

# O.A.U. Must Probe Frelimo

IN June 1962, the Mozambique Liberation Front was formed in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanganyika by the merger of MANU (Mozambique African National Union) and the Mozambique National Democratic Union (UDENAMO).

This merger was taken as a step toward the unification of the nationalist movement and the declaration of Mozambique independence.

On 25th June, 1962, the Executive of Central Committee was elected, its President being Dr. Eduardo C. Mondlane. The first annual congress of the Party was set for September, 1962, to determine policy and elect members of Executive Committee.

The dissension began in June, immediately after the formation of the United Front; while Mondlane became President of the United Front, the former leaders of the Parties which combined to make the Front, were excluded from its Executive Committee through a very strange set of circumstances.

Those leaders accused Mondlane of having bribed some of the delegates. While their charges were not proven, it does appear unlikely that a man who spent ten years in America without once speaking out against Portuguese colonialism, and who in 1961, was able to return to Mozambique and be received as Portuguese hero by the Governor-General, should shortly thereafter be chosen to lead nationalist movement.

By September 1962, division was growing within the newly formed united front. A measure of hostility had begun to appear between the Party's President, Dr. Mondlane on one side and the Secretary-General, Mr. David Mabunda, on the other.

In September 1962, the first Annual Congress of Frelimo was organised in Dar-es-Salaam by the Secretary-General and the Deputy-General, Mr. Paulo Gumane. In accordance with the constitution of the Party and the agreement uniting the two parties.

This was done over the objections of Dr. Mondlane who had returned to the U.S.A. immediately after winning the Presidency of Frelimo and wished to remain there. Faced with the fact that the Congress would take place with or without his presence, Dr. Mondlane returned to Dar-es-Salaam for a few days to take part in the Congress, after which he left for the U.S.A., where he remained until March 1964.

Before leaving Dar-es-Salaam, however, Dr. Mondlane set into motion the train of events which has caused constant dissension and strife within Frelimo since that time. Upon leaving Dar-es-Salaam at the end of the Congress, he attempted to establish personal control of the Party by appointing three of his personal supporters to the Committee. These individuals were Messrs. Marceline dos Santos, Silverio Nuangu, and Joao Mungwambi.

## CONSTITUTION VIOLATED

This action was in direct violation of the constitution of the Party, which states specifically that members of the Central Committee are elected by the Annual Congress.

Dr. Mondlane's appointment of his followers to the Central Committee set off a power struggle between himself on one side and the Secretary-General and Deputy Secretary-General of the Party on the other side. The reaction of these officials was to secretly organise against Mondlane. This and certain false accusations made against them by Dr. Mondlane resulted in their expulsion from Frelimo.

Dr. Mondlane accused Messrs. Mabunda and Gumane of being involved with the PIDE (Policia Internacional de Defesa do Estado), the Portuguese Political Police. Before my return to Dar-es-Salaam in November, 1962, Dr. Mondlane showed me documents implicating these and others of his opponents

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with the Portuguese Police (PIDE).

Some months later, I discovered that these documents were false. I began to observe Dr. Mondlane much more carefully. During the same period I encountered that Dr. Mondlane received intelligent reports on the activities of Messrs. Mabunda and Gumane and their adherents in Leopoldville, Kampala, Cairo and Khartoum.

These reports came to Dr. Mondlane through the U.S.A. Embassy in Dar-es-Salaam, from a Mr. Hennemeyer who was his principal contact. From the activities of Mr. Hennemeyer in spying on the liberation movements, we came to the conclusion that he was almost certainly an agent of one of the American Intelligent Agencies.

After his return from America in March 1963, Dr. Mondlane far from trying to correct his mistakes, continued to attempt to increase and consolidate his personal control of the party by appointing more of his personal supporters to the Central Committee, ignoring the repeated protests of the militants and the growing discord and internal strife resulting from his activities. This continued until by the beginning of 1964. Fully two-thirds of the membership of the Central Committee of Frelimo were Mondlane's personal appointees.

At the same time, Dr. Mondlane began to alienate many Mozambicans by his acceptance of a salary from the Americans under the transport cover of an American donated "Education Fund" of which his wife was made director with an American type salary drawn from this fund.

As under U.S. laws no tax-exempt foundation is permitted to place any funds under the control of a political organisation, especially a foreign political organisation, it was perfectly obvious that the £20,000—£30,000 pounds which Dr. Mondlane claimed to be a grant from Ford Foundation must be from the U.S. Government using the Ford

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Foundation as a cover. Obviously we could find no legitimate reason for the U.S. Government to wish to provide Dr Mondlane with a salary.

Many militants became suspicious of Dr. Mondlane's lavish way of life and his lack of interest in beginning armed action in Mozambique while spending large amounts of money on things of little direct relationship to the basic problem of beginning a revolution in Mozambique.

We found it incongruous that a so-called revolutionary leader should spend unnecessarily amounts of amounts of money to buy a house in Dar-es-Salaam and to live like a Minister with four servants and expensive entertaining while many militants who were brought from Mozambique to be trained to fight, were left to sleep on the ground in dirty over-crowded huts, to often eat one meal daily of maize flour and beans, and to go about in tattered rags or half-nude.

We found it difficult to understand also the necessity of Dr. Mondlane's spending fully two-thirds of his time in America and Europe while pretending to lead a fight for independence.

We found that Dr. Mondlane received £200 monthly from the Israeli Embassy in Dar-es-Salaam. Finally we concluded that his commitment to the imperialists were too great.

We then decided to take steps to rectify the situation through the Annual Conference which was to be held in September 1964. Unfortunately Dr. Mondlane, noticing the extent of the opposition to his activities refused to hold the Congress.

This again provoked a storm of protests. Then we began to organise the membership and the regional leaders on a broad basis as possible to force Dr. Mondlane to hold the Congress. This was necessary to prevent him from temporary undermining the opposition to himself by bribing some members of the Union, as had done on previous occasions.

Shortly afterwards Dr. Mondlane began attempting to remove me and others who oppose him by sending us on long missions outside Africa, or in some cases to study

outside Africa. In my own case it came to my knowledge that Mondlane planned to send me on a long mission and then expel me when it would be safe to do so.

At that point he began to demand that I give him all information on the Frelimo organisation in the interior of Mozambique which had been under my charge. As I knew his plan, however, I did not give him the information that he wanted. So that he would not be able to contact our brothers in the interior.

It was agreed that in order to avoid immediate expulsion and an immediate split in the party, that I should begin my trip while my comrades push ahead our plans to force Mondlane to hold the Congress.

Unfortunately although the regional leaders of the party came together in Dar-es-Salaam to demand a Congress, our lack of finance as opposed to Mondlan's financial strength and the support of Mondlane by the Tanganyika Government and the Secretary of the Committee of Nine, resulted in the failure of our attempt to force a Congress.

On June 18, in Cairo, during the Conference of African Heads of State, Mondlane personally expelled me from Frelimo. We did not recognise the right of Mondlane alone to expel anyone. We also did not recognise the right of a Central Committee consisting almost entirely of Mondlane's illegal appointees to expel anyone nor take any other responsible action.

This, however, was of limited importance. We had already concluded that without the Congress it would be worse than useless to remain in Frelimo. I, therefore, informed my comrades of my expulsion and they in consultation with our comrades of the military group and our colleagues in the interior of Mozambique formed the Conselho de Libertacao de Mozambique, the organisational basis for which was the former Frelimo organisation in Northern Mozambique and the military personnel of Frelimo who were formerly under my charge, and who were brought from Mozambique and sent for training through the efforts of my comrades and self.

At present almost all the military personnel have left Mondlane, a few, very few remain in Mondlane's camps waiting for us to provide them with transport funds to enable them to leave. A few other remain with Mondlane, but the only ones that he can depend upon are perhaps a half-dozen individuals from the Southernmost parts of Mozambique. Even the other members of the small group from the South oppose Mondlane, but as they have no place to escape to they fear being imprisoned by the Tanganyika Government if they openly oppose Mondlane.

They clearly have a basis for these fears as many Mozambicans in Tanganyika have been imprisoned because of their opposition to Mondlane, among them many trained military personnel. In my own case I have not returned to Tanganyika because Mondlane informed me at the time of my expulsion from Frelimo that he has arranged for me to be imprisoned should I return to Tanganyika.

Because of the threat of imprisonment in Tanganyika, many of the trained Mozambicans nationalist soldiers are in hiding in Tanganyika, while many have escaped to Kenya, some to Uganda and Congo, some to Malawi, others have left for Ethiopia or Somalia, and a few returned to Mozambique to hide out and work with the CIN organisation there.

Those Mozambican military personnel who have come to Nairobi are undergoing a good deal of needless suffering. It is hoped that some way might be found to send them to Mombasa where they can be provided with food and shelter by our countrymen who work there, until such time as we can arrange for them to re-enter Mozambique.

We also request that the OAU asks for an investigation into the entire question of Frelimo and activities of Dr. Mondlane and the release of those Mozambican nationalists who are at present in prison in Tanganyika for their opposition to Dr. Mondlane.