

(W1038F) 05/837

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: THE AFRICAN LIBERATION COMMITTEE OF THE HEADS
OF STATE CONFERENCE (ADDIS ABABA CONFERENCE)

FROM: THE MOZAMBIQUE LIBERATION FRONT (FRELIIMO)

The Mozambique Liberation Front is a political movement which was formed in June, 1962, out of the merger of several Mozambican political parties, some of them in exile and others working underground within Mozambique. The idea of the merger into one united movement was born out of the needs of our struggle today. We therefore need not waste our time trying to justify it. It might be useful, however, to give a brief outline of the forces which were at work previous to the merger, which were mainly responsible for bringing it about.

There were three main political parties which were in exile which were directly involved in the negotiations which ended in the establishment of FRELIIMO, these were: MOZAMBIQUE AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION (MANU), UNIAO DEMOCRATICA NACIONAL DE MOCAMBIQUE (UDENAMO), and a small but significant group who were headquartered in Nyasaland. The leadership of the MANU group mainly Mozambicans who had been living in Tanganyika for a very long time and who had taken active part in the activities of the Tanganyika African National Union during the pre-independence days. It may be important at this junction to point out that there are more than 100,000 Mozambicans working in Tanganyika, in the various industries. The overwhelming majority of these people are men, working mostly in the sisal plantations across the country, in the ports and harbours and in commerce and industry. Also a large proportion of the population of the southern districts of Tanganyika belong to the same language groupings as the people of northern Mozambique. When one adds to this the constant migration of Mozambicans into Tanganyika and back, then one can understand the fact that the two countries are intricately linked to each other in more than one way. Hence, why it was inevitable that a struggle by Tanganyikans for the independence of their motherland should have found an immediate and positive response from their Mozambican brothers working in this country.

When independence was finally about to be achieved, however, those Mozambicans who were aware of the situation in their own country began to think in terms of establishing an organisation which would focus attention to the liberation of Mozambique. This resulted in the birth of the Mozambique African National Union in both Tanganyika and Kenya.

The Uniao Democratica Nacional de Mocambique had a slightly different origin. It came out of the work of Mozambicans who had been working in Southern Rhodesia, who in one way or another had participated

in the political activities of the people of that country for some time. Some of the leaders of the party had come directly from Mozambique with the expressed desire to form a political organisation for Mozambicans in an atmosphere somewhat more tolerant than was the case in Mozambique. There were unfortunately one or two cases of individuals who became important in the UDENAMO but who had been members of the feared Portuguese political police called PIDE (Policia Internacional para a Defesa do Estado). This group was led by fellow called Adelino Gwambe. Mr. Gwambe was later sent to Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika, to find out what could be done to coordinate the activities of these two groups. On arriving in Tanganyika he joined MANU. After a short while the MANU people sent him to a conference of representatives of nationalist movements against Portuguese colonialism which met in Morocco. While there he turned against MANU and revived his relationship with UDENAMO. On returning to Dar es Salaam he set up an office of UDENAMO and was declared president of the group by those who were working with him. Some time before the independence of Tanganyika, in 1961, Mr. Gwambe dramatically announced to the press that arrangements had been made for his group to start the liberation of Mozambique, with the aid of a number of African states and some 70,000 soldiers. This announcement prompted his expulsion from Tanganyika and at least one of the states he had named as having committed to support his action publicly denied having had anything to do with him.

Meanwhile, MANU remained in Tanganyika as the only Mozambican nationalist party. In Mozambique itself there were a number of parties which were working under several guises for fear of the Portuguese police. When I went back to Mozambique in early 1961 on home leave from the United Nations, I was able to meet many of the leaders of these groups. Together we made plans to develop a united front, under a unified leadership and begin action against the Salazarist colonial empire. On arriving in Southern Rhodesia, on my way back to the United Nations headquarters, I met Mr. Uriah Simango, FRELIMO's vice-president, and we discussed the possibility of establishing an all Mozambique national force, which would supercede all the small factions which were vying with each other. A few months after I left Salisbury Mr. Simango left Rhodesia and went to Dar es Salaam. He joined UDENAMO and worked with the people who were already in Tanganyika.

Several of the leaders of both MANU and UDENAMO wrote to me while I was still with the United Nations and asked me to join their party, but I insisted that unless they united I would have nothing to do with them. Just before Tanganyika finally became independent in December, 1961, I left the United Nations and joined the staff of Syracuse University, New York, to teach while waiting for an opportunity to return to East Africa. Then in June, 1962, I came to Tanganyika and began to press for unity amongst the various groups representing Mozambican parties.

On arriving in Dar es Salaam I found that the leaders of the two major groups had already made a public statement indicating their desire to unite, but had done little more. At the time of my arrival most of the leaders were at the Winneba Freedom Fighters conference in Ghana. I asked their representative in Dar es Salaam to wire them and let them know that I was here for a few months and that I was interested in participating in the formation of the united front. A few weeks later both Matthews Mmoale and Adelino Gwambe arrived in Dar es Salaam. We immediately met to begin conversations. But Mr. Gwamba suddenly decided he should leave Dar es Salaam for an undisclosed destination for an indefinite period of time. When the various Tanganyikan political leaders who were concerned about the political weakness of the Mozambican nationalist position heard of Gwambe's intention to absent himself from the scene, they pressed me to try and insist on his staying until we have resolved the question of unity. The rank and file members of our nationalist groups also put their pressure on me and on Gwambe to begin conversations. Contrary to the will of the people, Gwambe would not be persuaded. So the very next day to his return from Accra, he left, but not before he set up a special committee to negotiate the merger.

By the 20th June conversation between the three major political groups in Dar es Salaam began. At first I was not invited to participate because I was not a member of any party. But as time went on I was invited by the secretary general of UDENAMO to join that party in order to enable me to attend. Therefore I participated in the merger talks as a full member of UDENAMO, alongside with ten other members of that party.

We finally agreed on a draft constitution which outlined the main lines of our basis of unity. All of us signed it. Then we proceeded on choosing the candidates who would stand for elections for the first Central Committee of the new organisation. I was one of the three candidates for the position of president; the others were Mr. Uriah Simango, and Mr. Baltazar Chagonga. Just before we had finished selecting our candidates for the various positions, Mr. Gwambe came back from his secret mission. He immediately set out a machinery to destroy the new unity. But the members of the committee which drafted the new constitution went on with their preparations for the elections. These finally took place in Dar es Salaam on the 25th June, 1962. They were supervised by members of the Tanganyika African National Union and Pafmecca, and chaired by Mr. Kojo Gbewee, the executive director of Pafmecca.

Immediately after the elections arrangements were made to prepare for a holding congress of the new organisation that same year; in order to formulate the main lines of the policy of the movement and confirm the election of the new leaders. The congress was to meet in Dar es Salaam and would be attended by delegates representing the various Mozambican communities exiled in East and Central Africa as well as many of the people

within Mozambique itself.

In the last half of the month of September, the congress finally took place attended by 80 delegates and more than 500 observers of Mozambicans living in Dar es Salaam, Tanga, Lindi, Morogoro, Mbeya, Mombasa, Zanzibar, etc. There were also observers of freedom fighters from South Africa, South West Africa, the Rhodesias, Nyasaland, etc. All in all the first congress of our movement was a resounding success.

THE PROGRAMME OF FRELIMO.

During the congress of FRELIMO the delegates examined carefully the present situation in Mozambique, studied the methods through which the new organisation could cope with it, laid out the main points of the philosophy of the movement and proposed a number of recommendations for the Central Committee to carry out during the year. During the discussions the congress of FRELIMO noted the following points: (1) that the people of Mozambique were still suffering under the harsh policies of Portuguese colonialism, characterized by political, economic, social and cultural oppression. In this connection, the congress called attention to the inter-relationships existing between the Portuguese colonial oppression and a chain of economic empires which are intricately tied together by common directorates and sources of capital. These forces are backed up by the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and its international military chain, and financed by the United States of America, Britain, France and West Germany. (2) The congress noted further that the Portuguese Government in Mozambique denied the basic freedoms to which modern man is entitled; (3) that the Portuguese government had failed to recognise the primacy of the interests of the Mozambican peoples by denying them the right of self-determination, continuing to insist on labelling Mozambique as an 'overseas province'; (4) that Portugal, instead of seeking a peaceful solution to the conflict between her and the people of Mozambique, she continues to use fascist methods of repression, reinforcing the military and police apparatus by the despatch of large numbers of soldiers from Europe to massacre and terrorise innocent people; (5) that Portugal has been systematically imprisoning, torturing and arbitrarily deporting thousands of Mozambicans suspected of nationalist tendencies. The congress of FRELIMO noted also that as a result of the above facts the people of Mozambique were being forced to seek effective methods of self defense.

The congress studied the recent so-called reforms promulgated by the Portuguese national assembly. It found them to be consistent with the traditional Portuguese colonialist mentality and practice which has typified Portuguese politics for centuries; that because these reforms, even if they were fair to the Mozambican peoples, they had been made unilaterally and therefore they were unacceptable to us.

The congress called upon all Mozambicans patriot to unite under FRELIMO's banner to fight for the independence of their country. It finally called attention to the existence of an alliance between the racist powers of Portugal, South Africa and the so called Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, led by Salazar, Verwoerd and Wellensky respectively, and aided by a multifarious system of economic interests based in London and New York. In connection with these powers the congress urged all freedom-loving peoples of the world to condemn them and to rally themselves in order to act in such a way as to frustrate them.

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

- 1) Development and consolidation of the organisational structure of FRELIMO;
- 2) Development of unity among all Mozambicans;
- 3) Maximum utilization of the energies and capabilities of each member of FRELIMO;
- 4) Promote and accelerate the training of cadres;
- 5) Use every effort to expedite the access of Mozambique to freedom;
- 6) Promote the social and cultural development of the Mozambican women;
- 7) Develop literacy programmes for Mozambican people, creating schools wherever possible;
- 8) Encourage and support the formation and consolidation of trade unions, student and women's organisations;
- 9) Encourage as much as possible cooperation with nationalist organisations of Angola, Guinea and Cape Verde;
- 10) Procure all means of self-defense and prepare the people for every eventuality;
- 11) Appeal for financial support from organisations which sympathize with the cause of freedom for Mozambicans;
- 12) Establish permanent centres of information and propaganda in all parts of the world; and
- 13) To seek diplomatic, moral and material help for the cause of freedom in Mozambique, especially from the independent states of Africa, and from all peace and freedom-loving countries of the world.

During the last 12 months FRELIMO has grown from a small organisation into a powerful institution, reaching out into all parts of the interior of Mozambique. Even though the personnel of the Central Committee had suffered several losses due to machinations contrary to the spirit of unity of FRELIMO by certain self-seeking individuals, we were able to carry out a strong programme of action. In consistency with the

the recommendations of the Congress of the movement, we were able to carry out the consolidation of the organisation of the party. We defined the responsibilities of the various positions established by the Congress as well as set out rules of behaviour for the various officers of the organisation. In Tanganyika, Kenya, Zanzibar, Nyasaland, and Northern Rhodesia, we were able to unify the various factions which were claiming leadership of their local people thus fostering unity amongst nationalist forces.

In connection with the recommendation for the maximum utilisation of the energies and capabilities of each member of FRELIMO, we have set up a system whereby any Mozambican who is interested in joining the liberation movement can be fitted into some useful job somewhere in the world. Some of the freedom fighters are placed within Mozambique itself to work underground, others are given responsibilities at headquarters and some are sent overseas to represent our organisation. In order to accelerate the preparation of the cadres we have established an education department in the Central Committee of the party. I have personally taken charge of the department, aided by two young Mozambicans who boast some of the best education amongst our people. Together we have set up a special programme under the direction of my wife. This programme has as its main points firstly, the search for talent amongst young Mozambicans in and outside of the country. After determining the qualifications of these people we classify them into groups. Those who are capable of following studies in universities and higher technological institutions are encouraged to proceed overseas to take up scholarships which we arrange for them; those who have enough education but not sufficient to enter university are encouraged to continue their studies here in Tanganyika, attending classes in the local secondary schools. In order to make this possible, we have proposed the establishment of a Mozambique Institute which would receive young Mozambicans and guide them in their preparations for higher education. If the Tanganyika government approves our plans, we will soon proceed to buy property in Dar es Salaam where we will house the Institute. Alongside with the hostel services to be rendered to the students we intend to develop a well balanced educational programme, which will include, among others, tutorials for supporting the work which they will be taking in the local schools, political education, to familiarise the students with national and world problems and general cultural programmes. In order to carry out this educational work successfully in the shortest period of time we will need the support and cooperation of all African states and all the sympathetic peoples of the world.

Our efforts to expedite the access of Mozambique to freedom are now under way. We have so far been able to recruit hundreds of young men who are now undertaking the necessary training. Some of the states represented are sufficiently acquainted with the activities

suggested, so that I do not need to belabour this point. FRELIMO has also submitted to this Committee a detailed memorandum outlining the financial outlays incurred by our military preparations. I might add one or two more points to illustrate some of the most important problems which we are facing in this connection. First, the fact that we are dealing with a very determined enemy such as Portugal makes it difficult for us to have access to the proper people when we need to. Therefore, the recruitment of young freedom fighters has to be done under the most strenuous circumstances. We would for instance, like to diversify the linguistic background of our soldiers, but the geographic spread of our country makes movements of people from the south very difficult. Use of the borders with South Africa and Southern Rhodesia to bring people out is almost impossible. Secondly, as a result of the problem of communications, the cost of bringing people from Mozambique is prohibitive. Some of the details involved here I feel constrained to conceal for fear of informing the enemy.

I should like to underline just one important fact about this, namely, the eagerness of our young Mozambicans to fight against the Portuguese colonialists. If all the conditions of health, education and financial capacity were as good as we would like them to be, we would easily say that we are ready to raise 500,000 young men into the army of liberation now. However, we are certain that given the establishment of a training centre with in East Africa, we can recruit several thousands of brave Mozambicans who would be ready to fight for their country's liberation. As to how this is being done, we are not in a position to explain in a paper like this.

Concerning the promotion of the social and cultural development of Mozambican women, we are glad to report that FRELIMO has established a department of women's activities, which has offices in the headquarters of our organisation. From time to time this organisation sends representatives to international women's conferences, such as the one now being held in Moscow. As my wife returns to East Africa she is planning to help develop general adult education programmes for our Mozambican women, which we expect to arouse interest in our movement.

One of the duties of the Mozambique Institute will be to develop literacy programmes for the Mozambique people who are working in the various centres of Tanganyika, Zanzibar and Kenya. In order to achieve this, we will need the cooperation of those countries which are blessed with better educational facilities. We believe that it is possible to interest many young Africans who are literate and interested enough in the liberation of Africa to want to volunteer to serve in mass education campaigns of this nature. By the end of this year the Mozambique Institute should be in a position to propose to definite programme of action in connection with adult education. Possibly by the first weeks of next year, we should be

able to have a number of people on the field, teaching our people how to read and write, and probably other educational matters.

LABOUR UNIONS AND THE WORKER

The congress of FRELIMO also had recommended the support of trade unions amongst Mozambican workers, students unions and women's organizations. As it is well-known, Mozambique has the largest number of workers in all of East Africa, if not in all of Africa South of the Sahara, both proportionate to the population and in absolute numbers. It is estimated that there are 500,000 Mozambican workers outside Mozambique every year, working mostly in South Africa (about 300,000), the Rhodesias, Nyasaland, Tanganyika, Kenya and Zanzibar. In Tanganyika alone there are more than 100,000 Mozambican workers, mostly in plantations, railways, ports and harbours. Many of these work in countries where they are not allowed to organise labour unions or any kind of institutions which are likely to help them bargain for better or even to ask for improvements in their working conditions. Fortunately in Tanganyika and Kenya our workers are free to join labour unions, and in fact they have been some of the staunchest supporters of the rights of the working man. It is therefore FRELIMO's responsibility to encourage and support the formation and consolidation of trade unions.

In order to make this possible our organisation has decided to set up labour departments which will study the problems of our workers and in cooperation with the existing labour unions in the free countries of East Africa, help to educate our people in the responsibilities to be faced in a free Mozambique. During the meetings of the congress last year, we discussed some of the main issues relating to our economy in Mozambique. It was agreed that the economic future of Mozambique should be put in the hands of the people, in keeping with the traditional socialist spirit of Africa. In this context, therefore, the Mozambican workers have a direct interest in the economic growth of his country. Plans are under way to establish an Economic Council which will study the inter-relationships between the natural resources of our country, and the manpower and their future use in a free Mozambique.

THE C. O. N. C. P.

Concerning cooperation between nationalist movements in Portuguese colonies our party has always played a leading role. The organisation that symbolizes this cooperation is the Conference of Nationalist Organisations of Portuguese Colonies (CONCP), which has its headquarters in Rabat, Morocco. It was created two years ago to help co-ordinate the efforts of the various political groups which are working against Portuguese colonialism in all Portuguese territories. Its secretary general is one of the members of FRELIMO's Central Committee, Mr. Marcelino dos Santos. The CONCP publishes information concerning developments in Portuguese

colonies, contacts African and foreign governments, and from time to time organizes meetings of the leaders of the various parties to exchange notes on strategy and policy. Just now arrangements are being made to have a conference of political leaders of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea and Cape Verde to work out guidelines of our future action.

For this conference invitations have already been sent out to the member organisations, and it is hoped that as many of them as possible will attend. Approaches are also being made to those organisations which have not yet joined this organisation. One of the hopes of those who are planning this conference is that in those territories where there are more than one political movement, there can develop a union or an arrangement for close cooperation amongst them.

In this connection, we in Mozambique are glad to report that, except for one or two misguided individuals, the movement for the liberation of our homeland remains united. As mentioned before, our organisation is the only ^{body} rallying the efforts of our people in all the main centres of our population, be it in Mozambique or abroad. In the other Portuguese colonies we can only hope that through the services of the CONCP or some similar organisation the peoples of those territories can find their way into supporting one united movement. In this connection, I would like to express my organisation's concern to this august conference, and ask: "Would it not be the proper time for the independent states of Africa to take serious steps to persuade the leaders of these groups to move towards union, or at least cooperation between them?"

MATERIAL AND FINANCIAL NEEDS

Up until now, PRELIMO had depended for the satisfaction of its materials and financial needs upon the gracious interest and helpfulness of a number of African and Asian states. While I was teaching in the United States I was from time to time able to send a few contributions given by people interested in our struggle. Compared to our larger needs most of these contributions were very inadequate. More than 90 per cent of our financial resources, however, came from contributions by a few of our African states, with a small but significant proportion from contributions by members of PRELIMO. In order to prepare our armed forces, we had to send our people to the various African states which indicated willingness to help with technical and military training. However, the most effective way of preparing our army is by having them trained in East Africa, which is nearer home. Aside from helping to cut down our expenses it will increase the number of people who would receive the training and expedite the tempo of our preparation for final action.

Before the convening of the Committee of Nine we submitted a detailed budget to the office of the Africa Liberation Movement in Dar es Salaam, showing the main items of our expenses. These estimates

are minimal in view of the immense job ahead of us, especially when one takes into account that our enemy, has a steadier and richer source of material and financial support than we do, namely, the North Atlantic Treaty powers led by the United States, Britain and France. In this connection, it might be appropriate to point out that, according to reliable information reaching us, one of the members of the NATO group, the United States, contributed \$500,000 in military material to the Portuguese military forces during the ^{last} decade alone. We also know that other NATO powers such as Britain and France have been very lavish with their military contributions to Portugal. It is against this background that one must assess our military needs.

As I pointed out before, we have in our favour the determination of our people to win back their land from the European usurpers; and for this our people are ready to join our army and fight. So that, all we need in addition to this is financial and material backing by our African brothers and other people who really care for the freedom we seek to regain.

DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIONS.

The ups and downs of the last year have had to slow down our capacity to establish adequate centres of contact with the rest of the world, representing our cause. We have so far established contacts with other African states, some European countries and one North African nation through personal visits by some of the members of the Central Committee. These contacts however, have been sufficient. Therefore we are planning to establish information centres in as many African states as possible, especially in those regions of Africa where a great deal of interest has been shown. Our immediate plans include setting PRELIMO offices in Cairo, Algiers, Accra, Conakry, Lagos, Addis Ababa and Leopoldville. Later on when our financial situation improves we may be able to afford a few more centres in Europe, America and Asia. What might help to do this is if our African brothers might wish to offer to defray the expenses incurred in maintaining services in their capitals. This, a number of African governments are already doing, and we appreciate it very much.

From time to time it will be necessary to continue to send a member of the Central Committee to some of the sessions of the various organisations of the United Nations in New York or elsewhere, to present our case against Portugal. In order to make this possible, funds will have to be made available to us, and passport facilities must be extended to us.

CONCLUSION

Finally, before concluding this statement, I would like to express my party's appreciation, first to all; to the Government of Tanganyika which has so graciously enabled us to establish our organisation within its territory. We are well aware of the sacrifices, both material

and emotional, which this must be imposing to the people of this country. However, we are consoled to sense that both the people of Tanganyika and their government consider our problem their problem. Secondly, we wish to pledge our solidarity with the peoples of the rest of Africa in their determination to rid our continent of the vestiges of colonialism in all its multifarious forms. In our specific case, we hope to be able to provide the cutting point of a plough which will slice away the remaining cancerous piece of foreign domination in our land, while the rest of the body of the plough is provided by the whole might of Africa as typified by the unity demonstrated at Addis Ababa.

We are ready to work hand in hand with this Committee in every detail of our programme for the liberation of Africa. Whatever differences there may have been in the past amongst independent African states have vanished away. We therefore expect no points of friction amongst members of this Committee, especially in relation to the task at hand.

AFRICA MUST BE LIBERATED BEFORE IT CAN BE UNITED!
UHURU WITH AFRICA!

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