1949 the secondary school pupils, led by some

who had been to South Africa to study, formed the Nucleo dos Estudantes Africanos de Moçambique (NESAM) which was linked to the Centre Associative dos Negros de Moçambique, and which similarly under cover of social and cultural activities, conducted among the youth a political campaign to spread the idea of national independence and encourage resistance to the cultural subjection which the Portuguese imposed.

kept a close watch on the movement. the students returned from South Africa who had founded NESAM, was arrested and questioned at some length about our activities."

From the first, the police

I, myself, as one of

The Struggle for Mozambique,  
Eduardo Mondlane:  
Chapter 59 page 113.

The young man had by this time attained the status of an assimilated.

But it took the combined efforts of his teachers,

plus his own stubborn application, to get him admitted to Lisbon University in Portugal.

In the final analysis, it appeared that



It was Dr. Mondlane, speaking from the platform on  
Mozambique, who inspired that gathering with courage and hope.  
To many of us? Mozambique had been an obscure part of "Portuguese  
Africa" -- isolated from the struggles towards independence --  
and so tightly held by the Portuguese that other Europeans  
were generally excluded.  
But here was the leader of the Mozambique  
Liberation Front setting off a movement which was wiping out tribal  
differences and weaving a battered populace together in a united  
front of action.  
He told of victories won? of sections already  
wrested from the Portuguese, of the successful training of men  
and women.  
I quote Dr. Mondlane's words as they were later  
published-

War was forced on us.

Since we do not choose war as our path to national

independence.

we have no choice, it is worth recognizing  
and trying to exploit the constructive aspects  
of armed struggle.

. Liberation is  
to us not simply a matter of expelling the  
Portuguese: it means reorganizing the life  
of the country and setting it on the road  
to sound national development.

"One thing is certain:  
turned back.  
place in the north cannot be reversed: and even  
in the south? where we are not physically  
fighting the myth of Portuguese strength

The changes that have taken

the country cannot be

been destroyed.

The very fact that in

over a fifth of the country the colonial state  
has been eliminated, has already radically  
changed prospects for the whole of Mozambique  
and perhaps even in the long run for the whole  
of Southern Africa

Eduardo Mondlane:  
for Mozambique, Chapter 10,  
page 2219 Penguin African Library,  
1969.



Peace Conference which met to draw up plans for continual peace after World War 1.

"Peace," declared the Pan-African Congress, "cannot be attained so long as Justice is denied vast numbers of the peoples in this world."

Until 1958, imperialist and colonial powers prevented any such gathering on the continent of Africa.

But, when

in 1958 I attended the first All-African Peoples Conference in Accra, designated by the then Prime Minister, Kwame Nkrumah as the Sixth Pan-African Congress it seemed that this broad and diversified assemblage was spear-heading the triumphant liberation of our continent.

To Accra had come representatives from every region across the deserts and plains from the Indian Ocean, and the Red Sea to the Atlantic Ocean.

There

were underground fighters from South Africa, and Patrice Lumumba came from the Congo.

He rejoiced that the new Africa was truly

"On the march."

But, eleven years later, the Khartoum All African Conference had to review a decade of frustrations, setbacks and coup d'états.

The Nigerian fratricide war was raging the British Government had abandoned the people of Rhodesia to the fascist regime of Ian Smiths African territory was occupied by enemies and African cities were being bombed.

Most of the

delegates who came to Khartoum were discouraged and disheartened. The way ahead seemed too long and difficult.

the Portuguese assumed that this additional "privilege" would so separate the aspirations of this "native" from his own people that he would be satisfied with his personal opportunities.

It

soon became evident, however, that Eduardo Mondlane 222.293.

separated himself from his own people, and he was advised to try to complete his education in the United States.

I am glad he was accepted at Oberlin College.

Oberlin

is my school, and that fact gives me another link with this truly great African patriot.

Oberlin is a small college in Ohio with educational standards as high as its anti-slavery traditions are long.

The college boasts that the basement of its sedate church was one of the stations of the "underground railway" before and during the Civil Wars and that here runaway slaves were hidden and helped on their way to Canada.

It also tells how in the gallery of this same church the Fisk Jubilee Singers were first introduced to a conference of ministers.

I know the welcome given the young black man from far-away Mozambique and I am sure the warmth and cordiality which he found at Oberlin intensified his efforts to find a peaceful solution to the struggle in Mozambique. As always, Eduardo Mondlane worked while he studied.

While a graduate student at Northwestern University, he served as a teaching assistant in the Departments of Sociology, Anthropology and Psychology.

In 1954-55 he taught a course on African Cultures at Roosevelt University, Chicago: and in 1960 he taught a course on African Anthropology at New York University.

That same year

,10\_

to the impoverisheds suffering "natives" to throw off such repression?

Dr. MondTane himself has told us:

â\200\235The new phase of development in Mozambique has been

dominated by South Africa and the United States, although  
â\200\230Great Britaing France and Japan have been important, and  
smaTT western European countries? such as Belgium, Sweden  
and SwitzerTand.

The extraction of minerals, processing  
and manufacturing industries have taken precedence over  
agriculture] production.  
an important piece: American owned Guif OiT started pros-  
pecting as early as 1953. .  
of successfui strikes in Southern Mozambique. .  
American company prospecting for severaT years is the Pan-  
American International Oil Corporation. .

The search for eiT has taken

. The company made a number

. Another

â\200\234In 1967; prospecting rights were granted to three

new American companies -- Sunrey Mozambique OiT Company,  
CTark Mozambique Oil Company and Skeliy Mozambique OiT  
Company -- and a group of South African and French com-  
panies. .  
deposits has been attracting foreign funds. .  
discoveries incTude copper, maTachite, gon and a new  
vein of diamonds at Catuane on the South African border.

. In the Test two years, the discovery of meta]

. recent

"The Zambezi VaTTey scheme is the king~pin of Portu~

gai's plan for development in Mozambique.  
Vailey itseif is already one of the richest agricultural  
areas, and recentTy a number of important minerals have  
been discovered there.

The Zambezi

"The most important aspect of the plan is the con-

struction of a giant dam at Cabora Bassa.  
joint project with South Africa, with considerebTe back-  
ing from Western Europe and the Unitei~\202 States.

This is a

"In 1967 the Mozambique Cotton Institute announced

pians t0 settle 39250 famiTies in the Zambezi Vailey.  
EmpToymnt preference wiTT be given to Portuguese soidiers  
who have completed their service in Mozambique.

â\200\235The main beneficiary Of the plan wiTT not be

Mozambique; but South Africa, the largest consumer of  
power. .  
gal and gives her an important stake in the future of

Mozambique.â\200\234

. The pian draws South Africa closer to Portu~

Eduardo Mondiane:  
The Struggle for  
Hozambique, Chapter 4.



Liberate Mozambique.

He had served as researcher, as teacher, as  
diplomat.

He had placed detailed information before commissions.

He had framed petitions and resolutions.

But the oppressor's

heel still ground his people into the dust.

The world still

turned a deaf ear to all their cries.

Alliance with South Africa

was bringing that fascist state nearer.

And so Eduardo Chivambe

Mondlane, having attained his full stature, reached the decision  
that he must return for positive and direct action to free his  
beleaguered land.

He was fully prepared to do the job; he was knowledge-  
able: he was dedicated.

In the words of our poet, Walt Whitman,

Eduardo could say without sham or boasting:

When I give  
I do not give words

or a little charity

When I give?

I give myself.

I am greatly honored in having this opportunity to  
make my contribution in perpetuating the name of one who has done  
so much in furthering the cause of freedom.

My sincere thanks to

Syracuse university and particularly to the Program of Eastern  
African Studies.

In this ceremony you not only share fond memories  
and appreciation of a noble African Patriot but you also give  
encouragement and hope to the heroic Mozambique people who are  
carrying on under the banner on which he inscribed the words:

planting their feet firmly in the soil of their forefathers  
and fighting off enslavers and deSpoilers.

In vain have the  
colonial powers thought that with the death of this inspired  
leader resistance in Mozambique would crumble -- that its  
people would fall back into despair and apathy, that they  
would submit because they saw themselves as helpless.

No!

The spirit, the determinationg the wisdom and  
vision of Eduardo Mondlane lives on -- not only in Mozambique,  
but throughout southern Africa and beyond.

His name is on the  
lips of liberation forces whether they be in Namibia, Zimbabwe9  
Azania or Palestine.

The struggle in Mozambique has now become  
the symbol of what men and women are working for, are planning  
for, and, if necessary, are dying for.

This is the Era of Liberation.

In spite of warheads  
and cartels, in spite of intrigues, betrayal and coup d'etats,

the peoples of this earth -~ whether they be in Africa, Asia,  
the Middle East or South America m- are determined to throw  
off oppressionE exploitation and aggression.

And it was Eduardo  
Mondlane who placed his little-known country5 Mozambiquec in  
the front ranks of this world-wide liberation battle.

He was of the generation which grew up into a world  
already badly shaken by upheavals.

Particularly unexpected  
was the aftermath of the two Hurld Wars on dark peoples.

During  
the course of their fightingg hhites had Spoken eloquently about

MAXWELL GRADUATE SCHOOL OF  
. CITIZENSHIP AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

THE PROGRAM  
OCCASIONAL n  
of  
EASTERN AFRICAN STUDIES  
PAPER

No.

—

"7.

the close of the conference, this organization, known as Liga Africana, invited the Congress to hold a session in Lisbon.

Dr. DuBois was surprised to learn that the Portuguese Government not only knew that the invitation was being extended but endorsed it.

When some time later the Pan-African Congress did meet in Lisbon, a number of Portuguese officials attended, appeared to approve of the demands voiced, and invited Dr. DuBois in for extended discussions of their own "enlightened" policies. These proclaimed policies, indeed, had little relation to Portugal's practices inside her African territories.

Assimi-

lation" was supposed to mean official recognition of entry into the Portuguese "community" so that an African who attained the status of an assimilaçg enjoyed all the privileges -- educationally,

professionally and socially -- of any Portuguese citizen."

In

order to gain this status, an African must read, write and speak Portuguese fluently, must have sufficient means to support his family, must already have the education and habits to make him socially acceptable to Portuguese society, and must be of good conduct.

These requirements of course demanded that the African reach a higher level of civilization than much of the white population; forty per cent of Portugal's population is illiterate and many lack sufficient means to support themselves.

However,

after the African has thus proven himself and his application has been received and approved by all administrative authorities, after he has agreed to cut himself off from all family and friends

â\200\23418...

25th September, 1964 ~â\200\224

In the name of all of you?

Mozambican People:

FRELIMO today solemnly proclaims the General  
Armed Insurrection of the Mozambican People  
aaainst Portuguese Colonialism for the attain-  
ment of the complete independence of Mozambique.

LogicaIIy ~- without haste ~~ thoughtfully -- Eduardo

Mondlane made the transition from Resoluti0n to Rev0lutâ\202-3n9 until

now the African poet Jorge Rebelo can say:

.

.

. forge simple words

.

that even the children can understand  
words which wiII enter every house  
iike the wind  
and fallÂ» iike reÃ© hot embers  
on our peeple's seuIs.

Thanks to Eduardo Chivambo Hondlane,

In Our Iand  
bullets are beginning t0 flower.

The End

Shirley Graham DuBois  
February 10, 1971

directly the lives of Africans living within the areas.

The slave trade had been the most profitable form of commerce in Mozambique and persisted in various forms even after traffic in slaves was legally prohibited.

In 1899 a decree

was issued which smoothed the transition from slavery to "forced labor."

This decree stated that "all natives of Portuguese overseas provinces are obligated to obtain through works the means to subsist and better their social condition."

In case

one failed to obtain such work the government could force him into its own service or into that of an individual employer.

"Forced-labour," therefore, assured plenty of "hands" on Mozambique plantations but was found to be even more profitable if exported to the mines of South Africa.

Here, then, are the main characteristics of Portuguese colonialism:

a centralized net of authoritarian administration.

a firm alliance with the Catholic Church?

armed repression of

native aspirations

the use of foreign companies to exploit

natural resources: forced labor and extensive export of workers to South Africa.

These methods have not been carried out in secret.

Countless reports have been made to all international bodies, and from time to time Portuguese atrocities in Africa make "world news."

Why, then: do they continue?

Why is Portugal not

condemned by the "family of nations"?

Why is it wholly left