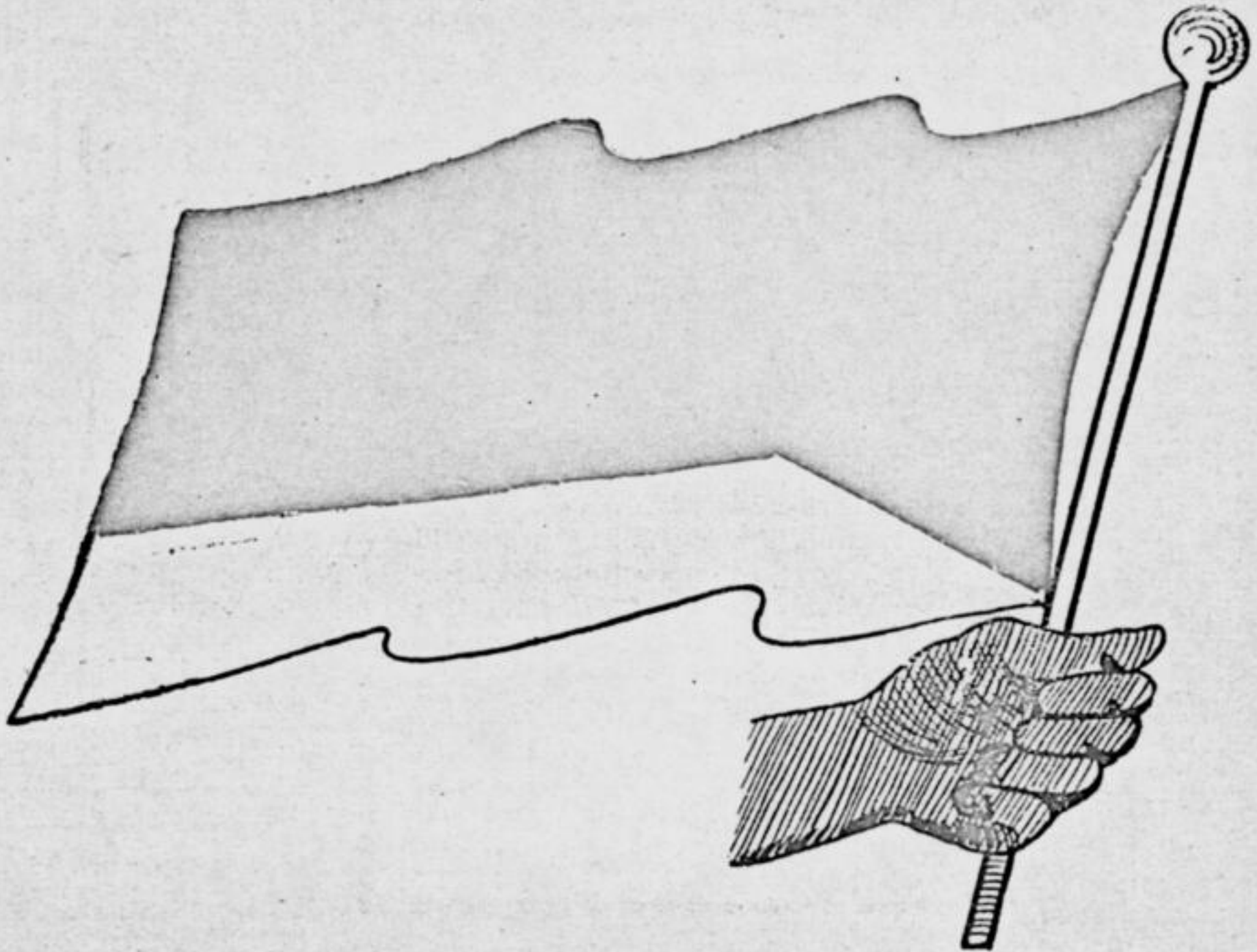


**IN INDEPENDENCE LIES OUR GUARANTEE
FOR PEACE!**



**THE UDENAMO AT THE
UNITED NATIONS**

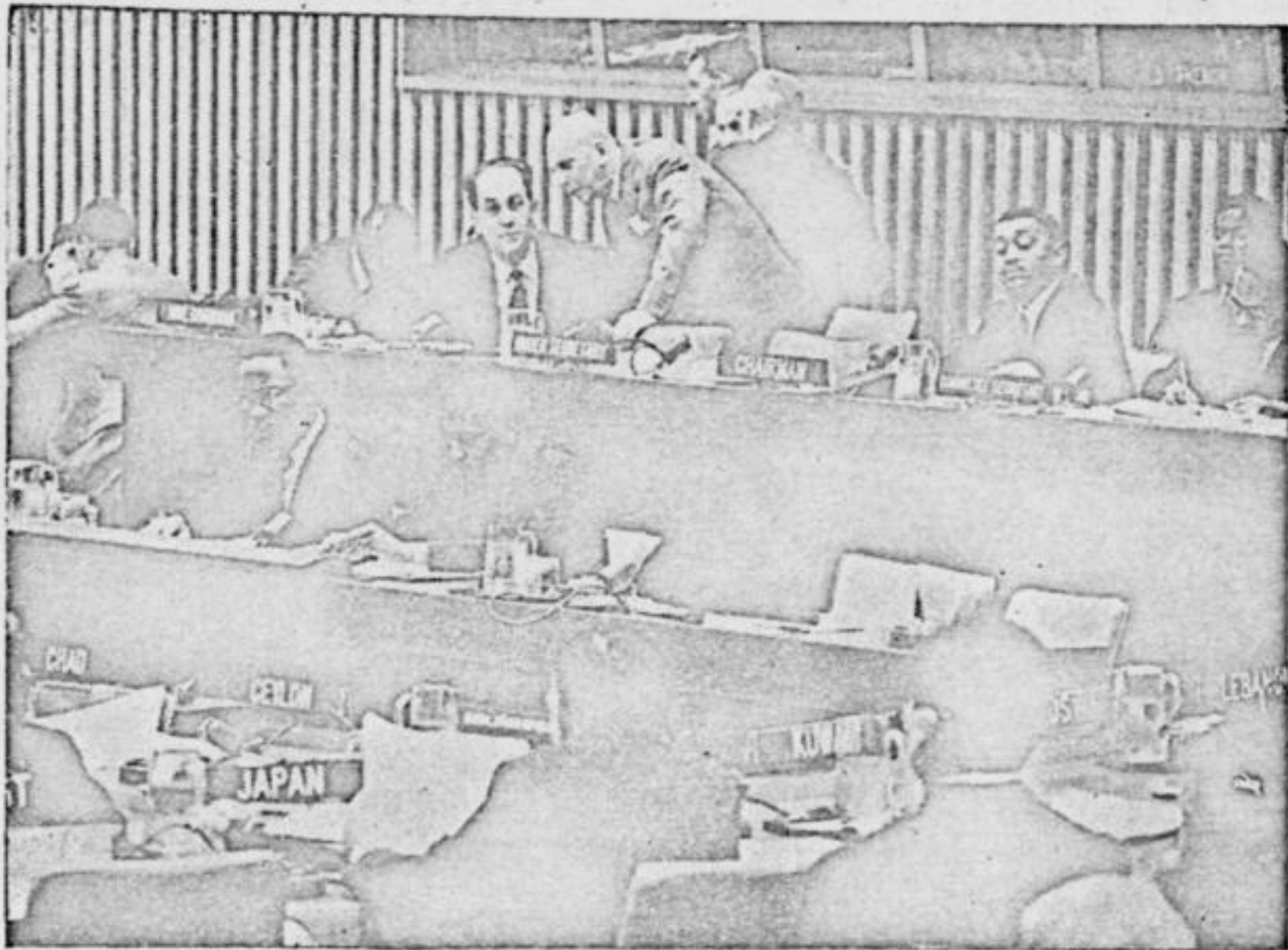
NOVEMBER 1963

INDEPENDENCE IS OUR GUARANTEE
FOR PEACE

On the 7th November, 1963, a UD-
ENAMO delegation appeared as petiti-
oners before the fourth (Trusteeship and
non-self governing territories) Committee
of the General Assembly of the United
Nations, New York, to present the case of
the Mozambique people to this world
body.

The members of the delegation were
Mr David J. M. Mabunda, Vice Presid-
ent of the Mozambique National Democ-
ratic Union (UDENAMO) and Mr John
Z. Sakupwanyu, UDENAMO representa-
tive in the Americas and a student in
the U. S. A.

We publish here, the full text of the
petition submitted by the UDENAMO
delegation,



Seen here making a statement before the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations are Mr. David Mabunda (right) and Mr. John Sakupwanya (left).

Photo credit : UNITED NATIONS.

Statement Made by :
Mr. David J. M. Mabunda and Mr. John Sakupwanya

REPRESENTING THE MOZAMBIQUE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC UNION (UDENAMO)
AT THE 1470th. MEETING OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE ON 7 NOVEMBER- 1963

Mr. Chairman,
DISTINGUISHED DELEGATES,

We have the honour to address to this highest world Assembly, on behalf of the Mozambique National Democratic Union, which is a nationalist organization fighting for the freedom of the country from Portuguese colonial rule, to submit for Your consideration the grievous reality in which contends for nearly five centuries the suffering people of Mozambique, our fatherland.

We request Your Excellencies to lend Your ears and Your peaceful spirits to penetrate into a brief report of horror and tragedy in the history of COLONIALISM, a history of the Portuguese colonial rule over the African populations of one of the territories which, under the complaisant eyes of the world Organization, Portugal has under domination in Africa. It is the history of the subjugation of one nation by another in all possible aspects, whether in the individual, politico-administrative, educational, labour, economical, social, military, judicial, medical and hospital fields. Unfortunately, wherever the Portuguese colonialist has touched on the Mozambican soil, he created barriers and enslaved peoples.

We in Mozambique live with an enemy that is bent on using force to delay his departure from our country. For over 400 years, Portugal has held on to Mozambique. Over this part of the African continent, Portugal rules ruthlessly and uncompromisingly over its indigenous inhabitants exceeding 7 million. The rulers of Portugal not only sought to subjugate and exploit them economically but have attempted to destroy completely their culture and society in order to reduce them to a position of inferiority forever.

We, therefore, wish to bring to the urgent notice of your Excellencies, the threat to peace in Africa that is inherent in the present political crises in Mozambique and to request that through the good offices of Your Excellencies, the matter be brought up in the plenary session at this eighteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly, in order to exert pressure to bear upon the Portuguese Government.

In spite of Portugal's shouting to the world and to the United Nations that Mozambique is a province, this has never been a fact. The simple statement of "overseas province" reflects in itself a politico-administrative discrimination. The black man does not

have and never had admittance to any higher positions of the legislative or executive systems of Portugal's Public administration.

in the Central Executive Power, it is not even necessary to mention. Also in the Regional Administration of the so-called "overseas province" the indigenous population has no access, in spite of the merely formal presence of two hand-picked chiefs in the Legislative Council.

In the Educational Field, it is practised all sort of legal chicanery, which have always succeeded in view of the fact that the Portuguese do not allow the indigenous population to have equal and fair legal means to put an end to these abuses.

In the Labour Field, the functional and salary disparity is alarming in its discriminatory character, primarily because when functional equality scarcely exists, salary equality does not exist. Secondly, because the rare access to higher positions is carried out in the following manner: First, white men, then mulattos and finally the black. The access therefore, to public and private employment, in spite of the selection tests, are ironically racial discriminatory tests, in the following order, which we emphasize once more: whites, mulattos and blacks.

In the Social Field, the autochthonous population has no admittance to public entertainment places such as hotels, restaurants, cafes and others except as servants. Furthermore, residential areas remain also separated, in spite of the Portuguese Government lullabies.

The Portuguese claim that Mozambique is a province, however, she always uses the discriminatory adjective

"overseas". Thus we entreat the United Nations to allow us to put before you the following questions: (1) In which country of the world do customs barriers exist from one province to another? (2) On the other hand, in which country of the world is a passport required to travel from one province to another? For the knowledge of Your Excellencies, we inform you that the Portuguese authorities require a passport to all races indiscriminately, when one wishes to travel from the so-called province of Mozambique to the province of Lisbon.

Portugal has passed a great number of formal laws for her pretended provinces. As a Matter of fact, some of these colonial laws are good. Unfortunately, they have never been put into action, mostly when these laws refer to the rights of the African population. Reverting to the politico-administrative discrimination, we wish to call your attention that Portugal has among others, two distinctive ministries, the Ministry of interior and the Overseas Ministry. The Interior Ministry deals with the Portuguese European Provinces home affairs, whereas the Overseas Ministry, covering an attribution parallel to the Interior Ministry, deals with the so-called "Overseas Province" affairs. This proves once more the unequal and discriminatory policy between European Provinces and the so-called Overseas Provinces.

In the Judicial Sector, it should be remarked that there are special courts to judge the Africans, while the white settlers are judged in regular courts. This proves once more the inequality of treatment between the autochthonous, and the non-autochthonous, the white and non-white, the European and the African. In the colonies, these courts are ironically called "Tribunal Privativo", that is, private or special courts.

In connexion with Hospitals, it should be taken into consideration that medical hospitalization assistance, as well as accommodation and wards, are conducted in a manner of racial separation. It should be also noted that in general, while wards for whites are divided into rooms for two, those for the Africans are big dormitories for many patients.

Portugal has constantly and energetically refused to permit whatever inquiry committees from the United Nations or any other International organizations, to visit her colonial territories and freely examine and scrutinize their real situation. However, we do not believe that any country in the world, being most proud of its national internal rights, if accused of untrue acts, would refuse to accept the visit of an international Press committee to inquire on the reality of the accusations. However, this has never been accepted by Portugal. Nevertheless, if the Portuguese Government has nothing to hide or to fear, why do they not allow at least an international written and spoken Press committee, composed of at least three members from each of the following countries: Brazil, Mexico, Cuba, Canada, Senegal, Chile, Finland, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Romania, Holland, Yugoslavia, Ceylon, Japan, Burma, Liberia, United Arab Republic, Lebanon, Ghana, Ethiopia and Algeria, to visit freely Mozambique, not to be followed or traced by the police or censorship authorities, entering in whatever part of Mozambique they want and interviewing whomever they choose. Then they would give their advice and report of what they really have seen in that Portuguese colony.

To conclude our brief introduction, it is necessary Your Excellencies, to put an end to this odious discriminatory co-

lonialist domination which Portugal exercises over more than 7 million African souls, scattered in an area of approximately 783,000 sq. km., and who are only waiting for the day in which the chains of this multi-century domination shall break off and have the honour to sit together with you to work in harmony for the progress of mankind, for world peace and security.

BRIEF HISTORY OF MOZAMBIQUE

Four hundred and sixty-eight years ago, 1498, a Portuguese fleet under the command of Vasco da Gama, in search of the sea-way to India, anchored in the coast of Mozambique.

Portuguese occupation became effective in the year 1505, when Captain Pedro de Anafia landed on the island of Mozambique, then called the **Captaincy of Sofala**. The Captaincy was not autonomous. It was dependent of the State of India, therefore, under the Governor Francisco de Almeida. The latter, in 1507, sent his men to the island of Mozambique to build a fortress.

The first occupation years were solely for commercial exploitation, Christianization and improvement of the political conditions in India. This was followed by the construction of more fortresses in big commercial centres like Sofala, Tete and Sena, where they concentrated troops. The African people did not fear these troop concentrations and thus they invaded the fortresses of Mozambique.

Later, the Portuguese began to explore the country's hinterland and went up the rivers Zambezi and Limpopo. The land north of the Zambezi was inhabited by the Macalangas, a tribe of Mas-

honas (which came to the southern border of the Zambezi in the twelfth century to occupy what today is known as Southern Rhodesia). These people built their capital in the area of the great Zimbabwe. They formed a confederation under King Monomotapa, a great and considered king although he exercised powers extremely lower than those granted to him by the Portuguese. The chiefs of the various regional tribes recognized a limited suzerain under Monomotapa, but were far from being his vassals.

In 1531, with the intention of expanding the exportation of gold, the captain of Mozambique founded the market of Sena where there were some Arabs. The city of Sena grew prosperously and 200 years later became the trade centre. A few years later the city of Tete was constructed. The two cities succeeded in trade as a result of the intimate contacts between the lands of Monomotapa and the gold mines of Manica and Mashona. In the region of Mussapa, south-west of Tete, near the river Mazoe, the adventurers settled a commercial post in 1550, free from the advice of Monomotapa who had already given them various concessions. The Portuguese remained in this commercial life for a period of about sixty-five years respecting and paying tribute to the sovereignty of the Africans. These were the instructions of the King of Portugal: "Trade and live in peace with the Africans."

With the coronation of D. Sebastiao as king of Portugal, the Portuguese modified their tactics. They dreamed of conquering the gold mines and dominating the African peoples. It is because of this dream that in 1569, the first expedition of 1,000 men under the command of D. Francisco Barreto, then Governor General of India, landed in the island of

Mozambique. Governor Barreto sent one regiment to Sofala. The invaders had bad luck, as immediately upon their arrival, the Africans attacked and severely punished the officers. After some time, Barreto, accompanied by a number of his men, made his way to Zambezi, in the region of Sena, where many of them also lost their lives (1571). After various fights and unconcluded negotiations with King Monomotapa, Barreto evacuated the 200 men who were fortunate to remain alive (1573). Later, Barreto died and was substituted by his aide-de-camp Vasco Fernandes Homem who returned to Sena with 400 men in search of the gold mines. After various clashes with the African people, he penetrated into the land of Manica, where the city of Umtali is situated today. There they found gold, but did not have competent men to explore it. From Sofala, he went to the north of the Zambezi into Sena, where he tried to explore the famous silver mines of Chicua, but the Africans, the owners of the land attacked and destroyed him together with his remaining 200 men. In view of this disaster, the Portuguese crown put aside her conquest ambitions. Defeated as they have been, the Portuguese were not convinced, and thus attempted to continue the fight by using other methods. In this new phase of war, they sent Catholic Missionaries to Christianize and bribe the African chiefs. Thus in Sena, there were four churches and some fifty Portuguese.

At Tete there were approximately twenty Portuguese in the fortress and many scattered in the surrounding regions. The missionaries worked and continue to work even today, together with the Portuguese politicians. While the missionaries attempted to dominate the Africans with the use of the Gospel of Christ, the Portuguese feudalists were

freely exploiting at every opportunity. The missionaries, just as today, were big masters who accumulated properties and many slaves, whom they sold to the feudal lords and masters. They had an exploitation system which consisted in plantations equal to those of today. In all parts of the Monomotapa Kingdom, soldiers, missionaries and traders could be seen actively plotting and planning against the Africans' land, resources and population. The Portuguese population rose to 1,000 men, a number that has never been overpassed until the twentieth century.

The kings of Portugal easily forgot the lesson. The men of Vasco Homen wanted to dominate every aspect of trade as well as the African people. In the nineteenth century a great number of Portuguese missionaries and feudal lords wanted to impose their laws upon the African leaders and chiefs. The Portuguese began their new policy of demanding more cheap labourers or slaves for plantations. The number of conflicts increased considerably in the region of the Zambezi. King Monomotapa was by then converted into a christian and therefore easily exploited. The vandals disseminated the seeds of misunderstanding with the neighbouring chiefs through the king, and thus, through tribal disputes, they dominated the whole Zambezi. The main reason of these disputes was the refusal of the other chiefs to be baptized. It was a great struggle, known in history as the dispute of 1628.

With the death of King Monomotapa, the lackey of the Portuguese, his son Manuza acceded to the throne in 1628. Hostile as he was to the Portuguese colonialists, he immediately declared war against the Portuguese ostentation and interferences in the affairs of the

state. After various attacks, the Portuguese garrison surrendered and retreated to the island of Mozambique leaving the new king in peace. The retreat of the colonialists did not last long, for, through some christian members of the royal family, the Portuguese were finally able to succeed in convincing the king to also become a christian. The king was baptized as Filipe, having solemnly promised vassalage to the King of Portugal, to the Dominican missionaries, settlers and traders of Zambezi, giving them everything they wanted. This was the first time in the history of Mozambique the Portuguese succeeded to maintain a brief domination over a great part of the Macalanga peoples.

King Filipe's first practical defeat was to consent to the slave traffic in the plantations owned by the missionaries and feudals. However, this government of the lackeys did not last long. In 1688 the Macalangas declared war on the Portuguese. These fights went on for many years. The African population, scattered and demoralized by the long wars; lost and fell once more prey into the hands of the colonialists.

In 1752 the colonial administration was no longer dependent of Goa. Thus, the first Governor General of Mozambique Francisco de Melo Castro was appointed. This colonialist government accentuated the slave trade. It is calculated that from 1780 to 1800, more than 15,000 slaves were expatriated yearly to America, a number which rose to 25,000 until about the year 1850. Minister Sa de Bandeira's law in 1836 abolishing slavery found no support in Mozambique. Contrarily, the slave traffic was accelerated until 1840 when the British strongly intervened and exercised pressures against the Portuguese Government.

Nevertheless the Portuguese, stubborn as they are, did not respect long the law, in view of the fact that they remained in business up to the present moment dealing in human flesh, forced labour and other forms of bondage.

It is known that until 1890 the Portuguese sphere of influence, south of the Save river, was limited to a few scattered traders and missionaries whose principal purpose was to prepare the road for exploitation and domination by the Portuguese army. Only after the British ultimatum in 1890 did the occupation become a reality. From this date onwards the Portuguese imposed their authority on the African. They refused to pay tributes to African princes.

Nevertheless, some chiefs did not sympathize with the Portuguese attitude. Then occurred a series of assaults, out of which the Portuguese defended themselves and succeeded through bribes to subordinate certain chiefs who later moved to the Portuguese side and fought against the chiefs who would not accept the foreign domination. This is what happened to the chief of Marracuene in 1894, who fought the Portuguese in the battle of Marracuene where the Portuguese suffered a great defeat. Later the Portuguese obtained the help of the subordinate princes and lackeys of the Lourenco Marques district and a few Angolans (according to Portuguese history). Thus, in February, 1895, the army of chief Marracuene, under the command of general Magaia, gave way, having to face such a great proportion of forces, calculated about 6,000 well equipped men. However, the expedition was not terminated. They marched toward the north to Gaza, where the forces of King Ngungunyana dominated. King Ngungunyana's forces fought the enemy

in the valley of the Incomati river at Magul, where a fierce battle took place, which was won by the Portuguese.

In the same year, a column under the command of Captain Mouzinho de Albuquerque landed at Inhambane. As always the motto "divide and rule", the Portuguese succeeded to subordinate the chiefs of Inhambane and of Muchopes through false promises, to permit the passage towards Mandlacaze, where King Ngungunyana lived. At this stage, King Ngungunyana was in war with King Xipenanyane of Muchopes, and since the latter wanted to free himself from his neighbour enemy, he thought it was opportune to unite his forces with those of the Portuguese Captain Mouzinho de Albuquerque, whom he figured was a friend. Together they went in search of King Ngungunyana, whom they found in his palace in the company of the queen and prince Godide alone. After this betrayal, general Magigwana attempted to revenge in vain over his king in the battles of Chaimite and Coolela, where this general lost his life, terminating therefore, the campaigns of the south of the Save river.

The famous King Ngungunyana arrested - the news reached King Macombe I, of Barue, Niassa district, in the following year. King Macombe I, swore vengeance against the Portuguese, and for this he declared war and invaded the colonialist fortresses. A number of combats took place. The war lasted about twenty years as it was only in 1917 that peace was restored and Macombe III fled to Rhodesia, where he spent his last days, while the Portuguese were engaged with the Germans in the great First World War.

In the end of the war of the Macombes, terminated the armed conflicts

between the invaders and the Africans who have been defeated but did not lose hope.

COLONIALIST POLICE REGIME

It has already been mentioned in the "Brief History of Mozambique" that armed conflicts between the colonialists and the people of Mozambique had ceased in 1917. Logically, that means the beginning of a new era, an era of peace, tranquillity, understanding and progress between the defeated and the defeaters. However, this did not happen, for the general disarmament of the African population was followed by reprisals and annihilation. Let us look in a few short lines upon the facts which are being witnessed by our generation.

Portugal's presence in Africa is claimed to be a "civilizing mission" to uplift the Africans and to convert them into Portuguese citizens. The Portuguese have argued that they do not practise the system of "apartheid" and that there are no colour barriers. Therefore one would picture a Portugal of the present time, matured by the wisdom of trial and error, by the ages, enlightened, progressive and following a policy based on high and noble principles. Yet the expressions of interracial harmony are hopelessly unfounded. Yet what is happening in Mozambique, where a campaign of extermination is being waged by the Portuguese colonialists against the African population provides a clear and vivid example of the policies and principles of the Portuguese colonial regime.

Portugal's policy of "apartheid" is based on the doctrine that the mass of Africans are culturally, morally and educationally unprepared to exercise Portuguese citizenship. Therefore the law

envisages two classes of inhabitants. The nao-indigenas: whites, mulattos and assimilados, (assimilated Africans) who by law enjoy full citizenship rights and are governed by the Portuguese common law, and the indigenas (natives) governed by a complex of controls known as the "regime de indigenato".

Having established these classes, the Portuguese have taken systematic steps to keep down, exploit and effectually close against the indigenous African every avenue improvement.

Here, Your Excellencies, we wish to call your esteemed attention to the fact that discrimination is largely practised in the form of prejudices by colour, race and class which has been rightly recognized as of social and psychological origin and an inhuman evil. Yet the government of Portugal, practising every form of inhuman justice against humanity, remains a member of the world organization with the full support of professed christian and democratic nations. Portugal has also practised by force, miscegenation, race mixing, slavery, slave labour, forced or contract, which have all been designed to deteriorate the African people in terms of population, life and death rate. The system of establishing local government control for the specific benefit of Portugal for the past four hundred years must be ended for the cause of human justice, peace and human dignity.

On the other hand even the assimilados do not enjoy the facilities of Portuguese citizenship, for they do not have the means to acquire them. The process of assimilation implemented in 1917 requires the African to prove that he can read and write Portuguese fluently and correctly, have severed all

tribal connexions and has adopted the habit and customs proposed for the application of the Portuguese Common Law and have a suitable occupation to provide stable means of living. It should be noted however, Your Excellencies that it is only an individual of the African race who can be an indigena and not a Portuguese white settler, no matter how illiterate he may be. The whole police has been directed towards maintaining a docile-cheap labour force.

In 1945, Professor Dr. Marcelo Caetano, then Minister of Colonies, visited officially Mozambique. As an improvement for the colony, he decreed the increasing of the hut tax. Unmarried women (from the age of 18) and widows who had not reached the age of 55 years were forced to be registered in the tax records. The law envisaged that women should pay half of the men's contributions. At that stage, the amount was 200 escudos per individual, therefore 100 escudos per female taxpayer, already overloaded by cotton, rice and peanut fields, which the administrative authorities had distributed to them. Much more worse, they were forced to carry with them the famous twenty-five page booklet of identification - *Caderneta Indigena* - for their identification, when required by the colonial authorities. Yet, in 1948, the population saturated with hunger, provoked by the despotic control of the supervisors of cotton fields, hut tax and the intensified seizures of people for the plantations of Sao Tome, the population revolted against those barbaric atrocities of the Portuguese tyrants. Needless to mention, the result of the rebellion was afflictive and horrible. A considerable number of men and women, in the rebellion district of Lourenco Marques - more than 500 were expatriated to São Tome; others were convicted to

prison terms ranging between net to sixteen years and finally others were killed without pity.

In 1953, in Sao Tome, there was a revolt of forced labourers demanding liberty, better conditions and recognition of their rights as human beings. The claimers were severely punished and more than 100 people were killed and many others wounded.

In the same year, 1953, another popular revolt took place at Mambone, district of Inhambane, caused by the poisoning of food-stuff destined for distribution to the population which, because of bad harvest that year, was starving. A part of the population received the food, and later discovered that it was poisoned. The President of the Nucleo Negrofico de Manica e Sotola, Mr. Sixpence Simango alerted the population and issued a protest before the criminal authorities. The results were saddeing. Hundreds of people were arrested and others were shot dead. The prisoners who are still serving indefinite prison terms are: Chief Matique, Gabriel, Macanga, Rev. Machava, S. Simango (President of the Nucleu Negrofico), Julio Batata, Gil Mendonca and other members of the Nucleu Negrofico, Fernando Manjena and son, Albano Mundeco, Tome Mutuaro Mandivanje, Brito Simango, Chimbirombiro Simango and having died in prisons: Macanguisse Timo and Albano Mundeco.

The wave of terrorism does not enve begin to end there. In 1956 the port of Lourenco Marques chief police, requisited the Malanga police squadron for suppressing a revolt organized by the shibalos (forced labourers) and other dock workers who demanded better wages, good alimentation, better

labour conditions and reasonable working hours. (It is known that forced labourers in the ports and harbours section in Mozambique work fourteen hours per day, Sunday inclusive.) The cavalry arrived and dominated the revolution having caused the loss of forty-nine lives and many wounded, whose sole crime was to call for their fundamental human rights. The Mozambican population protested but the leaders were sent to concentration camps in the north of the colony.

The most remarkable was the recent revolt of Mueda in the Cabo Delgado district in 1960, in which the colonialists massacred 600 nationalists protesting against the cruel foreign domination. It was truly a horrible and lamentable event in the history of a nation fighting and suffering for their independence, freedom and liberty for the past 465 years.

In 1962, in Mossurize, Mrs. Sevene Maveneka, Mr. Faduka Mwandida and Mr. Muti Mumbuka were shot by the Portuguese light brigade while they tried to cross the border into the Rhodesias.

No one ignores what happens in the concentration camps of Marupa, Machangalane, Manhica, Ibo Island, Nhangau and the Island of Inhaca, where hundreds of prisoners, on their first day of arrival are forced to dig the graves "for no one will have to dig the grave for you when you are dead", so say the camp supervisors. Above the unfortunate Africans' graves, a banana tree is usually planted. These camps are truly hells in this world, for seldom the prisoners get out of there. The concentration camps are huge rice fields which the prisoners cultivate from sunrise to sunset without rest. There is no meal time hour. The meals are served in the work locations,

by people especially engaged for food distribution. It is sad, but it does exist. And we only wish Your Excellencies would be persistent enough to see for yourselves what our people endure under the oppressive heels of the brutal Portuguese.

The echo of the speech by the then Minister of Colonies, Dr. Adriano Moreira, in 1932, proclaiming the end of the system of INDIGENATO in the colonies, was only to evade from the United Nations attacks, but the system remained intact. Indeed, the law of 6 September 1961, was a bluff and never a reality. It was not for the benefit of either the natives or the non-natives. On the contrary, it prejudiced both parties. Instead of all enjoying the rights prescribed by this law, more classes than those existing were established. Though, we have natives, whose documents of identification is the "caderneta indigena" - civilized natives (a new class) identified by a special identification card; and the assimilados - identification card similar to that of the Portuguese citizens. The existing difference between civilized natives and assimilados is that the first only speak Portuguese and do not have a salary equal to that of the assimilados. In this law, there exists only the equality of tax - 360 escudos per individual. In respect to assimilados a further 10 per cent tax on the salary is collected as Professional Tax, plus 150 escudos per individual for Military Tax. Immediately upon this law was implemented, various difficulties came up for its integral fulfilment. Therefore it was never put into force. The first reaction came from particular company owners who did not want to increase the salaries of the "new Portuguese citizens of black colour". Most of these lost the little they had only to be substituted in their work by

the settlers daily arriving in the country from Portugal and the Madeira Islands.

Here Your excellencies we point out the brutal treatment of the Portuguese in their Policy of taxation without representation, taxation without the right to vote. Flagrant violations of the United Nations Charter.

In the C.F.M. (Mozambique Railways) and other government offices, where forced labourers are counted in the thousands, as a fulfilment of the same law, the supply of forced labourers was interrupted with the idea of substituting them by voluntary workers with a maximum salary of twenty escudos daily to be paid weekly. For two months, a great loss was verified in the government accounts. Then, the said law was revoked secretly by the colonial Governor General who ordered all local administrations to send back the "SHIBALOS". For example, in the port of Lourenco Marques, the first group of "shibalos" received, was of 140 men from the local administration, of Massinga in March 1962. They came indoctrinated that in case of being asked whether they were "shibalos" or volunteers, the answer should be, "we are 'shibalo volunteers'". From six escudos they were receiving daily they then earned eight escudos. That is: 180 escudos to 240 escudos monthly.

It is a dream to think that in Portuguese colonies, while British colonialism and American neo-colonialism still exists in Africa, the "shibalo" system will end. It is true that the British and Americans are the perpetuators of the forced labour system in Africa, although they put the blame on Portugal as the executor, a small under-developed European country, the mere pawn in the hands

of the larger Powers giving support to another white brother nation in the family of colonialist exploiters.

These nations thrive and make Portuguese colonialism thrive with them on the sacrifices and misery of the Mozambican people through the unscrupulous machinations of investments which in turn feed the colonialists and sustain their economy in Mozambique and elsewhere in the world.

There is no doubt or should be any doubt any further, that the big companies in Mozambique belong to the British and Americans who operate them through the Portuguese, and that they both consume more cheap labour than the Portuguese government offices in Mozambique. Among others, there are the Anglo-American Sugar plantations, Xinavane-Incomati Estates, Sena Sugar, Donaiana, American Gulf Oil Company, Sisal and Tea Companies, all great consumers of "shibalo". Outside Mozambique where the Mozambican Africans are sold, in this case in Southern Rhodesia, we have among others, the following companies:

CHIPINGA COMPANY WITH THE FOLLOWING WORK ZONES

Tanganda Tea Co. with branches at: JERZEY - ZONA - IETTLE HOOK and NYASALAND.

Abafoyle Plantations with branches at: ZINDI and NYANGANI.

These are all Tea Companies located along the border of Mozambique. Most of the above mentioned companies are owned by the British South African Company.

FOREST COMMISSIONS

Stapleford with branches at NYANGANI - ORANGE GROVE - LION GROVE and LION HILLS.

Silverstream with branches at GWENZI - VATONDO - CHIPINGA - MILSETTER - INYANGA and NYAMAROPA.

Cheba at PENHALONGA.

In all these companies, the workers are Mozambicans, sold by the Portuguese to the British masters.

The Great Kariba Dam in Central Africa was built with the use of cheap Mozambican labour. Many Mozambicans lost their lives in that gorge and the Portuguese received millions of Sterling Pounds in compensation for the lost African lives, and not one shilling for the families remaining in their sorrow.

Who dies in the South African Mines ?

After various conventions between South Africa and the colonial Government of Portugal, over the supply of cheap labour, it was finally agreed and guaranteed that this supply should be paid for by the percentage tax for the Transvaal transit goods through the Lourenco Marques port. It is through this that the convention of 1928 allowed agents of the mining companies the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (W.N.L.A.), to recruit up to 800,000 Africans annually, and established that 47.5 per cent of the sea traffic to and from the Transvaal would pass through the port of Lourenco Marques.

Needless to mention, that the business is highly profitable for the colonial Government of Portugal while in Mozambique, but bare misery, suffering and

exploitation to the indigenous African people in their own country. It does not only make the port of Lourenco Marques one of the best ports in the world, but the colonial Government accumulates taxes and wealth from each worker who in return brings his salary to spend in Mozambique, in that perpetual circle of exploitation where the money flows out and returns to the payer. Hence, against these advantages on the part of the Portuguese, there are disadvantages on the part of the Africans. The mortality of mine workers is terrible and sometimes reaches the average of 67.6 per cent per 1000. In 1960, Mozambique witnessed days of mourning, due to the great disaster in the Coal Brook Mine in South Africa, in which 200 Mozambicans died. For the imperialist Government, the news of the disaster came as a lottery winning ticket, because the families of the victims were indemnified by the South African Chamber of Mines, the money of which ended in the pockets of the Portuguese colonial Government.

As you Sir, Mr. Chairman, will see, until 1960 the Mozambican people were always suffering, but reacting intermittently against the barbaric so-called Public Security Police. When the independence of the Congo (Leopoldville) was proclaimed - followed by dramatic events, the Portuguese Gestapo - PIDE (Polícia Internacional de Defesa do Estado) started a new wave of terror and horror. This was followed by a wave of imprisonment. Old men, women and the young people were crowded into gaols, and until this day some are still within the PIDE's dark rooms and torture chambers. Innocent people are committed without trial, families without bread and help, all fight desperately for their freedom. Some people like Dr. Agostino Ilunga, Tomas Nhatumba, Deniz Mondlane

(expatriated to Lisbon), J. Rivas Sigauke, Francisco Mazuze Ali Macaba and others are all paying unfair sentences. Others suffered from cruel tortures in the PIDE's dark rooms or torture chambers. There, the prisoners are subjected to have only bread and water for a period of ten days.

It should be noted that the interrogation room, where the prisoners go through torment and indescribable tortures, they are left thirteen or more days, uninterruptedly, in standing positions without sleeping, while being watched by the arrogant guards who are changed every four hours. This is the manner our people face PIDE investigations. The prisoners remain incommunicable and do not receive visitors during six months, except on rare occasions.

In 1961 when the Angola crisis exploded, all the autochthonous or indigenous population of Mozambique was disarmed of all sharp instruments, to prevent another revolution. So they said! The result of these measures was to put all of the population in a difficult situation in as far as the crop work was concerned because without a hoe or axe it was not possible for our people to work in the fields.

Your excellencies,

There is no doubt that we have been made a separate and distinct class and against us every avenue to improvement is effectually closed. We are still being discriminated because of our race, prevented from acquiring suitable education, forced to work without choice, separated from our families, cheated of our labours and left to die in bondage, slowly but sure, one by one day after day. We the Portuguese colonized Africans of Mozambique are forced to lead a life

worse than slavery in our country of birth; a life of misery and poverty. The Africans are still being denied the right of assembly whether for political or trade union purposes.

It is therefore hard to escape the conclusion that a well planned genocide operation is being conducted on the 7 million innocent and unarmed Africans of Mozambique by the Portuguese colonial regime with the aid of the NATO Powers.

With the aid she receives from the NATO Powers and her allies, the Government of Portugal has been able to construct during the past three years five new military bases as well as to maintain a force of about 40,000 troops. The creation of these bases is a measure inimical to the real interests of the Mozambican people and a threat to peace.

Flying box-cars laden with soldiers arrive frequently from Portugal at Lourenco Marques and Beira. Apart from the existing military air bases, civil airfields are being used by the Portuguese air force. Others, some with runways long enough to take jet aircraft, troop carriers have been and are being hastily built in the wild inland terrain throughout the country, with the use of African forced labour working from dawn to dusk under the ever present threat of being killed. Some 200 bush air-strips have now been created in the territory, made ready for landing troops and other security forces. All troops are armed with the latest automatic rifles, mortars, heavy and light machine guns and other forms of military equipment supplied to Portugal by her NATO allies. Portuguese farmers working in cottage communities in rural areas can freely buy sub-machine guns or rifles and revolvers at their local stores and

ammunition too, is readily available to white settlers in Mozambique's towns and villages. With the Portuguese colonial policy oriented as it is, there is no doubt that such aid as is being offered to Portugal mainly by the United States and Britain can only increase the determination on the part of the Portuguese to enslave further the Africans and to exterminate them, as can already be seen. It is therefore now time Your Excellencies, that they be called to order.

In the carrying out of its oppressive policies, the colonial Government of Portugal is also backed by the fascist Government of South Africa and the white settler Government of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, who are also bent on the further enslavement of the African people. The principal aim of these forces is to suppress the liberation movement of the African and entrench colonialism and imperialism.

Because of several agreements reached by these colonial Governments, Mozambicans living in South Africa and the Rhodesias are being kidnapped by the Portuguese secret police (PIDE) with the assistance of Verwoerd and Wellemsky police.

In April 1962, two men from Mozambique who had lived in South Africa for more than twenty years, Mr. Edward Ngubeni and Mr. Phillip Sobral, were kidnapped by the Johannesburg police, taken to the border under police escort and handed over to the Portuguese authorities for "alleged political offences. Their wives remained the sole supporters of the family with no hope of getting assistance from anywhere. Since that time, the two men have not been heard of. In the same year and month, April, 1962, Mr. Jaime Rivas Sigauke, was kid-

napped in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia and expatriated under police escort to Mozambique. Others who were kidnapped in Southern Rhodesia during the same year are Filipe Madzodzere and Robert Amargo. Mr. Sigauke who has been in prison in Mozambique for more than 15 months without trial, was finally brought before a Portuguese colonial military tribunal, charged with "trying to incite the people against the Government" and was sentenced to two years imprisonment on August 1963. Filipe Madzodzere and Roberto Amargo, were acquitted of similar charges in the same day. One of the recent cases was the kidnapping of Mr. Peter Balamanja in June, 1963, Mr. Balamanja was kidnapped in Salisbury, and with his family left behind, was expatriated to Mozambique.

The Portuguese campaign of terror is rapidly increasing. Day by day Africans are condemned by the undercover men of PIDE. During the month of November, 1962, several people were shot near Nampula and many others arrested after an attempt to blow up a bridge. In a village near Villa Cabral, 20 people were shot by a platoon of Portuguese soldiers. On the previous day, a Portuguese military patrol vehicle was ambushed near the village, two soldiers were killed and the vehicle burnt. What happened in the port of Lourenco Marques, a few months ago, is still fresh in our minds. A strike organized by the dock workers, in demand of better working conditions, better wages, the abolishing of the forced labour system and their recognition as human beings, resulted in the arrest of many people, out of which fifty-three were killed by the Portuguese, accusing them to be the ring leaders.

Your Excellencies, Mr. Chairman, we must present one of the most recent reports from the interior of Mozambique. Our eye-witness report speaks of the brutal policy of destruction and extermination of the indigenous African population by the Portuguese colonialists. "I deserted my home in panic without any destination or money because of the actual situation which has become far more critical and lamentable each day. The colonialists realizing the day of their eventual doom is nearing, are now using all forms of reprisals and extermination within their reach. Apart from the terrible 'Shibalo' (forced labour) which the entire world has heard of by now, it is worth mentioning the numerous prisons, immorality and the poisoning of foods which our people live on and watch in silence. In the connexion of the poisoning of foods which I want to speak of, this is the new arm of "cleansing" by the Portuguese. This happened recently in Gaza, Mozambique, in the month of February, 1963. Torrential rains accompanied by heavy storms destroyed all the crops thus resulting in starvation in many parts of the Save river and Beira district. The Portuguese taking advantage of this, distributed to the hunger stricken, maize-meal, groundnuts and sugar, which was without doubt poisoned. The result was that many of the people who received the food ended either in graves or in hospitals."

Yes Your Excellencies, these are just a few of the atrocious acts committed by the Portuguese upon human beings, African in their own country simply because the Creator made them black and willed them to multiply and replenish the earth.

Other eye-witnesses have reported similar incidents to our party.

In January in the section of Ports and Harbours Lourenço Marques, a Portuguese leader in bay No. J. poisoned two casks of wine with sulphate of soda when the casks were declared damaged. The result of this criminal act was the death of 33 African labourers. The criminal was not brought to justice. But the acts of Portuguese malice does not stop here.

In March, this year, in a sugar factory of Xinavance, the Portuguese repeated the same acts. This time with the poisoning of the river water. Once again hundreds of people died. This is the type of life the African endures in Mozambique, under the rule of Portuguese cruelty.

One is forced to ask, where is peace, justice and the liberty or equal human rights proclaimed by the world Organization of the United Nations which harbours such a Member, who can proudly boast, "In Mozambique, there are no Mozambicans, but Portuguese." or "Mozambique does not exist without Portugal". Can the United Nations tolerate this travesty; must we the indigenous African be expected to tolerate it any longer?

Portugal has long spoken of her civilizing mission which is written into the organic law. It is said that it is the essence of Portugal's overseas mission to raise the moral and social levels of the Africans of her colonial possessions. The policy of *assimilado* has failed and the African people have rejected both the alternative of either becoming Portuguese citizens or living as "INDIGENAS". We would like to live as free people in our country.

But can such work of civilizing be based on the total suppression of truth, a denial of fundamental human rights, a denial of the dignity of the human being and the oppression of man through the use of armed might? Or is it a mockery of the United Nations Charter which binds the nations of the world together in a code of conduct based on justice and respect of international obligation? Violence begets violence, and although Portuguese repression is ruthless, the Mozambican nationalist urge is ever stronger.

Because of all these fundamentally inhuman acts and because of the inherent right of every human being to rule himself and pay allegiance only to a Government of his choice; "All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development." The Mozambique National Democratic Union resolves that we:

- (a) Completely rejects that the colony of Mozambique is a province of Portugal;
- (b) Denounces as deliberate falsehood the widely circulated claim by the Portuguese Government that the African people enjoy the same rights as any Portuguese citizen;
- (c) Strongly condemns the economic exploitation, political oppression and social degradation to which the African people are subjected under Portuguese colonial rule;
- (d) Strongly condemns Portuguese colonialism which has been marked by naked fascist repression, savage brutality and organized terrorism

The Mozambique National Democratic Union demands:

1. The immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners and detainees now suffering in Portuguese prisons in Mozambique, Portugal and other territories under Portuguese colonial administration;
2. The immediate dismantling of all military bases inimical to the interests of the African people in Mozambique.
3. The immediate granting of complete and unconditional independence to the African people of Mozambique.

PERORATION

The presence of Portugal in Mozambique during almost five centuries, created conflicts between tribes thus fomenting misunderstandings. This system as we have seen, being used by the oppressors, since the beginning of their colonization, continues to be used to the present day. The use of religion for dividing purposes and the dissemination of intrigues between the so-called "indigenas" assimilados, and mullatos, are elements which the colonialists use in order to perpetuate their domination over us.

There is no doubt that the Portuguese colonial government is an insult to Mozambique. They kill, impoverish and rob millions of man, utilizing a system of progressive and ruinous human exploitation. Politically, they reduce us to servitude. They abused our traditions, and now, through the medium of their general mobilization policy, of settlers, for Mozambique, they liquidate us, day after day, one by one.

It seems clear to us that responsible Portuguese statesmen do not want to plan any alteration in their extermination policy adopted since 1498. Mozambique

lives today under a terrible tax pressure. Hut tax ; 350 escudos ; professional tax ; 10 per cent of every salary above 1,000 escudos ! Even water, that nature has obliged us, in order to live, has high prices (10 escudos for each 20 litres), thus raising the cost of living for the African.

For the poor Mozambican, this tax is even heavier, by the simple fact that he is obliged to drink more water than the rich white settler. The excise and medicine tax is also an aggravation for the poor Mozambicans, as it tends to destroy the foundation of his life and morals. With the appearance of the medical hospitalization tax, the health of the indigenous African population is put into further danger. The arrival of Portuguese illiterates and other settlers continues and unemployment increases.

With the constant arrival of European troops, there have been frequent moral violations over the country. Killings increase along the border, wherein the indigenous African population seeks refuge in the neighbouring countries, attempting to escape.

"Shibalo", unemployment, imprisonment, massacres, high taxes and assaults, this is the present situation in Mozambique.

Mr. Chairman distinguished delegates, we have presented here to this body, a case with numerous facts which we hope and trust shall be given every possible consideration for speedy and effective action. It is not only the desires, ambitions and aspirations of a people, to be rid of the Portuguese exploiters and oppressors, it is also the will and determination of a people to be free from domination.

It is the duty of Member Nations here to champion the cause of humanity,

human justice, liberty and freedom for people wherever they might be under the yoke of colonialism and suppression. We, on behalf of the Mozambique National Democratic Union (UDENAMO), and the indigenous African people of Mozambique, demand of the United Nations to let the world know the plight of our people, so that world opinion may not be directed against us when we take matters into our own hands as our brothers did in Algeria.

WHY ?

Today we are in the midst of another attempt of "civilizing the African". We only hope that world opinion will, as it seems to, awaken before the mission is finally accomplished and Mozambique becomes a vast graveyard of the true sons and daughters of Africa.

Our petition here is for the United Nations to consider with all haste such a condemning resolution against Portugal, that the peoples of the world will take up the question of oppressing any and all forms of treaty agreements between their countries and Portugal. That any form of restriction, of aid to Portugal, might be so effectively withheld that Portugal shall be forced to withdraw from the African continent.

There are today many outstanding persons of different countries, who are speaking of the dangers which exist in the southern portions of Africa, threats to the peace of the world which could easily embroil such nations as the United States, Britain, South Africa and Portugal, because of the racial situation where a minority of whites still vainly wish to dominate millions of Africans for the sake of exploitation and white rule. The fuses of racial conflict have

long been lit for a brutal holocaust, it remains up to the United Nations as an organization for world peace, to avert future wars in behalf of humanity and peace, justice and selfgovernment, for the African people now.

THE IMMEDIATE GRANTING OF COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE TO MOZAMBIQUE

We have the honour to be,

Zarica J. Sakupwanya.

Member - Student

For the MOZAMBIQUE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC UNION (UDENAMO).

David J. M. Mabunda.

Vice - President

November, 1963.

The fourth Committee, having concluded the hearing and the questioning of the petitioners, then resumed consideration of the draft resolution on the Territories under Portuguese administration.

The draft resolution would have the General Assembly request the Security Council to "Consider immediately the question of Territories under Portuguese administration" and to adopt necessary measures to give effect to its own resolutions and decisions, particularly those contained in its resolution of July, 1963. It would further have the General Assembly decide to keep the item on the agenda of the current session.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL AT ITS 1049TH MEETING ON 31 JULY 1963

The Security Council.

Having examined the situation in the Territories under Portuguese as submitted by the thirty-two African member States,

Recalling Security Council resolution 5/4835 of June 1961 and General Assembly resolutions 1807 (XVII) of 14 December 1962 and 1819 (XVII) of 18 December 1962,

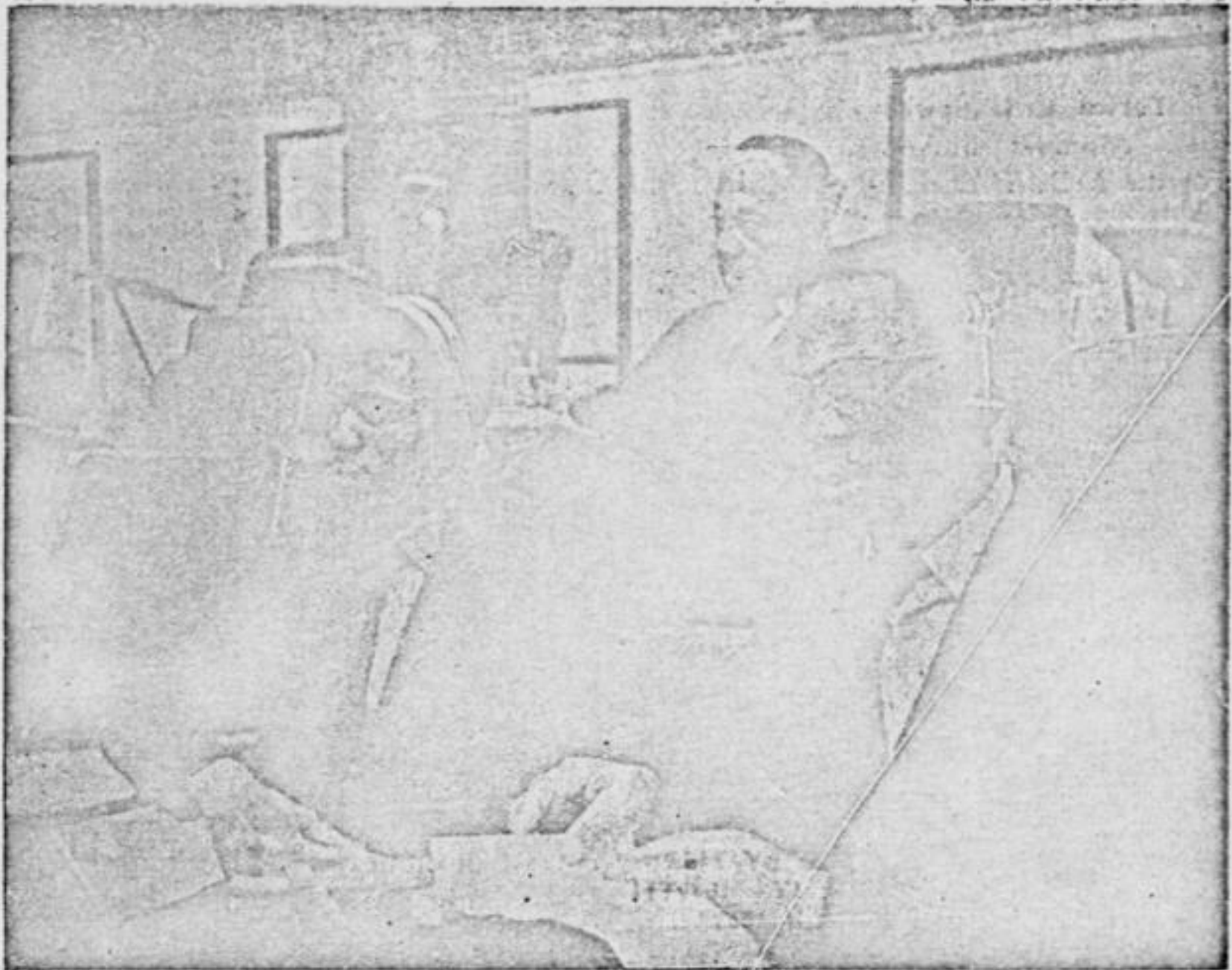
Recalling General Assembly resolution 1542 (XV) of 15 December 1960 which declares the Territories under Portuguese administration to be Non-Self Governing Territories within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter, as well as

Mr. Chairman, to close our message to this world assembly, we beg to emphasize once more that there is only one feasible way to put an end to this disgraceful multi-secular colonial situation, and that is ;

General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, by which the General Assembly declared *inter alia* that immediate steps be taken to transfer all powers to the people of these Territories without any conditions or reservation in accordance with their freely expressed wishes; without distinction as to race, creed or colour in order to enable them to enjoy complete freedom and independence,

1. Confirms resolution 1514 (XV) of the General Assembly of 14 December 1960 ;
2. Affirms that the policies of Portugal in claiming the Territories under its administration as "overseas" territories and as integral parts of metropolitan Portugal are contrary to the principles of the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and Security Council ;
3. Deprecates the attitude of the Portuguese Government, its repeated violations of the principles of the United Nations Charter and its continued refusal to implement the resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council ;

It should be noted that the colonial government of Portugal has not complied with the resolutions of this world body of which she is a member.



Here, the UDENAMO delegation to the UNO listening to the debate on Territories under Portuguese administration are, Mr; David Mabunda (left) vice-president of the UDENAMO and Mr John Sakupwanya, UDENAMO representative in the Americas and a student in the U.S.A. Seated in the back row is Mr Alex Prempeh, an observer and admirer of the UDENAMO. Photo credit : UNITED NATIONS.

REMEMBER UDENAMO

*Blessed are the Mozambicans who have and shall
Sacrifice for the Motherland for their Mothers
Shall be proud to bury them in Mozambique!*

*Damned are the Portuguese sons who defend the
Unknown For Their Mothers Shall Remain in
Misery!*



SALAZAR'S SENSE OF EQUALITY.