

A DOCUMENT FOR THE HISTORY OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM:  
A FRELIMO "WHITE PAPER" BY DR. EDUARDO C.  
MONDLANE (1920-1969)

Translation from the Portuguese and Notes  
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The document translated and annotated below was written in late 1967. Its exact significance may be judged only when future historians have access to a host of materials from foreign, African nationalist, and Portuguese sources to place it in the pattern of the history of Mozambican national movements. Today, being so close to the events of 1967-1969, we cannot be certain of all the circumstances of the motives of its author, or of the underlying conflicts which prompted Eduardo C. Mondlane to write it and to direct its important message primarily to his nationalist party members in Africa and student members abroad.

Despite our present relative ignorance, this much is known. In the last decade, revolutionary nationalist parties in Portuguese Africa have undergone changes, shifts in emphasis, and internecine conflicts. Until several years ago, it seemed that the FRELIMO (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique) party of Mozambique, a coalition of African nationalists established in 1962 and led by Dr. Mondlane, was more unified, more efficiently led, and less torn by inner conflicts than most other parties of Portuguese African nationalists. Within the last several years, however, FRELIMO experienced certain internal divisions and disagreements. Certain Mozambican groups within Tanzania, where the party enjoyed recognition and aid from the Nyerere government, came into more open conflict with Dr. Mondlane. Some attacked him verbally. Abroad, some students from Mozambique studying in American colleges and universities also became more critical of Mondlane's leadership. Some suggested that he resign. The real reasons for this conflict are not clear, although there have been speculations that they would fall into ideological (Maoist vs. non-Maoist, etc.), personal, and political categories. While Mondlane met some resistance from some of his followers by early 1969, he was also a wanted man to the Portuguese authorities in Mozambique, the scene of FRELIMO guerrilla operations since September 1964. To many European settler groups in southern Africa he was well known as a strong nationalist leader with an American education.

One other fact exists. On February 3, 1969, Dr. Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane opened a mailed package in his office near Dar-es-Salaam and was instantly killed when the bomb concealed inside the European-stamped package exploded. Thus ended the life of the most prominent and talented of Mozambican nationalists.

The document which follows has a special character. It was composed during an era of troubles in the party, when matters were not running as smoothly as from 1962 to 1966. The style and format of this document, written in Portuguese, are deliberately styled for a certain audience: student members of the nationalist ranks. The translation to English is my own. I have altered some punctuation to facilitate readability and have added notes only when necessary to explain points unfamiliar to readers not conversant with Portuguese African affairs.

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### Mozambique Liberation Front

FRELIMO

A Brief Account of the Situation of the Mozambican Students Abroad  
and of Their Participation in the Struggle for  
National Liberation

Dar-es-Salaam, December 1967

#### Introduction

Today the Mozambican people are living in one of the most critical moments of their History, the moment when the creation of the Mozambican Nation is being made possible by means of the struggle; it is when our society resumes its historical initiative, when it becomes subject to that same History.

The fundamental element for an understanding of our present situation is the existence in our Fatherland [Patria] of a politico-military struggle which has created a mobilization and patriotic rising of our People, rich in revolutionary potential, which will be transformed into the future cultural, social and economic development of the Fatherland.

It has been the constant preoccupation of the FRELIMO Central Committee, that all the People participate actively in the different tasks necessary for the success of our struggle. This is as it should be, since, faced with massive military repression, the complicity, and the aid the enemy receives in the international sphere, only the Unity, Mobilization and Action of the Mozambican People, in its entirety, can liberate the Fatherland.

Thus it is mandatory, given the scarcity of means at our disposal, and in accord with the national needs and possibilities, that each individual place his energies in the service of the Fatherland and therefore participate directly in the struggle for national liberation. It is evident that students are to be included in this consideration.

Unfortunately, whether because of certain failures on the part of the Central Committee, or because of the corrupt and evil influence of imperialism, CERTAIN STUDENT COMRADES AS MUCH BECAUSE OF THEIR FAILURE TO COMPREHEND THE TRUE MOZAMBICAN SITUATION AND THE DEMANDS OF THE STRUGGLE, AS BECAUSE OF EGOTISTICAL TENDENCIES, HAVE BECOME HESITANT, THUS RAISING OBSTACLES BEFORE THEIR DIRECT PARTICIPATION IN THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION.

It was necessary to produce this document in order to clarify this situation and to correct weaknesses, to apply fully and correctly the necessary principle of integral participation, directed and organized by all the Mozambicans, including students, in the struggle for national liberation; [this document] recounts the history of the students abroad, [and] the principles and practices of FRELIMO with regard to the participation of students, and it will enable everyone to understand and to learn about all the dimensions of the problem.

It is therefore important to give a summary of the past which throws light upon the present and which can recreate the context in which the principles mentioned above were born.

#### THE SITUATION BEFORE 1961

The deliberate policy of obscurantism of the Portuguese colonialists is well known, but it can be reviewed here as a basis to clarify certain phenomena.

One fact is evident and clear: by any account, the colonial, economic, political and social situation in which the Mozambican People find themselves constitutes and has constituted an obstacle to the cultural development and the training of Mozambican leadership [quadros], especially at the university level.

Until 1961, and the beginning of the armed struggle for national liberation in the Portuguese colonies, we can describe -- albeit schematically -- the colonial policy with regard to education in the following manner:

1. The teaching of Africans, Negroes, was entirely entrusted to a private organization, the Catholic Church, and thus the State discharged itself from any responsibility for education (1940 Concordat; Decree-Law 31.027 of 5 May 1941). The so-called rudimentary education<sup>1</sup> was contrived as a barrier IMPEDING the African, the Negro, from acquiring true professional qualification, or from entering higher education.

1. The author is referring to the program of elementary instruction (3-5 years in length) called "ensino primário rudimentar," used before 1961 in predominantly African rural areas by mission schools. In 1956 the program was renamed "ensino de adaptação"; it was abolished and reformed in the years following 1961. James Duffy, Portuguese Africa (Cambridge, 1959), 313; Michael A. Samuels, "The New Look in Angolan Education," Africa Report, XII, 8 (Nov. 1967), 65.

2. The colonial State FAVORED education of white children and with regard to Negroes, favored a certain level of education for Indians and mestiços;<sup>2</sup> the education of the latter was to create above all inferior leadership groups who would act as intermediaries between the colonial power and the white society on one side, and the exploited society, the Africans, on the other.

3. It is not surprising under these conditions that hardly any mestiços and even fewer Negroes were in secondary schools. For example, in 1960 in Mozambican secondary education there were fewer than 140 mestiços and Negroes (the latter had around 40).<sup>3</sup>

4. Several Negro youths tried to attend secondary schools in South Africa or in Rhodesia; it is to be noted that although these countries were racist, facilities for the African were better than those in Mozambique ruled by a pretentiously non-racist Portugal.

5. The Portuguese State had practically no facilities for a Negro youth who wanted higher education, presented less difficulty for mestiços [seeking education], and provided all facilities to the sons of colonists.

In these circumstances, the Negro youths who wished to enter higher education SOUGHT TO OBTAIN SCHOLARSHIPS TO THE UNITED STATES or even to South Africa, especially through the auspices of Protestant missions.

In sum, the Negro or mestiço students, in order to get into higher education, depended almost exclusively, if not completely in the case of Negroes, on family funds; such funds as a general rule among Negro families were nil, and therefore the education of Negroes depended upon scholarships for study abroad.

Only two Mozambican Negroes attended a Portuguese University before the 1950's: Francisco Xavier Mabunda and the young writer João Dias; in both cases they left to complete High School studies in Portugal; Xavier Mabunda graduated and returned to Mozambique about 1940 and João Dias died in 1949, before having completed his studies. About one dozen mestiço youths also attended the Portuguese University during this period.

During the decade 1950-1960, there was Domingos Arouca, presently imprisoned by the colonialist authorities, who succeeded in graduating with a Law degree; at the end of the 1950's there were some Negro youths at the University, but (presently the number is fewer than two dozen) these cases ARE FUNDAMENTALLY EXCEPTIONAL.

Three other Negro youths succeeded in attending Universities outside Mozambique and Portugal during the period mentioned above. Since they form a background for the present situation, these cases deserve a little more attention.

2. Mestiço, literally a "mixed person" or mulatto, métis, Eurafrikan.
3. Readers should realize, however, that official Portuguese population statistics are not always reliable on numbers of mestiços in Portuguese Africa since a certain portion of the population listed as "European" is actually mestiço.

The first case was that of KAMBA SIMANGO, who during the 1920's was able to get a scholarship to the United States, where he completed the first cycle of higher education (BA). Then he returned to Mozambique where he went to teach in Protestant mission schools. Nevertheless, due to the difficulties created by the colonialists, he was obliged to go into exile, first in Rhodesia, and later to Ghana where he died in 1967.

In 1949 comrade Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, expelled from South Africa, was able to get an American scholarship to continue his university studies in Portugal. Due to persecution by PIDE<sup>4</sup> and desiring to study a field in the Social Sciences not then existing at the Portuguese University, comrade Mondlane, after one academic year at the Faculty of Letters of the University of Lisbon (1950-51), with three other students from the Portuguese colonies, tried to leave Portugal. He then left for the United States, where he received a Doctorate in 1956 (Ph.D.).

The fascist-colonialist government then attempted "to recover" comrade Mondlane, proposing to offer him a chair in the Higher Institute of Overseas Studies, directed at that time by Prof. Adriano Moreira. Comrade Mondlane explained that he was prepared to return to Mozambique to work, but that he was not interested in teaching in Portugal, where his role would be that of a window-dressing display, the "faithful and wise Negro" who would be shown off to "prove" the "multi-racial" and "non-colonialist" policies of Portugal. Until 1959, this offer was annually made to him with insistence and, as the Portuguese government began to see its policy denounced internationally, it proposed again to him in order to gain his confidence, [the offer of] a chair, especially created in his honor, in Tropical Anthropology, beginning in the academic year 1959-60. Again comrade Mondlane refused the Portuguese proposal.

In order to be better prepared for Mozambican resistance, in which he played an original role, and with which he kept close and intimate contact, after his stay in Mozambique in February 1961, comrade Mondlane perceived the beginnings of internal and external conditions favorable to a new advance of the national resistance; he then left his position at the headquarters of the United Nations and went to teach at Syracuse University (1961-63).

In June 1962, as is well known, comrade Mondlane was chosen to lead FRELIMO, which had just been created; he was elected a member of the Central Committee and President of FRELIMO in the Congress of September of that same year.

The third case was that of comrade Guilherme Mabunda, who has now ended his medical studies and is doing his internship.

Comrade Mabunda finished high school in South Africa in 1953, where he was offered a study scholarship, on the condition that the Portuguese government provide half of the expenses: this he refused.

4. The official state secret police of Portugal, with components in Portugal as well as in Portuguese Africa. The initials stand for *Polícia Internacional e da Defesa do Estado*.

Comrade Mabunda then wrote to comrade Mondlane asking his assistance in obtaining a scholarship to study medicine. Comrade Mondlane contacted the President of Oberlin University<sup>5</sup> to get a scholarship, and, thanks to an effort by certain people in Chicago, arranged the funds necessary to pay the way of comrade Mabunda. In 1959 comrade Mabunda finished the first cycle of higher studies (BS) in sciences and entered the Faculty of Medicine at Indianapolis, although an illness delayed the progress of his studies between 1959 and 1963; he got his degree in the latter year and now is an intern.

#### THE ARMED STRUGGLE AND ITS EFFECTS ON EDUCATION PROGRAMS

Until the Portuguese colonies began their armed struggle, not one country thought of helping these people to educate highly trained personnel [quadros técnicos].

For example, the United States had 3 programs for Africa: the Emergency Program for Kenyan Students, the African Students Program in American Universities -- begun by Harvard University -- and the Program of the Cultural Section of the State Department, which hoped to train personnel for newly independent countries, or, in collaboration with the colonial powers, to train groups for their dependent territories.

The new situation in 1961 was determined by the beginning of the war of liberation in the Portuguese colonies, that is, when the Angolan insurrection was unleashed in February 1961.

The war brought world attention to our countries, and thus the world learned of the enormity of the Portuguese colonial exploitation, of their policy against [our] culture. Because of their solidarity with our Peoples who fought the colonialists with arms in hand, many countries and organizations established programs to help train leadership groups for our countries.

In May 1961, thanks to the help of several organizations -- including the World Council of Churches -- more than one hundred students from the Portuguese colonies and among them 4 Mozambicans, were able to elude the vigilance of PIDE and to leave Portugal secretly.

With the new situation created in 1961 -- war in the colonies, the escape of more than one hundred youths from Portugal (new escapes came as much from Portugal as from Mozambique), and the existence of a considerable nucleus of Mozambican students at the secondary level in Rhodesia -- certain countries, especially the United States, the Soviet Union, the German Federal Republic and Switzerland -- and later many other countries, above all socialist countries -- created programs especially designed for the advanced training of leaders from the countries at war with Portuguese colonialism.

It was under these conditions, for example, that JOÃO NHAMBIU left for the United States in 1961, and Pascoal MOCUMBI and Joaquim CHISSANO went to

5. Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio, an American private college founded in 1833.

Poitiers (France), after having secretly left Portugal with many other students in May of the same year.

A little earlier, in February, when comrade Mondlane was on his visit to Mozambique, various youths and their families had contacted him to obtain scholarships in American Universities. Among these was José Chicuarra MASSINGA.

Since Massinga was a former Catholic Seminary student, comrade Mondlane tried to obtain a scholarship to the Catholic University of Fordhan [sic = Fordham]. The University promised to accept Massinga, if he would present scholarly credentials stating his purposes in studying in the Seminary. (Later the University refused to accept Massinga, pleading opposition from the Portuguese Church.) Since the University still did not offer to pay the expenses of Massinga, the Cultural Section of the Department of State was contacted; they had agreed in principle to provide scholarships to Mozambican youths.

The American Consul in Lourenço Marques informed the Munhuana mission, where Massinga lived, that he had gotten a study scholarship to the United States.

Massinga got a passport [and] visas and was preparing to leave, when, at the airport, he was arrested. Another attempt to leave via Rhodesia resulted in yet another period of imprisonment. Seeing that it was now impossible to leave Mozambique legally, Massinga secretly escaped to Swaziland, where he wrote to comrade Mondlane, now a Professor at Syracuse, informing him of his new predicament.

Comrade Mondlane renewed his contacts in order to arrange a scholarship for Massinga and, in 1962, the latter finally succeeded in getting to the United States, where until recently he was studying.

Recently, thanks to the coordinated action of FRELIMO, of UNEMO<sup>6</sup> and of the Mozambican Institute,<sup>7</sup> and thanks also to the solidarity exhibited by the world toward our struggle, especially in the socialist countries, many dozens of Mozambican youths were able to get scholarships to different Universities and Technical Schools, now integrated into the general lines of the FRELIMO programs.

6. UNEMO stands for "União Nacional dos Estudantes Moçambicanos" or "National Union of Mozambican Students," and it is the major association of Mozambican students operating outside Mozambique. It was founded in 1961 in Paris by João Nhambiu (see page 324) and three other students. UNEMO influence with that of other groups, helped make possible the formation of the FRELIMO in 1962. Earlier in 1962, UNEMO leaders resident in American colleges visited Dr. Mondlane at Syracuse University and urged him to form and lead a coalition party to which they would lend their allegiance.
7. MI in the text of the paper stands for "Mozambique Institute," an educational institution associated with FRELIMO in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania. Directed by Mrs. Janet Mondlane, wife of Dr. Mondlane, the Institute has offered primary and secondary education to African students, mainly FRELIMO members and Mozambican refugees.

In short: IT IS BECAUSE OF THE STRUGGLE IN OUR COUNTRY THAT [there are] PROGRAMS DESIGNED TO TRAIN ADVANCED LEADERSHIP GROUPS, AS A SIGN OF SOLIDARITY WITH OUR FIGHTING PEOPLE. In the case of the socialist countries, the programs are executed in collaboration with FRELIMO, with respect to their relevance to Mozambique; in other cases, as occurs in the United States, whose major goal is to recruit students, the program is executed with or without the cooperation or agreement of the nationalist organizations.

#### PARTICIPATION OF STUDENTS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION

As stated in the Introduction, once FRELIMO was formed and structured, it attempted to introduce students to the experience of the struggle for the national liberation of the Mozambican People.

This attitude was as much a necessity of the situation as it was part of the needs and aspirations of the Mozambican People. The student is part of the People, like any other group, and the same duties fall to him [since these duties] come from the same rights. Furthermore, DUE TO THE SITUATION OF ILLITERACY OF MORE THAN 95% OF THE POPULATION, BEING A STUDENT IN ITSELF IS A PRIVILEGE, and it is normal therefore, that this privilege postulates a major fulfillment of duties, ESPECIALLY SINCE THE BENEFIT OF A SCHOLARSHIP IS A DIRECT CONSEQUENCE OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE MASSES, MAINLY COMPOSED OF ILLITERATES.

But everyone realizes that THE MAJORITY OF STUDENTS DO NOT ASPIRE TO HAVE SPECIAL PRIVILEGES, since their privileged situation is somewhat against that for which they are struggling, when, directly by their physical presence, or indirectly, they contribute to the fight against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism, responsible for the present obscurantist situation in the Fatherland.

It is for this reason -- keeping in mind as well the sum of the technical knowledge of students and intellectuals for the sake of the development of the struggle for national liberation, and recognizing the need for a close unity between the student, the intellectual, and the masses, and knowing that [students] still have a great deal to learn -- that FRELIMO has established a certain number of principles of conduct.

Quite a while ago the Central Committee of FRELIMO decided: THAT ALL STUDENTS WHO LEAVE MOZAMBIQUE, BEFORE PURSUING THEIR STUDIES, MUST PARTICIPATE DURING A CERTAIN PERIOD IN SPECIFIC TASKS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION.

Thus, from the very beginning, it was required that the student could by this participation acquire through practice initial revolutionary training and would fully participate in the struggle and aspirations of the masses; at the same time, [the student would] be putting his knowledge ACQUIRED BY STUDY AT THE DISPOSAL OF THE NATIONAL CAUSE.



On the other hand, it is necessary to keep in mind certain other factors and possibilities, including individual [situations]:

- Youths over 18 years of age, who have not completed primary schooling -- 4th class<sup>8</sup> -- are immediately integrated into the politico-military programs.

- Youths under 18 years of age, who have completed primary school, are integrated into the IM [Mozambique Institute] where they can pursue secondary studies up to the level of 2nd cycle of high school.<sup>9</sup>

- Other youths, approaching 19 years of age, who are attending advanced classes in technical and [liberal arts] high schools, be encouraged, if necessary after a period of recycling in the IM, to continue their studies in foreign Universities and Technical Schools.

The Central Committee is still attempting to place students in different countries and in this placement process, the Committee is keeping in mind the kind of training possessed by the candidates.

In this spirit, the Central Committee succeeded on the one hand to integrate students, and on the other to provide the needed training of leadership personnel so useful for the Fatherland. This [student] integration in the movement was possible, thanks to the direct effort furnished the revolution during the period preceding and following the cycle of studies in the IM, thanks again to the work done during the school holidays of the IM. Therefore, THE STUDENT WENT ABROAD PRECISELY BECAUSE FRELIMO HAD DECIDED THIS WAS BEST, and the student was in this way continuing as a part of the national action.

This last point deserves some attention: we should explain that, when an act is carried out due to a decision by FRELIMO, when it is carried out in a disciplined manner, it is always a revolutionary act.

In the context of the struggle for the national liberation of Mozambique, WHICH IS OUR HISTORIC TASK IN THE PRESENT PHASE, because FRELIMO and only FRELIMO KNOWS [and] understands the real motivations of the People and clarifying their historic objectives; [only FRELIMO knows how] TO ORGANIZE, TO UNITE, TO EDUCATE THE PEOPLE POLITICALLY AND TO PREPARE THEM MILITARILY, BECAUSE FRELIMO AND ONLY FRELIMO WAS CAPABLE OF DEFINING STRATEGY AND TACTICS ADEQUATE IN ORDER TO UNLEASH, TO DEVELOP, TO CONSOLIDATE, TO EXTEND AND TO CARRY

8. Fourth class, or quarta classe in Portuguese, represents the first major stage of primary schooling in the Portuguese system. Depending on the school and area, "4th class" certificates are attained after 3-5 years of school beyond the first year of primary school. Often such a certificate is a major prerequisite for employment in Portuguese Africa in jobs which require literacy.
9. Passing from primary to secondary school in Portuguese Africa is difficult for many students. There are three cycles in secondary school, the first two, the second three, and the last two years. Certain civil service jobs are customarily attainable after successful completion of the second cycle.

TO SUCCEED THE ARMED STRUGGLE OF NATIONAL LIBERATION; FRELIMO [therefore] APPEARS AS THE INCARNATION OF THE WILL AND ASPIRATIONS OF THE MOZAMBICAN MASSES, THE DEPOSITORY OF NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AND LEADERSHIP FOR THE FATHERLAND.

Thus, to obey FRELIMO is to obey the Fatherland, to pursue an objective which is the historic task of our People in the present phase of national liberation.

It is not necessary to be a member of FRELIMO for there to be a duty to obey the decisions of FRELIMO. In the present situation of FRELIMO, since it embodies the historic will of the People and fulfills it in the struggle it is leading, FRELIMO APPEARS AS THE WILL OF THE FATHERLAND; ITS LEADERSHIP CANNOT BE QUESTIONED, BECAUSE IT IS EXERCISED FOR THE SAKE OF GOALS WHICH ARE INDISPUTABLE: INDEPENDENCE, UNITY, AND THE LIBERATION OF THE FATHERLAND. Therefore, IT IS ENOUGH TO BE A MOZAMBICAN TO BE OBLIGED THROUGH PATRIOTIC DUTY TO OBEY FRELIMO. It is clear that besides being patriots, those who are also members of FRELIMO have a double duty: as a patriot and as a member of the party, subject to its internal discipline. It is clear that the first duty, the fundamental one, is that which concerns us here.

It is therefore normal that in the phase that preceded the creation of FRELIMO, UNEMO for example, although assuming a patriotic attitude, had not desired to ally itself with or accept the political leadership of ONE party, since none of the parties then in existence was capable of assuming the leadership and responsibilities of the Fatherland; to act in any other way, UNEMO would have risked dividing students and continuing to keep a division in the patriotic ranks. But since FRELIMO was confirmed in its role as catalyst of national energy and as an expression of the historic objectives of the Fatherland, UNEMO, quite rightly, has accepted THE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP OF FRELIMO.

When they did this, UNEMO fulfilled its patriotic duty; at the same time, there were within UNEMO students who, either because of a lack of understanding or from ignorance, were not members of FRELIMO, or they belonged to organizations which, though composed of Mozambicans, were NOT [truly] Mozambican (either because they did not embody the historic Mozambican will, leading the struggle, or because -- and this is even more serious -- they opposed FRELIMO, which does embody and lead the will of the Fatherland); the acceptance of the political leadership of FRELIMO on the part of UNEMO meant that all the students in that body would indirectly be integrated into the organized action of the Mozambican people against colonialism and imperialism, for the liberation of the Fatherland.

Thus it is understandable that the student, in the United States or in the Democratic German Republic, for example, attending classes, could continue to be a part of and to participate in the organized action of the People. In fact, that student sent abroad by FRELIMO (or by UNEMO which acts under the political direction of FRELIMO) is carrying out one of the points of the FRELIMO program: the training of leadership groups needed for the liberation and development of the Fatherland.

It is for that reason also that FRELIMO, fully understanding its historic role as the embodiment of the will and objectives of the Fatherland, acts so that ALL Mozambicans participate in the different tasks of the national liberation, whether or not, technically, they are members of FRELIMO. And in the same way, affirming its non-partisanship, the Central Committee of FRELIMO has already had occasion to inform students orally that those students who are not members of FRELIMO and who, because of a lack of understanding or lack of information, even if they are members of pseudo-Mozambican organizations, can, if they wish, fulfill their patriotic duty by being part of a program in which FRELIMO will place them.

There is one last point: the Central Committee, although it is the leadership of FRELIMO, is an organ accustomed normally to formulating the will of FRELIMO since, as already stated, it does embody the objectives of the Fatherland.

It is now necessary to discuss this because the Central Committee, responding on the one hand to the legitimate desire expressed by the majority of students to participate more directly in the struggle for national liberation (many students even wished to interrupt their studies or even to abandon their studies in order to dedicate themselves to the tasks of the struggle; the Meetings and Congresses of UNEMO always affirmed the readiness of students and their desire to play a more direct role in the struggle), still considering the needs of our own struggle which is encountering serious difficulties due to the deliberate obscurantist policy of the colonialists, and also taking into account the need for revolutionary training for leadership and future leadership groups of the Fatherland, and that this training can be effective only when there is close cooperation with the masses, also recognizes the financial impossibility of students returning periodically to Africa during their long holidays; THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF FRELIMO DECIDED AND ORALLY INFORMED STUDENTS THAT:

- students who had finished the first cycle of higher education in which they were matriculated (preparatory, preliminary instruction for arts and sciences, BA, BS and equivalents), or the second cycle (or bachelor's degree, diploma, MA, MS, or the equivalent) SHOULD NOT REGISTER FOR THE NEXT HIGHER COURSE OF STUDY WITHOUT FIRST INTERRUPTING THEIR STUDIES FOR AT LEAST A YEAR, IN ORDER TO PARTICIPATE DIRECTLY AND CLOSELY IN ANOTHER TASK OF NATIONAL LIBERATION, one different from that in which they now find themselves (that is, their own personal, scientific education for advanced leadership).

Given the situation of the educational system, in the Anglo-Saxon educational system only, this interruption [of one year] is logical after the first cycle of higher education, while in other European systems, the first cycle is a preparation which requires immediate continuation on to the second cycle -- diploma, licentiate.

Nevertheless, the Central Committee accepted one exception to this rule in the interruption of studies at the end of the first cycle of higher education in the Anglo-Saxon system, an exception that can be absorbed by an interruption at the end of the first cycle of the European system:

- in the case of youths in the Physical Sciences or related fields, or even in medical studies, they can interrupt their studies only with SERIOUS HARM WHICH FOR ALL PRACTICAL PURPOSES WOULD DESTROY PREVIOUS EFFORTS. Since in this case the interruption has the same consequences as would those in the European system, it means a PURE LOSS of time and effort put in; therefore, the Central Committee decided to allow the mentioned exception.

However, these rules, whose need is evident, carry with them in practice two major exceptions, unfortunate and unallowable:

- the first is that of youths who have finished the second cycle of secondary school<sup>10</sup> -- or FORM IV -- who, instead of working for a while for the Revolution before resuming their studies, leave the IM, desert the ranks of the Revolution, thus encouraged by imperialism or by its agents disguised as nationalists. In most of the cases these youths take refuge in Kenya, Sudan, and above all in the United States. In the past there were some cases in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Rumania, but these 3 countries, understanding the Mozambican situation and realizing that their good will in being sympathetic to the Mozambican struggle was being abused, have now ceased to be unwilling accomplices in these desertions.

- the second exceptional case, which until now has occurred only among students in the United States is with youths who have completed the first cycle -- BA -- and who, instigated by imperialists and for purely egotistical reasons and their corruption, refused to interrupt their studies. It has been learned that there were cases of students who had finished their MA (licentiate, or diploma), and decided against the rules of FRELIMO and without authorization from UNEMO, to take up internships, further specialization, and to prepare for Ph.D. candidacy (DES, third cycle of higher education), doctorates, etc. . . .

These students attempted to justify their undisciplined and egotistical behavior by asserting:

1. that in the past, even before the formation of FRELIMO, there were cases of Mozambican youths who went abroad to study not returning to Mozambique;
2. that Mozambique needs leadership with superior training;
3. that future leaders, the leaders of tomorrow, the leaders of the next phase, must conveniently prepare themselves.

These arguments, almost certainly infused with bad faith, cannot stand up to the reality of the facts and of the struggle.

10. In the Portuguese African educational system there are both technical and academic high schools. There are discernible trends in the situation of African students in the academic high schools (liceus) where it is difficult for Africans to get beyond the quarta classe, more Africans are enrolled in the technical than in the academic high schools as of the late 1960's, and a high dropout rate among Africans in higher education. See Samuels, "Angolan Education," 66.

The first argument falls on its very basis: one must reread what was written before on the history of Mozambican students abroad to see that this pre-text lacks foundation. Kamba SIMANGO returned to Mozambique and was forced into exile; Eduardo MONDLANE was persecuted by PIDE in Mozambique and, when he completed his studies, the Portuguese wanted to make him return so as to support a colonialist propaganda maneuver; and Guilherme MABUNDA only now has completed his medical studies and these require a period of internship which he is now fulfilling. There are no other cases in any event during the period which PRECEDES the formation of FRELIMO as well as the unleashing of the armed struggle, and for good reason.

Let us now examine the second argument. Mozambique needs trained leadership, of course! IT IS FOR THIS SAME REASON THAT FRELIMO HAS A PROGRAM. And this program is made possible BECAUSE THERE IS A STRUGGLE IN MOZAMBIQUE. If there are countries which offer study scholarships today, it is because the Mozambican people ARE GIVING THEIR BLOOD for the conquest of national independence, for the liberty of Mozambique, IN THE CAUSE OF THE FREEDOM OF HUMANITY. Socialist countries and various organizations show a solidarity with our struggle, while the imperialist countries, the United States and various organization which collaborate with Portugal against our People, give scholarships in an attempt to educate a leadership which will be favorable to their side. BUT IF THIS OCCURS, IT IS BECAUSE THERE IS A STRUGGLE IN MOZAMBIQUE. Even those students who have deserted the ranks of the revolution and were able to get scholarship ARE BENEFITING DIRECTLY FROM OUR STRUGGLE ON THE INTERNATIONAL PLANE.

Mozambique needs a revolutionary and trained leadership, leaders whose technical training is supported by a revolutionary will and idea, leaders who possess a true dedication to the people and to the revolution, who can be tempered only in the heat of the people and the struggle, in fidelity to the needs of the Fatherland, formulated by FRELIMO which embodies its will and objectives in the present historical phase. This is one of the reasons why FRELIMO obliges the IM students to work during their holidays, to participate directly in the tasks of the Revolution before going abroad, and [it encourages them to] interrupt their studies after the first higher cycle, etc. . . . This serves to "immerse" the student, the intellectual, and the future trained leadership in the bosom of the Revolution.

Everyone must understand this: although the Fatherland needs trained leaders, today as well as tomorrow, it ONLY NEEDS LEADERS WHO ARE REVOLUTIONARY, otherwise even the colonialist [or "colonialist-trained"] leaders would be excellent for us, since they have academic titles and technical qualifications. But we do not need them because their knowledge is used to oppress the people, since their wills, ideas and interests oppose the very revolution that serves the people.

It is fundamental to realize that THE STRUGGLE IS THE MOST IMPORTANT AND BEST TRAINING SCHOOL THERE IS IN THE WORLD. We have comrades who yesterday did not know how to read and who today defeat the colonial army led by officers graduated from Military Academies, who are doing their apprenticeship, and who have torrents of counterrevolutionary knowledge. We

have increased production in the zones under our control with our "ignorant" peasants under the direction of our Central Committee where the only numerous diplomas perhaps are from primary schooling. Nevertheless, we have gotten results superior to those of the companies and the Colonial State with all their engineers, agronomists, laboratory experts, technicians, etc. . . . We teach more children and adults to read and write than the colonialists and, in the meantime, unlike them [the colonialists] we have no primary school graduates, privately schooled teachers, etc. . . . This then is the great lesson of the popular war, the revolution which is now occurring in our Fatherland, in so-called Portuguese Guinea, in Vietnam, or in any part of the world. THE REVOLUTION ALSO NEEDS AND CHERISHES ITS STUDENTS, LEADERS AND REVOLUTIONARY INTELLECTUALS, BUT THEY CAN GET MORE OF AN EDUCATION IN THE REVOLUTION THAN IN THE UNIVERSITY.

The standard of living of the students, even though limited, is far and away better than that of most of the inhabitants of our land, and, besides, the material opportunities open to students after graduation are enormous; it is evident, too, that the revolution cannot compete in salaries with imperialism or with the international companies, especially since presently there are neither salaries nor minimum comforts which are the norm in any University. On the other hand, the education provided by Portuguese high schools, seminaries and technical schools, by imperialist teaching establishments, by the cooperation of information media and at the disposal of imperialism is used to inculcate in students, in the leadership and intellectuals, the dangerous idea that they are superior to the masses and that they are entitled to a privileged social and material situation. These are the germs planted in the mind which open the door to many desertions and treacheries, not only in our country but also in all the countries dominated by imperialism. Only our national faith, our revolutionary convictions, practice in the struggle, and communion with the masses permit us to meet the challenge of this situation.

The imperialist propaganda of corruption stresses above all that the students are the leaders of tomorrow, the future leaders. We must firmly denounce this imperialist poisoning which is indecent, criminal, and which tries to make our students into accomplices of imperialism through the exploitation of the blood and sweat of the People.

Leaders are forced, whether or not they are intellectuals, to participate in the different tasks of the revolution, in the sacrifices and daily dedication to the People, in revolutionary study and practice. And there is no other kind of leader, nor can there be. It is the revolution that trains the leaders, and our young students should be VIGILANT faced [as they are] with imperialist intoxication, with imperialist corruption; only with vigilance and a reinforcement of revolutionary convictions and love of the people can we avoid corruption and treason; being a part of the struggle gives us the needed defenses.

Furthermore, we should say, in the spirit of self-criticism that should always condition us, that the Central Committee due to inadequacies, albeit not serious, must also share the blame in this problem.

The demands of the struggle often cause us to neglect the political education of students abroad, and this neglect is excessive due to ephemeral contacts

and texts. On the other hand, the decisions and writings of the Central Committee are not often given proper written publicity, thus facilitating the spread of false information and a lack of understanding of the real situation. Finally, the Central Committee has been hesitant in its decisions when faced with abuses and the flagrant lack of discipline of certain people, and although the Committee never has, at least morally, sanctioned this behavior, there are those who could interpret tacit approval -- albeit in bad faith -- from this silence.

#### CONCLUSION

This document was produced with our students in mind [to provide] a historical recapitulation and some information, in order to clarify the present situation, to avoid tendentious and malevolent interpretations of any future decisions of FRELIMO concerning the problems in question, and, finally, to overcome certain failures on our part, namely that of [neglecting] to publish our principles.

It is evident, as much for the Central Committee as for FRELIMO, that the overwhelming majority of our students have acted in a disciplined manner, in the spirit of sacrifice and work, demonstrating their patriotism, [and] their WILL TO SERVE THE MASSES AND THE REVOLUTION BY MEANS OF THE ACQUIRED KNOWLEDGE; so that no one is self-serving in order to satisfy petty and criminal ambitions [drawing] from the knowledge, sacrifices, and blood of the People.

All these youths who went to study BECAUSE FRELIMO SENT THEM seriously dedicate themselves to student work, keeping the sacrifices of the people in mind, conscious that the knowledge acquired is to serve the people, [and knowing] that, if the Fatherland requires, THEY WILL ALWAYS BE READY TO INTERRUPT OR EVEN TO ABANDON THEIR STUDIES, are then disciplined revolutionaries, authentic patriots.

The Mozambican People, FRELIMO, and the Central Committee congratulate [the students] and are very proud of the scholarly triumphs of their young patriots, since they are confident that these successes will be transfigured into the best service of the Revolution, into the making of Mozambique.

INDEPENDENCE OR DEATH!  
WE SHALL OVERCOME!

Dar-es-Salaam  
December 1967

Eduardo C. Mondlane  
President of FRELIMO