

THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE IN MOZAMBIQUEEARLY 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 on it. When Vasco da Gama landed in Natal, South Africa on Christmas day 1497, later in Inhambane and finally in Sofala, he was really groping for the way to India and not in the least interested in establishing any posts in East Africa. Only in the 16th century did the Portuguese find it necessary to set up trading posts 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 foods. Later in the 16th century, the Portuguese attacked the various coastal city states who 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 unearth.

It must be pointed out 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 in South Africa; the same applies to Rhodesian whites who, for some peculiar reason, 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 therefore were 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 costal strip now known as Kenya, Tanganyika and the northern portion of Mozambique, and not the present area now known as Mozambique. The very name of Mozambique derives from the fact that an island of that same name was the main center of Portuguese control of East Africa, and that island is situated in the northern-most point of the country.

PORTUGUESE CONQUER 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 from the indigenous peoples 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 had 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 Lourenco 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 the time the last of our resistance armies was defeated, namely, December 1898. This is the time 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 neighbouring 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 government continued to consolidate their position in the rest of the country, until they had virtual control of the whole country. But at no time has there been such a complete acceptance of their 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 Portuguese authority was imposed during the last 60 years was by breaking up our kingdoms into a multiplicity of chiefdoms, under carefully handpicked chiefs, petty chiefs and headmen who were put under the direct supervision of Portuguese white administrators, chiefs of post (chefes de posto). These administrators and chefes de posto are responsible for seeing to it 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 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, involvement in the economic life of the country on an international level and to set themselves a place in the new power structure. The earliest manifestation of this interest occurred in the southern part of Mozambique, Lourenco 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 people 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", therefore, 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 virtue in being "primitive", for, they argued, a "native" is happy and contented when he lives by his own tradition. Why bother the conscience of the African with new values and needs when he is happy with his own way of life, they would say. 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 profits in the gold and diamond interests of South Africa, etc. In short, according to the Portuguese whites, the African must develop himself to the point where he might compete with the white settler, but at the same time, he must be an instrument of material wealth for the white man.

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 favour of a special education for the "natives". They argued that for the continuation of white man's authority over the African it was not safe to gear education towards training the black man in all phases of the 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 Lourenco Marques and Beira, all pressing for the 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 the Salazar regime 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 the so-called Portuguese Guinea. Portugal also agreed to give an annual subsidy for maintenance of the school buildings, salaries of the African teachers and other relevant costs.

This arrangement at best 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 African 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 relinquished the responsibility of educating the children of the majority of the people to a private religious organization. Furthermore, the existing rudimentary schools, or "escolas de adaptação", are so poorly subsidized that it is not possible for the Roman Catholic church to reach more than about 20 per cent of the 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 from it for the white man. We are referring to the multifarious structure of labour laws, international labour agreements and pacts at squeezing the last coin out of the African's sweat. These include, among others, laws to force Africans to employ themselves in European farms, homes, plantations, the government, industries, the mines, etc., within six months or else face arrest and forced labour, a system ironically called "contrato voluntario" by the Portuguese government. Under this, millions of Mozambicans have been forced to take jobs within and outside of Mozambique at wages much below subsistence level.

Under these laws 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 in their own farms and taking care of their homesteads was a bona fide productive activity.

The international labour agreement between South Africa and Portugal includes, inter alia, payments to Portugal by the mining companies of about 6 pounds in gold bullion per African worker signing the contract; half of four months' worth of the worker's wages; 47.8 per cents of the imports-exports of South Africa to be shipped through the port of Lourenco Marques; rights for Portugal to hunt and arrest all Mozambican Africans who may have either run away from the mines or entered South Africa clandestinely, and accrediting Portugal in South African banks with half the wages of all Mozambican mine workers, to be handed over to them back in Mozambique in Portuguese currency about two years later without interest. Portugal, therefore, receives from gold mining each year estimated profits of over 10 million dollars from 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 per cent of the Witwatersrand's imports-exports which must pass through the port of Lourenco Marques as an integral part of the agreement.

REBIRTH OF NATIONALISM:

Those Africans who have ever had any illusions as to the good intentions of Portuguese colonialism could not help but wake up to the facts as they are. They began to see their people become gradually poorer as the white people were getting wealthier. The more the black people tried to force themselves into the European system of life, the more stringent the Portuguese laws against them and the more frustrated they became. While earlier the Portuguese had been talking about "civilizing" the black man through assimilation by insisting upon certain cultural and educational standards, later they 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 come to demand the rights which they have lost to the white man, and 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 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 Moçambique, whose membership tended to reflect the colour line between the so-called mulattoes or mixtos and the indigenuous Africans. Later, however, the Portuguese government was able to purge them of the more nationalist minded leaders and plant its own stooges as leaders. Even though these two African associations still exist today, they are both 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, which is from time to time demanded of them by the present regime.

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, however, 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 Moçambique (Association of 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, did it begin to encourage other racial groups for membership in it. In fact, during the mid-fifties the Associação dos Naturais de Moçambique developed a policy favouring social integration between the two major racial groups and for an autonomous Mozambique, which would finally lead into independence. The leaders of the organization, realising 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 the 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 Mozambican nationalism, it took severe steps to stop it. These steps included arresting all the top leaders of the organization, replacing them with more fascistic groups and placing the organization under the direct control of the Social Welfare division of the government. That was the end of the effectiveness of the Associação dos Naturais de Moçambique as a political channel for a future multi-racial Mozambique. In view of the present status 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 paper, I glossed over less important groups which from time to time have played a part in the formation of a national attitude among Mozambicans. Now I must turn to the discussion of the organizations which were formed with the clear intent of rallying their people towards self-government and independence. But before I discuss these, 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 in Mozambique, but the present political climate would not permit me to even mention any one of them.

The Mozambique Liberation Front, also known as FRELIMO (from Frente de Libertação de Moçambique) is a new political organization formed in June 1962, out of the merger of several political parties, some of them in exile, others still functioning underground within Mozambique. Again for security reasons I shall not say anything about those groups still working within Mozambique, except mentioning that they were instrumental in instigating union among all the forces working towards independence for Mozambique. 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 União Nacional Democratica de Moçambique (UDENAMO). The Mozambique African National Union had been organized originally by Mozambicans who had been working in Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda. Some of the leaders of that party had been involved in the political parties of those countries during the formative periods of their development. Then when it became clear that the political power in East Africa was to be handed over to the African majority, these Mozambicans felt obliged to concentrate their energies on the preparation of their own people for independence. This was the case with Mr. Matthew Mmole, who was president of MANU. The former secretary general of MANU, M. M. Mallinga, represents another background, the labour union movement. Mr. Mallinga 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 as organizing officer for dockworkers in Mombasa and among the cotton workers in Uganda. He 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 and 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 from Mozambique early in 1961, I found several groups working sometimes in cooperation with, sometimes apart from, each other. In speaking to several of them, I suggested that they organize a unified movement, which would be linked with the nationalist forces in Mozambique as well as with groups working in exile. One of the officers of the UDENAMO party was Mr. Adelino Gwambe, a 23 year old fellow who, according to his own account, had been a member of the greatly feared Portuguese secret police force (PIDE) and who had been sent by the government of Portugal to spy on his fellow countrymen in neighbouring Rhodesia. Once in Rhodesia, however, Mr. Gwambe decided to throw his lot with the nationalists and accepted to be sent to Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika to contact members of MANU and see if a common front could be established. At that time, 1959, Tanganyika was preparing for independence. On arriving in Tanganyika, Mr. Gwambe was warmly received by MANU leaders and taken in as a full member. A 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 Mr. Gwambe to attend the conference representing 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 Chagong'a, the President of another Mozambican party joined them as representative of a Nyasaland-based group called Mozambique National Independence Party. Mr. Chagong'a was for many years a medical aid in Mozambique. He had been forced to retire because of his nationalistic inclinations, which the Portuguese government could not tolerate. When the situation worsened, Mr. Chagong'a left Mozambique and settled for some time in Blantyre, Nyasaland, but since the Portuguese police are free to arrest Mozambicans in this country, he had to continue on to Tanganyika. From here he wrote to me while I was with the United Nations, asking me to come over to help establish the united front.

As referred to above, the Mozambique Liberation Front was established in Dar es Salaam in June 1962. The Front is the only political party representing the interests of the people of Mozambique. The union of the various parties represents the determination of our people to attain independence in the shortest possible time. After the various groups represented at the conference in which the

union was made agreed with the terms proposed, an ad hoc committee was elected and entrusted with the responsibility of carrying on work until the first congress of the new organization. These were: Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, who was elected national president; Uria Simango, vice-president; David Mabunda, secretary-general; Matthew Mmole, treasurer; Paul Gumane, deputy secretary-general; Leo Milas, 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 in the context of my present functions in the movement. 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 is part of the Tsonga peoples described by the great Swiss anthropologist, Philippe A. Junod, in his 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 men in my country. My father died when I was very young. Therefore, I was brought up by my mothers and my elder brothers. When about 10 years of age, my genetic mother insisted that I attend a local government school because, she argued, the old world of my father was on its way out, and it would be wiser if I prepared myself for the new world. 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 residence. On finishing rudimentary education in 1936, I was taken to the capital city of Lourenco 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 for dry farming. Two years later I completed the courses given and returned to the Gaza area, where I taught dry 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 Jan H. Hofmeyr School of Social Studies in Johannesburg in 1948. However, soon after entering Hofmeyr School, I was offered a private scholarship to enter the Witwatersrand University at Milner Park, Johannesburg to continue my studies in the social science.

In 1949 the Nationalist Government, under Dr. Daniel F. 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 government had me arrested for investigation. At that time I had organized an African students association which drew its members from the few African secondary, commercial and technical school students of Mozambique. The government thought the organization was really a political group, camouflaging as a social and academic group. They arrested as many of the members of that organization as they could, and investigated them 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 to the attorney general of the Portuguese Republic of Lisbon. A few months later the attorney general issued an analysis of the report with his office's conclusion, which ran generally this way: (a) that I was politically a threat to the colony, but that since there was nothing definite about my past history they could not prefer 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 amongst the African people. The attorney general prescribed two major courses of action: (1) that I be put under strict surveillance by the police, and (2) that if possible 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 could 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 of that same year. As far as I know, I was the first black Mozambican ever to enter Lisbon University.

It was here where for the first time I met African intellectuals from Portuguese colonies. They were mostly from Cape Verde Islands, Guinea (called Portuguese), Angola and St. Tome in that order. Amongst these were the now well-known leaders of the political movements of these same colonies, such as Dr. A. Agostinho Neto, the physician, poet, former president of the MPLA (Movimento Popular para a Libertação de Angola); Mario Pinto de Andrade, the former MPLA secretary for external relations; Amilcar Cabral, the Guinean agronomist, President of Guinea; and Marcelino dos Santos, our FRELIMO secretary for external relations and general secretary of CONCP (Conference of the Nationalist Organizations of the Portuguese Colonies). Mr. Marcelino dos Santos was at the School of Commerce in Lisbon, and Dr. Lihuca, a physician now working with the Angolan refugees in Leopoldville under the auspices of UPA (Union of the Peoples of Angola).

Although the concern of the majority of the students in Lisbon at that time was 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. We expressed our feelings with every means available to us. For example, Dr. Agostinho Neto, who was already a recognized poet, wrote plaintive sonnets clamouring for freedom for the black man; Mario de Andrade had facilities of expression in cultural and sociological essays relating to the African past, while I concentrated on the use of the spoken word in closed meetings of mostly 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 Mozambique. Consequently, we were constantly harassed by the PIDE (Polícia Internacional para a Defesa do Estado). Practically every month my room was ransacked by the police looking for documents, letters, pictures of I do not know what, trying to find evidence of what they were suspecting about my political views. The same applied to Neto, Andrade, Santos, Cabral and most of the African students in Lisbon.

After one year of studies I felt that I could not continue under these 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 the M. A. and Ph. D. degrees in sociology under Professor Kimball Young and the late Professor Melville J. Herskovits. After one year at Harvard University, where I did research in role conflict under the advice of the late Professor Samuel Stouffer and Professor Gordon Allport, in May 1957, I accepted a position in the Department of Trusteeship of the United Nations, as a research officer on conditions in Tanganyika, South West Africa and the British Cameroons.

Meanwhile, some of my former African colleagues at Lisbon University had also given up trying to finish their degrees in Portugal; they had left for France, mostly at 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 Liahuca 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 government 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. Dr. Liahuca left Lisbon soon after finishing his course work 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 with the Trusteeship system 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 to work 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 neighbouring African state received independence. Since I was working in the Trusteeship Department, I could see that within a reasonable 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 of 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 those are Dr. Julius K. Nyerere, the President of Tanganyika, and Mr. Oscar Kambona, the Minister for External Affairs and Defense, who tirelessly supported unity right from the outset; also Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of Ghana, who, at the Freedom Fighters' Conference in 1962, both publicly and privately strongly urged our Mozambican 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 belabour them in this paper, 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 conference 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. The congress 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 Mozambique.

In the last half of the month of September, the congress finally took place, 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 working in various spheres of life, including thousands of refugees who had just recently arrived from Mozambique. There were also observers from Zanzibar, an island off the coast of Tanganyika, where over 30,000 Mozambicans work in shipping and clove farms and plantations; from Mombasa, Kenya came several people representing a Mozambican community of over 20,000 in the dockyards; and a few came from the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. All in all, the first congress of our party was a very representative affair, in spite of the fact that it was the first of its kind in the history of our country.

PROGRAMME OF FRELIMO

The Congress of FRELIMO examined carefully the present situation in Mozambique and made recommendations for the Central Committee to carry out during the year. During the discussions of the Congress, 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 denied 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 opposed the right of the people to determine their own destinies, 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, continued to use fascist methods of repression, reinforcing the military and police apparatus by the despatch of military contingents, massacring innocent people; imprisoning and torturing people suspected of nationalistic tendencies. The Congress noted further that as a result of the above facts, the people of Mozambique 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 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, Verwoerd and Wellensky, 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 Congress of FRELIMO declared its determination to promote the efficient organization of the struggle of the Mozambican people for national liberation and adopted the following measures to be carried out by the Central Committee:

- 1) Development and consolidation of the organization of FRELIMO;
- 2) Development of unity among Mozambicans;

- 3) Maximum utilization of the energies and capabilities of each member of FRELIMO;
- 4) To promote and accelerate the training of cadres;
- 5) To use every effort to expedite the access of Mozambique to freedom;
- 6) To promote the social and cultural development of Mozambican women;
- 7) To develop literacy programmes for Mozambican people, creating schools wherever possible;
- 8) To encourage and support the formation and consolidation of trade unions, student and women's organizations;
- 9) Encourage as much as possible cooperation with nationalist organizations of Angola, Guinea and Cape Verde;
- 10) To procure all means of self-defense and prepare the people for every eventuality;
- 11) To appeal for financial support from organizations which sympathize with the cause of the people of Mozambique;
- 12) To establish permanent centers of information and propaganda in all parts of the world;
- 13) To seek diplomatic, moral and material help for the cause of freedom in Mozambique, especially from the already independent states of Africa, and from all peace and freedom loving countries of the world.

I am sure you would also be interested in knowing about what FRELIMO is doing to implement at least some of these decisions by the Congress. As you may realize, it would be unwise for me to give you any indication of what we are doing to implement those resolutions which have to do with direct action within Mozambique. There are, however, two areas of action 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 in 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 Leopoldville, Congo, Mr. Uria Simango, 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 substantive information to the delegates. Our university students in Europe and North America also carry the responsibility of informing their fellow-students on Mozambique whenever they attend international student conferences. They have a student organization, União Nacional dos Estudantes de Moçambique (UNEMO), which works in close cooperation 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 the peace loving

peoples of the world will be able to take the proper steps to convince Portugal of the stupidity of her position.

Finally, we have launched a crash programme for educational advancement for the people of Mozambique.

I have made reference to the almost complete lack of education for the black peoples of Mozambique. The Congress of FRELIMO, taking into account the sad state of educational facilities in our country under Portuguese colonialism, has asked the Central Committee to study the education of the Mozambique people as a priority matter.

In response to this situation, the Central Committee of FRELIMO has divided the problem into three levels of action: the university level, the secondary school level and the mass literacy level. At the university level it was decided that we should send out to all countries any available Mozambicans with educational background equivalent to secondary school. For this purpose we have sent out to most independent countries of the world requests for scholarships for Mozambicans for education in any school above the secondary level. We have also appealed to the United Nations to do all it can to help us in this respect. Consequently, we have received offers for scholarships from many countries in Eastern Europe, North and South America and Western Europe. So far we have been able to send out students to the United States of America, where facilities for both training and transportation were liberally given by governmental and private bodies; to Western Europe, especially France, where training especially in medicine is being given to several Mozambicans, and Italy, in 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, with a generous grant from a private foundation in the United States, the Mozambique Institute (Instituto Moçambicano) has been formed under the directorship of my wife, Janet, in Dar es Salaam. This institute is separate from the political body of FRELIMO, but caters to the needs of refugees from Mozambique who have yet to complete their secondary education. The Institute will provide housing for 50 young students, and educational and cultural facilities for any Mozambican refugees who wish to partake of them. The Institute's activities also include a general survey of the refugees in Tanganyika and neighboring countries in order to assess the number and needs of these people. In addition, literacy programmes are needed to reach the millions of our people who are not able to read or write. We believe that without at least literacy, 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 programmes 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 the demise of colonialism in Mozambique, even if it takes giving up our own lives. For some time we believed that the people 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 within each country, and to the press of the world, we began to realize that interests other than morality and the merits of our case seem to be more 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 peoples 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.

Eduardo C. Mondlane
President
Mozambique Liberation Front
P. O. Box 15274
Dar es Salaam
Tanganyika

ADDENDUM - April 1963

The officers of the Central Committee of the Mozambique Liberation Front are as follows: ¹⁹⁶³

President: Dr. Eduardo C. Mondlane ✓
Vice President: Rev. Uria Simango ✓
Secretary-Treasurer: Laurence Mutaca
Treasurer: Johannes M. McMchambellues
Deputy Treasurer: James Msadala
Administrative Secretary: Silverio Nungu ✓
Secretary for External Affairs: Marcelino dos Santos ✓
Secretary for Information: Pasquale Mocumbi
Deputy Secretary for Information: Paulo Bayeke
Secretary for Labour: J. Chiteji
Secretary for Education: Mariano Matsinye
Secretary for Health: Baltazer Chagonga
Secretary for Defense Security: Leo Milas

Jaine Sikauki ✓ do Interior
Sec for Internal Organization
in Mozambique