(Photographed as evidence from *Mozambique Revolution*, Oct.-Dec., 1971)

THE STRUGGLE THAT KNOWS NO FRONTIERS

From 20th August to 5th October of this year, comrade Samora Machel, the President of FRELIMO, accompanied by comrades Sebastiao Mabote, Pedro Juma, Tomé Eduardo, Alberto Sande and Sérgio Vieira, visited the People's Republic of China, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. In each country visited our delegation had the opportunity for frank and serious discussions with its leaders. Thus in China our President and delegation met for five hours with Comrade Chou en Lai, the Prime Minister. In Korea Comrade Kim il Sung, General Secretary of the Workers' Party of Korea and Prime Minister, also held an extended discussion with us, while in Vietnam we were received for important talks with Comrade Pham Van Dong, who spoke on behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Vietnam and of the Government. In addition, during our stay in Peking, our delegation had talks with representatives of the Royal Government of the National Union of Cambodia as well as representatives of the National United Front; the Prime Minister of Cambodia and President of the Political Bureau of F.U.N.K. led this Cambodian delegation. And in Hanoi we also had conversations with comrades from the Patriotic Front of Laos.

What were the objectives of this trip? What lessons did we draw from it, and what were its results?

To begin with, the three countries which we visited, China, Korea and Vietnam (as well as Cambodia, Laos and South Vietnam with whose representatives we discussed) live, like our own country, in direct confrontation with imperialism. The American imperialists have launched criminal wars against Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Using their various stooges and agents they occupy the Chinese province of Taiwan, the southern part of Korea and attempt to maintain their occupation of South Vietnam. All six countries which we have mentioned either have had to liberate themselves by means of a protracted peoples' war (as in the case of China and the northern parts of Korea and Vietnam) or they are still fighting to expel American imperialism from their countries (as is true of Cambodia, Laos and South Vietnam). Thus together, they embody a very rich experience both of fighting against several imperialisms (French, Japanese and American) and of undertaking national reconstruction in periods of war and peace. And through it all each of these countries is engaged in the building of a new society without exploitation of man by man, a society which exemplifies the power of the people. Our first objective, therefore, was simply to learn from this experience of our comrades in arms, while also transmitting to them knowledge of our own seven years of experience, years not only of war but also of national reconstruction, of building a new society, of installing a people's power.

A second objective was to assure them of our solidarity. For when such countries confront imperialism, whether it is through overt military conflict or not, they become targets not only for the grosser sorts of crimes — bombings with hundreds of planes, destruction of villages, granaries and shambas, countless massacres — but also for all kinds of diverse manouevres to confuse the masses, divide the people and camouflage the nature of the struggle. One such manouevre, for example, is the creation of puppet governments shored up by anti-communist propaganda; others could easily be cited. Like us, therefore, these comrades need solidarity, need moral, political, diplomatic and material support. It was in

light of this realisation that we presented them with our modest contribution by assuring them of our solidarity, of our moral, political and diplomatic support. We told them about our struggle which is a contribution to their own, and assured them also that their struggle in turn helps and stimulates us in our efforts. And by doing this, by learning with them, by telling them about our experience, we further reinforce these very links of friendship, solidarity and camaraderie.

A third objective was equally important. For some of these countries, China and Korea, have already overcome great difficulties and find themselves in advanced phases of economic and social development. These countries not only underwent sufferings caused by traditional and imperialist oppression similar to our own, but also experienced the bitter difficulties of war. As a result they understand our needs and aspirations. Moreover, they remain solidly committed to the destruction of imperialism, which still threatens them and occupies part of their territories — the Province of Taiwan, the southern part of Korea. Such countries have decided to make sacrifices to support our struggle. We sought therefore in our discussions to explain the phase in which our struggle finds itself so that their support meet most directly the needs of our present situation.

Such were our objectives. If we wanted to summarise briefly the lessons which we learnt from our trip, we ought to present the following points:

1. All those countries have had an experience of imperialist exploitation as painful as our own. Nor is their experience forgotten: the enemy is still present. With this in mind, the political parties in each country take particular care to educate the new generations in order to keep alive the spirit of internationalist solidarity.

2. In order to successfully fight the enemy these countries have united the whole people within very large fronts where all patriotic forces are co-ordinated.

3. Revolutionary ideology is the main instrument for uniting the masses, for correctly defining the enemy, for establishing priorities, for distributing tasks.

4. In applying the correct line, and in working amongst the masses, cadres are the decisive factor.

5. The revolutionary army is the main instrument for fulfilling political tasks. The army is composed of the most conscious and firmest elements of the people.

6. Armed struggle is continuously combined with political and diplomatic struggle. Although it is armed struggle which will lead to victory, the situation will define which form of struggle must take priority in any given moment.

7. Militants, both within and outside of the army, continuously combine combat (armed, political, ideological and diplomatic combat) with study (political, technical, scientific, cultural) and production.

8. Man is the decisive factor of victory. Moreover, in order to win it is necessary to rely on one's own forces. Therefore, the freeing of the creative energy of the masses is a crucial preoccupation.

9. Intense revolutionary discipline is a fundamental instrument for raising the level of the work. Since such discipline stems from revolutionary consciousness, it promotes a great spirit of sacrifice and determination.

10. Where there is revolutionary activity, the enemy tries always to infiltrate, to sabotage the revolution. Sustained vigilance is therefore necessary.

11. Vigilance is to be extended to ourselves as well, for war cannot be combined with comfort, nor revolution with corruption. Comfort and corruption are enemy agents in our midst.

12. International solidarity is very important. We must value it highly and act correctly so that to deserve and respect it.

These twelve points, although condensed, summarise the lessons which we learnt from the experience of our comrades. They are not new to us, but they do confirm our experience. Most importantly, they serve to reinforce our present political orientation and encourage us further along the path which we have chosen.

Finally, it can be affirmed that our mission was a very great success from all points of view. Unfortunately the written word is inadequate and cannot serve easily to describe the warmth and friendship with which we were received by our comrades-in-arms in the countries which we visited. But the foundation of such friendship will be apparent from what has been said above and it is of fundamental importance. For it springs from a basic unity: as we fight, arms in hand, comrades in other parts of the world who have also taken strength from their own hard battle against imperialism, come to respect us, to value the sacrifices we have been making, and to work with us. Thus, increasingly, we combat together.