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THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE IN MOZAMBIQUE *

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EARLY CONTACTS WITH PORTUGAL.

The Portuguese claim that they were in Mozambique since the end of the 15th century. In fact, it would be more accurate to say that the Portuguese first touched the coast of Mozambique at the end of the 15th century, for it is one thing to touch a coast and another to establish an enduring relationship with the people in it. When Vasco de Gama landed in Natal, South Africa, on Christmas Day, 1497, later in Inhambene and finally in Sofala, he was really groping for the way to India and not in the least interested in establishing any trading posts in East Africa. Only in the 16th century did the Portuguese find it necessary to set these up in the country. The first post was established on the island of Mozambique, obviously to avoid direct contact with the people on the mainland, and for the supply of the ships sailing from Lisbon to India with fresh food. Later in the 16th century, the Portuguese attacked the various coastal city-states which were beginning to question their intrusion in the trade with India. Yet every time the Portuguese talk about their relationship with Mozambique they refer to a "five hundred years' presence", with the obvious implication that they had developed deep roots in the country that would be difficult, if not impossible, to uproot.

It must be pointed out at the outset that this approach to history is typical of practically all colonial powers when they are pressed to show cause why they should not yield their imperial authority to the indigenous peoples. It is used constantly by the South African Whites when they try to justify their monopoly of political, economic and social power

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in South Africa ; the same applies to Rhodesian Whites who, for some peculiar reasoning, try to connect their 19th century settlement in Southern Rhodesia in 1887 with the first arrival of the Dutch settlers in the Cape in 1652.

The so-called Portuguese Empire in East Africa, of which Mozambique is supposed to be a remnant, was, in fact, composed of a number of Arab city-states scattered along the whole of the central part of East Africa. At no time had the Portuguese ever dared venture into the interior long enough to establish enduring contacts with the indigenous peoples.

If one were to admit that since they had conquered these Arab city-states they were therefore at some time lords of the East African coast, then it must be pointed out that the area involved was the equatorial portion of the coastal strip now known as Kenya, Tanganyika and the northern portion of Mozambique, and not the present area now known as Mozambique. The name derives from the island which was the main centre for Portuguese control of East Africa and is situated in the northern-most point of the country.

PORTUGAL CONQUERS COASTAL CITY-STATES AND THE INTERIOR.

It was during the last half of the 19th century that Portugal, like all other European colonial powers, began to engage in imperialist adventures with the intent of conquering as much of the African territory as possible. The climax came when the Berlin Treaty of 1885 gave a green light to several European powers to conquer specified areas of Africa, thus starting the "scramble for Africa". By that time the largest portion of the boasted Portuguese Empire in East Africa had already been taken over by the British, the Germans and the Italians. All that remained in the hands of Portugal were a few northern Mozambican islands, and the Arab city of Sofala. They then proceeded to claim some trading posts which were found on river estuaries and on the bays of Beira and Lourenço Marques. It was not until the very end of the 19th century that the Portuguese succeeded in subduing the various African armies which were under the leadership of divided African kings. In my own area, in the South, the last of the African emperors was defeated in 1898, therefore the presence of Portugal in Mozambique can only date from December 1898 when the general of the Mozambican army, Maguiguane, was killed after he had refused to surrender to the Portuguese. The emperor, Gungunyane, was then captured and deported

to Portugal where he was kept in captivity until his death. Those Mozambicans who tried to continue to resist Portuguese authority were either exterminated or fled to the neighboring countries of South Africa, the Rhodesias, Nyasaland and the then German East Africa, and in due time became part of the population of those countries.

Meanwhile the Portuguese continued to consolidate their position in the rest of the country until they had virtual control. But at no time has there been such a complete acceptance of authority as to obviate the use of the army or police in order to keep the African people under Portuguese sovereignty. One of the means by which this authority was imposed during the last 60 years was by breaking-up our kingdoms into a multiplicity of chiefdoms, under carefully handpicked paramount chiefs, petty chiefs and headmen who were put under the direct supervision of white Portuguese administrators, known as "chiefs of post" (*chefes do posto*). These administrators and *chefes* are responsible for seeing that Portuguese law and order is maintained and that every able-bodied African serves Portuguese interests. The African chief is an instrument of the Portuguese government to carry out the political, economic and social policies as set up in Portugal.

As time went on, Africans began to learn some of the techniques of control employed by Europeans, such as education and involvement in the economic life of the country on an international level, and to give themselves a place in the new power structure. The earliest manifestations of this interest occurred in the southern part of Mozambique, Lourenço Marques, when an intensified interest in modern education was shown by a large proportion of the African population.

Since Europeans were then arguing that the reason why they were imposing their authority on the African peoples was because the latter were "primitive" and since part of this was demonstrated by the superior technological skills of the former, especially the power and accuracy of their weapons, the African people were beginning to believe that if they learned these techniques they might be able eventually to free themselves. Consequently, many Africans joined Christian churches, many sent their children to Christian mission schools, many thousands of young men accepted risking their lives in the gold, diamond and coal mines of the Transvaal in order to improve themselves materially, etc. At first the Portuguese government applauded these efforts

and at times even encouraged them saying that they were the means by which the African peoples could become "civilized" and therefore be accepted into the power structure of the new society. But as time went on the Portuguese began to perceive the future political significance of the African interest and began to question the wisdom of the encouragement which they were giving.

When reading the history of the early missionaries, one notices several references to criticisms by white settlers on educational policies carried out by some of the more enlightened Christian churches. There began to develop, for instance, a tendency for white settlers to rediscover virtues in being "primitive", because they argued, a "native" is happy and contented when he lives by his own tradition and why bother his conscience with new values and needs when he is happy with his own way of life? Yet at the same time the European settler wanted the African to be his servant, his labourer in the plantations, and the instrument by which the financially and technologically poor Portuguese would gain a significant amount of profit in the gold and diamond interests of South Africa, etc. In short, according to the white Portuguese the African must not develop himself to the point where he might compete with the former, but must be an instrument of material wealth for him.

In Mozambique these issues came to the surface in the late thirties and early forties of this century, when Portuguese settlers took advantage of the fascist policies of the Salazar Government and engaged in a one-sided debate in the state-controlled press in favor of a special education for the "natives". They argued that for the continuance of the white man's authority over the African, it was not safe to gear education towards training him in all phases of modern science. What the black man needed, they went on to say, was "spiritual growth" and not material improvement. They insisted that all phases of "native" education should be placed in the hands of the religious institutions, whose main purpose was to convert, and not to "educate" in the modern sense of the word. I remember then reading "Letters to the Editor" from white farmers, businessmen, and plantation owners, published in the main white newspapers of Lourenço Marques and Beira, all pressing for a change of the educational policies of the colony to suit the above general theme. At first many people believed that the Salazar Government would not heed these obviously selfish pleas of the white settlers, but by the early forties it became clear that not only did this régime

heed them, but it also negotiated and signed an agreement with the Vatican to hand over all African education to the Roman Catholic missions, while keeping to itself the responsibility for the education of Europeans and Asians. This was the 1942 Missionary Agreement which derives from the 1940 Concordat between Portugal and the Vatican. As part of the Agreement, Portugal handed over all responsibilities for the "natives" of Mozambique, Angola and so-called Portuguese Guinea; she also agreed to give an annual subsidy for the maintenance of school buildings, salaries for the African teachers and other relevant expenses.

At best, this arrangement froze the educational standards of the Africans to where they were in the late thirties, while in the rest of Africa this was the take-off period in the education of the peoples. Consequently, the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea are the only African countries where there are no secondary schools for black people and where the State has completely handed over the responsibility of educating the children of the majority to a private religious organization. Furthermore, the existing rudimentary schools, or *escolas de adaptaçao*, are so poorly subsidized that it is not possible for the Roman Catholic Church to teach more than about 20 per cent of school-age children.

ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION.

When the Portuguese government discovered that there was a heavy flow of African labour to South Africa and the Rhodesias, it immediately put up a net to extract every benefit for the white man. We are referring to the multifarious structures of labour laws, international labour agreements and pacts aimed at squeezing the last dime out of the African's sweat, which include, among others, laws to force Africans to employ themselves on European farms, homes and plantations, to work for the government in industries and the mines etc., within six months or else face arrest and forced labour, which is cynically named "contrato voluntario" by the Portuguese. Under these laws, millions of Mozambicans have been forced to take up jobs within and outside Mozambique at wages much below subsistence level. Thus it has been possible for the South African mining interests to obtain each year hundreds of thousands of cheap workers who flocked into the gold, diamond and coal mines to escape

arrest, for they could not prove to the Portuguese administrators that working on their own farms and taking care of their own homesteads was a *bona fide* productive activity.

The international labour agreements between South Africa and Portugal include, *inter alia*, payments to Portugal by the mining companies of about £16 in gold per African worker signing the contract (half the worker's wages for four months). 47.8 % of the imports and exports of South Africa have to be shipped through the port of Lourenço Marques and Portugal has the right to hunt and arrest all Mozambique Africans who have either run away from the mines or entered South Africa clandestinely.

Finally, Portugal is credited in South African banks with half the wages of all Mozambican mine workers, which is handed over to them in Mozambique in Portuguese currency about two years later without interest. Portugal, therefore, receives each year from gold mining an estimated profit of over 10 million dollars by simply controlling the African labour traffic to and from South Africa. This does not include the financial benefits which accrue to her from the 47.8 % of the Witwatersrand import-export trade referred to above.

REBIRTH OF NATIONALISM.

Those Africans who ever had any illusions as to the good intentions of Portuguese colonialism could not help but wake up to existing facts. They began to see their people become gradually poorer as the white people were getting wealthier ; the more the blacks tried to force themselves into the European system of life the more stringent the Portuguese laws became and they felt more frustrated. While earlier on the Portuguese had been talking about "civilizing" the black man through assimilation, by insisting upon certain cultural and educational standards, they later began to restrict the facilities which might have made it possible for at least a few Africans to get the necessary tools to gain access to the power structure.

As a reaction to the above situation, Africans began to organize themselves into associations camouflaged as regional civic and mutual aid organizations. But from time to time these groups have demanded the rights which they have lost to the white man, but each time they have been ruthlessly slapped down by the Portuguese government. In the earlier part of the century, when the Portuguese people themselves

were still groping around for a more democratic system of government than they ever had before, many African groups arose in various parts of the country and formed organizations which were more openly aimed at political emancipation. I am referring here to such organizations as the *Associação Africana* and the *Centro Associativo dos Negros de Mocambique*, whose membership tended to reflect the color line between the so-called mulattoes or *mixtos* and the indigenous Africans. Later on, however, the Portuguese government was able to get hold of these organizations, purge them of the more nationalist-minded leaders and plant its own stooges. Even though these two African associations still exist today, they are either thoroughly under the control of the government or their leaders dare not show their true feelings about the situation. In any case they are really not what one might call popular organizations, precisely because they serve no visible purpose for the majority of the African peoples. They are at best simply bourgeois social clubs, often called upon to shout their part in the militarized chorus of allegiance to Salazar.

Other forms of nationalistic groups have been organized from time to time in the past, but mostly on a regional or linguistic basis. Since the beginning of pan-African nationalism, however, these have either died away or given way to an all-Mozambique kind of nationalism.

Before I discuss the source and development of the Mozambique Liberation Front, I should like to mention just one other type of crypto-nationalistic organization which also made its imprint in Mozambican politics. I am referring to the *Associação dos Naturais de Mocambique* (Association of the Native-born Mozambicans).

This organization was for a long time, and even today still is to a great extent, established, run and supported by white people. In fact, it was meant to be for Europeans born in Mozambique and not for Africans or Asians. For a long time it openly discriminated against the so-called Non-Europeans in its membership and services; only in the last 15 years, especially after the rise of African states, has it begun to encourage other racial groups to become members. In fact, during the mid-fifties, the *Associação dos Naturais de Mocambique* developed a policy favoring social integration between the two major racial groups and for an autonomous Mozambique which would finally lead to independence. The leaders of the organization, realizing the paucity of educated black Africans, launched a scholarship campaign to subsidize

the education of promising Africans in secondary, technical and commercial schools. One of its most outstanding leaders was the son of a former Portuguese Governor, José Cabral. At first, the Government encouraged the efforts of this group, believing that its leaders were interested only in the general cultural and social welfare of the African peoples, but when it began to note a tendency towards a more genuine nationalism, it took severe steps to stop it. These steps included arresting all the top leaders of the organization and replacing them with a more fascist group and placing the organization under the direct control of the Social Welfare division of the government. That was the end of its effectiveness as a political channel for a future multi-racial country. In view of the present state of our nationalist movement, one might venture the prediction that the Portuguese people, as a European white group, will regret the emasculation of this organization, for with its demise as a multi-racial nucleus may have gone all the hopes for a racially tolerant Mozambique.

THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT.

So far I have dealt with what I might call the embryonic beginnings of nationalism in Mozambique. Since this is not meant to be a lengthy article, I have not mentioned the less important groups which from time to time have played a part in the formation of a national attitude. Now I must discuss the organizations which were formed with the clear intention rallying their peoples towards self-government and independence. But before I begin I should like to indicate that there was a transitional period between the kind of organizations outlined above and the more directly political organizations which I am about to discuss. Living examples of the former still exist, but the present political climate will not permit me to even mention any one of them.

The Mozambique Liberation Front, also known as FRELIMO (from *Frente de Libertacao de Mocambique*), is a new political organization formed in June 1962 by the merger of several political parties, some of them in exile, others still functioning underground within the country. Again for security reasons I shall not say anything about the latter groups, except that they were instrumental in instigating unity among all the forces working towards independence. While I was visiting Mozambique in 1961, on furlough from the United

Nations, they urged me to resign from my position with the Trusteeship Department, go to East Africa and call on all the exiled political groups from our country to unite and free Mozambique immediately.

The most important of the exiled political parties now fused into FRELIMO are : the Mozambique African National Union (MANU) and *Uniao Nacional Democratica de Mocambique* (UNDENAMO). MANU had been organized originally by Mozambicans who had been working in Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda, and some of its leaders had been involved in the political parties of these countries during the formative periods of their development. When it became clear that political power in East Africa was to be handed over to the African majority, these men felt obliged to concentrate their energies in preparing their own people for independence. This was the case with Mr. Matthew Mmole, who was President of MANU. The former Secretary-General of MANU, Mr. Millinga, represents another background, the labour union movement. Mr. Millinga had been in East Africa for many years ; he worked in the labour unions of Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda, in the first and the last countries as organizing officer for dockworkers, and among the cotton workers in Uganda, and worked with Mr. Tom Mboya for some time while he was in Kenya.

Meanwhile, some of the Mozambicans who were either working in Southern Rhodesia or Nyasaland began to interest themselves in organizing a political body to guide the nationalist aspirations of their fellow-citizens from the coast. This was the beginning of UDENAMO, with its first temporary headquarters in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia. So long as the Rhodesian Africans were allowed to form parties, Mozambicans continued to carry out their work unhampered. When I passed through Salisbury early in 1961, I found several groups working sometimes in co-operation with, sometimes apart from, each other. In speaking to several of them I suggested that they organize a unified movement, which would be tied up with the nationalist forces in Mozambique as well as with groups working in exile. One of the officers of the UDENAMO party was Adelino Gwambe, 23 years old, who, according to his own account, had been a member of the greatly-feared Portuguese secret police force (PIDE) and had been sent by the Portuguese government to spy on his fellow-countrymen in neighbouring Rhodesia. Once in Rhodesia, however, Mr. Gwambe decided to throw in his lot with the nationalists and accepted to be sent to Dar-es-Salaam to contact members

MANU to see if a common front could be established. At that time, 1959, Tanganyika was preparing for independence. On arriving there, he was warmly received by MANU leaders and taken on as a full member. A little while later a conference of nationalist organizations against Portuguese colonialism was to be held in Rabat; since most of the members of MANU could not speak Portuguese, they asked Gwambe to attend the conference and represent MANU. During the conference Mr. Gwambe announced that he was representing UDENAMO and returned to Dar-es-Salaam as chief representative of that party. For a while Dar-es-Salaam had both MANU and UDENAMO as the only two Mozambican political parties in East Africa. Later on Baltazar Chagonga, the president of another Mozambican party, joined them as representative of a Nyasaland-based group called the Mozambique National Independence Party. Mr. Chagonga was for many years a medical orderly in Mozambique, but had been forced to retire because of his nationalistic inclinations which the Portuguese could not tolerate. When the situation worsened, Mr. Chagonga left Mozambique and settled for some time in Blantyre, Nyasaland, but since the Portuguese police are free to arrest Mozambicans in that country, he had to go to Tanganyika. From here he wrote to me while I was with the United Nations, asking me over to help establish the united front.

The Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) is the only political party representing the interests of our people. The union of the various parties represents the determination of our people to get independence in the shortest time possible. After the various groups represented at the June 1962 conference, agreed with the terms proposed, an *ad hoc* committee was elected and entrusted with the responsibility of carrying on the work until the first congress of the new organization was called. Members were: Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, who was elected national President; Uria Simango, Vice-President; David Mabunda, Secretary-General; Mathew Mmole, Treasurer; Paul Gumane, Deputy Secretary-General; Leo Millas, Publicity Secretary, and four other people holding supporting positions.

It may be appropriate at this stage to give a brief description of my background as President of FRELIMO. I was born in Southern Mozambique, in the Gaza district which lies on both sides of the Limpopo Basin. My father was a leader of a section of Southern Mozambique known as Khambane, which belongs to the Tsonga peoples described by the great Swiss

anthropologist, Philippe A. Junod in *The Life of a South African Tribe*. I was the last child of his third and last wife. Early in my life I joined my elder brothers in herding cattle, sheep and goats, like most young people in my community. My father died when I was very young. I was therefore brought up by my mother and my elder brothers. When I was about 10 years of age my own mother insisted that I attend a local government school, because, she argued, the old world of my father's was on its way out and it would be wiser if I prepared myself for the new. I began learning to read and write and to speak Portuguese in the government rudimentary school of Manjacaze in 1931, then two years later I transferred to a mission school nearer my home. On finishing rudimentary education in 1936, I was taken to the capital city of Lourenço Marques where I continued my education until I obtained the Primary School Certificate. This was the highest educational achievement allowed an African in Mozambique, but not being satisfied with it, I decided to continue in one way or another so I enrolled at an agricultural school. Two years later I completed the courses given and returned to the Gaza area, where I taught farming to the people of the Manjacaze region for two years. While I was taking agricultural training I learned some English privately. In 1944 I received a scholarship to study in a high school in the Northern Transvaal where, in 1947, I obtained the Matriculation Certificate of the South African Joint Matriculation Board. This enabled me to enter the Jan H. Hofmeyr School of Social Studies at Johannesburg in 1948. However, soon after entering this school I was offered a private scholarship to enter the Witwatersrand University at Milner Park, Johannesburg, to continue my studies in the social sciences.

In 1949 the Nationalist Government, under Dr. Malan, refused to renew my permit as a foreign student, obviously because I was a black student in a white university. On returning to Mozambique in October, 1949, the Portuguese authorities had me arrested for investigation. At that time I had organized an African students' association which drew its membership from the few African secondary, commercial and technical school students. They thought the organization was really a political group, camouflaging as a social and academic group. They arrested as many of the members as they could find to determine what relationship there was between my expulsion from South Africa and the activities of the organization. After three days and nights of constant questioning, in which the police covered every phase of my

student life in South Africa, they drew up a report for the Portuguese Attorney-General. A few months later, he issued an analysis of the report with his office's conclusions which ran as follows :

a) that I was politically a threat to the colony, but that since there was nothing definite about my past history they could not proffer charges against me ;

b) that I had been infected with a Communist virus, which might affect others, especially the young people who were members of my association ;

c) that I had an embryonic spirit of black nationalism which should be uprooted as soon as possible in order to prevent it from affecting others. The Attorney-General prescribed two major course of action : that I be put under strict police surveillance and, if possible, that I should be given a scholarship to study at a Portuguese university in order to keep me away from the African population and to see if I could be cured of my intellectual and political proclivities.

Meanwhile, arrangements were being made by my friends in South Africa and elsewhere to get me an independent scholarship so that I might go overseas to continue my studies. By the time the Portuguese Government came through with a scholarship offer I had already obtained one from the Phelps Stokes Fund of New York. I was then able to sail for Lisbon, in mid-1950, where I registered at the Faculty of Letters in the Autumn. As far I know I was the first Mozambican to enter Lisbon University.

It was here that I met African intellectuals from the Portuguese colonies for the first time. They were mostly from the Cape Verde Islands, Guinea (called Portuguese), Angola and São Tômé. Amongst these were the now well-known leaders of the political movements of these same colonies, such as A. Agostinho Neto, the physician, poet, and President of the MPLA (*Movimento Popular para la Libertacao de Angola*) ; Mario Pinto de Andrade, the MPLA's Secretary for External Relations ; Amilcar Cabral, the Guinean agronomist, and Marcelino dos Santos, FRELIMO's Secretary for External Relations and General-Secretary of the CONCP (Conference of the Nationalist Organizations of the Portuguese Colonies). Mr. Marcelino dos Santos was at the School of Commerce in Lisbon, and Dr. Liahuca, a physician now working with the Angolan refugees in Léopoldville, under the auspices of UPA (Union of the Peoples of Angola).

Although the majority of the students in Lisbon at that

time were concerned about the ordinary civil rights of Portuguese citizens, our political interests were clearly nationalistic. We wanted Portugal to at least acknowledge the right of self-determination for the peoples of all her colonies and we expressed our feelings by every means available to us. For example, A. Agostinho Neto, who was already a recognized poet, wrote plaintive sonnets clamouring for freedom for the black man ; Mario de Andrade wrote cultural and sociological essays relating to the African past, while I concentrated on the use of the spoken word in closed meetings mostly of students, faculty members, and some of the more liberal Portuguese, describing the contradiction of the Portuguese colonial policies as I knew them in my own country. Consequently, we were constantly harrassed by the PIDE (*Policia Internacional para la Defesa do Estado*) ; practically every month my room was ransacked by the police looking for documents, letters, pictures, etc., as they were trying to find evidence of what they suspected to be my political views. The same applied to Neto, Andrade, Santos, Cabral, and most of the African students at Lisbon.

After one year of studies I felt that I could not continue under those conditions, so I arranged to have my scholarship transferred to an American university. I received an additional scholarship from Oberlin College in Ohio, and in the Autumn of 1951 I entered the United States. I completed my work towards the Bachelor of Arts degree at Oberlin in June 1953 ; after that I continued my studies at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, where I obtained M.A. and Ph. D. degrees in Sociology, under Professors Kimball Young and Melville J. Herskovits. After one year at Harvard University, where I did research on race conflict, under Professors Samuel Stouffer and Gordon Allport, I accepted a position in the Trusteeship Department of the United Nations, as a research officer.

Meanwhile, some of my former African colleagues at Lisbon University had also given up trying to finish their studies in Portugal ; they had left for France, most of them for the Sorbonne, where they studied under a healthier intellectual climate. Amongst these were Mario Pinto de Andrade and Marcelino dos Santos, already mentioned above. Drs. Neto and Lihauca continued their medical studies in Lisbon, under very difficult conditions, until they completed their work. Dr. Agostinho Neto, on finishing his degree returned to Angola, but was arrested by the Portuguese less than two years later, and sent to the Cape Verde islands and later to a prison

in Lisbon, charged with nationalistic activities. Late last year Dr. Neto managed to escape, and is now leading the MPLA from Léopoldville. Dr. Liahuca left Lisbon soon after finishing his course in medicine, along with more than one hundred other African students, and is now with the National Liberation Army in Northern Angola, fighting for the independence of his people.

As for me, after almost five years in the Trusteeship Department of the United Nations, I returned to Mozambique for three months, under the protection of my position as an international civil servant, and in the Autumn of 1961 resigned from the United Nations, taught at Syracuse University's Maxwell Graduate School, and openly joined the nationalist movement.

For a number of years while I was with the United Nations I had been receiving letters of appeal from many Mozambicans at home and abroad, asking me to come out openly against the Portuguese. As an officer of the United Nations this was, of course, impossible. The alternative was to resign and exile myself in an independent African state. At the time I began working for the United Nations the only independent African states were Egypt, Ethiopia and Liberia, all of which are thousands of miles from Mozambique. I did not think that it would be effective for me to work against the Portuguese from such a long distance. I then decided to wait until a neighboring African state received independence. Since I was working in the Trusteeship Department I could see that within a reasonably short time Tanganyika would be independent, and I would work from there. Consequently, when Tanganyika became independent in December 1961 I immediately arranged to return to East Africa.

UNITY UNDER FRELIMO.

By this time I had been in close communication with the leaders of the various political parties in and outside Mozambique, most of whom had been clamouring for unity. In June 1962 I came to Dar-es-Salaam with the sole purpose of convincing those who were still doubtful about unity. I must mention the part played by several African political leaders in urging all Mozambican politicians to unite.

Amongst these are Dr. Julius K. Nyerere, the President of Tanganyika and Mr. Oscar Kambona, the Minister for External Affairs and Defense, who tirelessly supported unity from

the outset ; also Dr. Nkrumah, President of Ghana, who, at the Freedom Fighters' Conference in 1962 both publicly and privately strongly urged our Mozambique politicians to unite, at least to avoid the tragic division which is now hurting the cause of freedom in Angola. Practically all African statesmen who have had anything to do with Portuguese colonial issues at the international level, have always insisted on unity within Mozambique. All of these forces were instrumental in leading us towards the formation of the Mozambique Liberation Front.

As to the details of the steps taken by those of us who worked out the first basis of the union, I need not mention them in this article, for they are a matter of public record. I shall now turn to the first Congress of FRELIMO, which took place in September 1962. Soon after the formation of the Mozambique Liberation Front it was decided that there should be a congress that same year which would formulate the main lines of the policy of the new organization and elect a group of officers who would carry out its work. It was to meet in Dar-es-Salaam and would be attended by delegates representing the various political groups of Mozambique exiled in East Africa and as many others as could send delegates from within the country.

In the last half of September the Congress was finally held, attended by 80 delegates and more than 500 observers from Dar-es-Salaam, Tanga, Lindi, Morogoro, Songea, etc., in Tanganyika, where there are more than 100,000 Mozambicans, including thousands of recently-arrived refugees. There were also observers from Zanzibar, an island off the coast of Tanganyika where over 30,000 Mozambicans work in shipping and clover farms and on plantations. From Mombasa, Kenya, came several people representing a Mozambican community of over 20,000 workers in the dockyards ; and a few people came from the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. All in all this first congress of our party was a very representative affair.

PROGRAM OF FRELIMO.

The Congress examined carefully the present situation in Mozambique and made recommendations for the Central Committee to carry out during the year. During the discussions, the following points were noted : a) that the people of Mozambique were still under the subjection of Portuguese colonialism, characterized by political, economic, social and

cultural oppression ; b) that the Portuguese Government in Mozambique was characterized by the suppression of the basic freedoms to which modern man is entitled ; c) that the Portuguese Government failed to recognize the primacy of the interests of the Mozambicans, and that it opposes the right of the people to determine their own destinies by continuing to insist upon labelling Mozambique as an "overseas province" ; d) that Portugal, instead of seeking a peaceful solution to the conflict between her and the people of Mozambique, continues to use fascist methods of repression, reinforcing the military and police apparatus by despatching military contingents, massacring innocent people and imprisoning and torturing those suspected of nationalistic tendencies.

The Congress further noted that as a result of the above, our people were being forced to seek effective methods of self-defense. It also considered that the recent reforms promulgated by Portugal were within the framework of the same colonialist spirit that has typified Portuguese action for centuries ; that because they were taken unilaterally, even if they were fair to the people, they would still be unacceptable. The Congress therefore called upon all Mozambican patriots to unite under FRELIMO's banner to fight for the independence of their country. It then went on to call attention to the existence of an alliance between the racist powers of Portugal, South Africa and the so-called Central African Federation, led by Salazar, Verwoed and Welensky, aided by a multifarious system of economic interests financed in London and New York, and urged all freedom-loving peoples of the world to condemn and act in such a way as to frustrate the inhuman activities of these forces.

The FRELIMO Congress declared its determination to promote the efficient organization of the struggle of the Mozambican people for national liberation and adopted the following measures, which are to be carried out by the Central Committee :

- 1) development and consolidation of FRELIMO's organization ;
- 2) development of unity among Mozambicans ;
- 3) maximum utilization of the energies and capabilities of each member of FRELIMO ;
- 4) promotion and acceleration of the training of cadres ;
- 5) the use of every effort to expedite the access of the people to freedom ;

- 6) promotion of the social and cultural development of women ;
- 7) development of literacy programs and the creation of schools wherever possible ;
- 8) encouragement and support for the formation and consolidation of trade unions and students' and women's organizations ;
- 9) co-operation with the nationalist organizations of Angola, Guinea and Cape Verde ;
- 10) procuring all means of self-defense and preparing the people for every eventuality ;
- 11) appealing for financial support from organizations which sympathize with the cause of the people of Mozambique ;
- 12) establishing permanent centers of information and propaganda in all parts of the world ;
- 13) seeking diplomatic, moral and material help for the cause of freedom in Mozambique, especially from the already independent states of Africa, and from all freedom-loving countries of the world.

I am sure you would also be interested in knowing what FRELIMO is doing to implement some of these decisions. As you may realize, it would be unwise for me to give you any indication of what we are doing to implement those resolutions concerning direct action within Mozambique. There are, however, two areas of action recommended by the Congress which we can freely outline publicly without danger ; these are *diplomatic action* and *education*. Since the formation of FRELIMO, and even before, diplomatic contacts have been intensified in all parts of the world. For example, we have made certain that our point of view is well understood by those committees of the United Nations which are directly responsible for gathering information on Portuguese colonies. Consequently, as soon as the meetings of the Congress ended I flew back to New York to petition the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly when our territory was being considered. We also intensified our contacts with international conferences in Africa, Asia and the Americas. At the annual conference of PAFMECSA which met at Léopoldville, Mr. Uria Simengo, the Vice-President of FRELIMO, presented a petition on our behalf. At the Moshi Conference of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Council we sent a team of five members of the Central Committee who shared the responsibility of presenting our case. In the United States

I attended the first Negro Leadership Conference on Africa where I presented a background paper on conditions in Mozambique and participated in informal discussions giving substantial information to the delegates. Our university students in Europe and North America also carry the responsibility of informing their fellow-students whenever they attend international student conferences. They have a student organization — *Uniao Nacional dos Estudantes de Mocambique* (UNEMO) — which works in close co-operation with FRELIMO. We believe that our case against Portuguese colonialism deserves to be known by all peoples of the world; we also hope that through this knowledge the representatives of all peace-loving peoples will be able to take the proper steps to convince Portugal of the stupidity of her position.

Finally, we have decided to consider a crash program for educational advancement for the people of Mozambique. I have referred to the almost complete lack of education for the black peoples of Mozambique. The FRELIMO Congress, taking into account the sad state of educational facilities in our country under Portuguese colonialism, has asked the Central Committee to consider this problem as a priority matter.

In response to this situation the Central Committee has divided the problem into three levels of action: the university, the secondary and the mass literacy levels. At the university level it was decided that we should send to any country all available Mozambicans with an equivalent secondary school background. For this purpose we have sent requests to most independent countries of the world for scholarships to allow Mozambicans to be educated above the secondary level, and we have also appealed to the United Nations. Consequently, we have received offers from many countries in Eastern Europe, North and South America, Western Europe and Asia. So far we have been able to send our students to the United States of America, where facilities have been liberally offered by governmental and private bodies; to Western Europe, especially France, where training, particularly in medicine, is being given, and to Italy for law and economics. We also have some students in the Soviet Union, taking courses in various fields of study, including technology. We have more scholarships offered to us than we can take, therefore we are making plans to develop a crash secondary school program to prepare those Mozambicans who are able to finish the last years of their university entrance preparation. We have already presented requests for funds from

private groups in the United States and elsewhere to enable us to co-ordinate the efforts of those educational organizations which are now trying to help us with training facilities. Also we would like to prepare literacy programs to reach the millions of our people who are not able to read and write. We believe that without this, our efforts for a stable, progressive and peaceful Mozambique cannot be crowned with success. We therefore appeal to all those who believe in the effectiveness of these programs to give us whatever help they can afford.

As can be deduced from the foregoing, our struggle against Portuguese colonialism is a formidable one. We will do everything we can to hasten its demise, even if it means giving up our own lives. For some time we believed that the peoples of the world were committed to morality and the rule of law, but as we went forth to present our case to the United Nations, to governments and the press, we began to realize that interests other than morality and the merits of our case seemed to be important. For example, we know that the United States and her NATO allies are the paramount sources of military and economic power for Portugal. When we presented the facts at our disposal to the people of the United States, we were met with a deaf ear; not even the press was interested in reporting the news of our plight. Instead, the American people are being fed with propaganda through high-powered public relations firms receiving millions of dollars from Portugal and the Anglo-American interests which exploit our people.

The people of Mozambique will appeal to all those who believe in freedom to help in every way possible in this struggle against Portuguese colonialism. Our people will not rest until they have gained their independence.

DR. EDUARDO MONDLANE : *President of FRELIMO.*