

Enclosure 2 to ...
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FRENTE DE LIBETACAO DE MOCAMBIQUE (F R E L I M O)

"Mozambique Liberation Front"
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INFORMATION BULLETIN

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WE SHALL FIGHT FOR OUR INDEPENDENCE
WITHOUT TRUCE

(Designed to answer Mr. Salazar's speech of Aug. 12, 1963.)

The speech that the Portuguese Government Prime Minister delivered on 12th August, 1963, before the radio and Television in Lisbon, constitutes not more or less than a global reaffirmation of orientation of Portuguese colonial policy followed until today.

Mr. Salazar really turned to give antiquated arguments by which :

- the Portuguese colonies are integral part of Portuguese nation.
- national liberation movements are foreign creations ;
- African Countries foment subversion and act against the will of the Portuguese colonial people;
- western countries which do not support Portugal unconditionally and take ambiguous positions assist communism;
- the U.N. by accusing Portugal against her colonial rule is interfering in internal affairs of Portugal.

We see, once more, that the fascist Portuguese colonial government affirms, without ambiguity, the intention of maintaining its colonial, intransigent and retrograde policy.

The necessity of National Independence is for us Moçambicans, the consequence of a long experience lived under the dominion of Portuguese colonialism ; is a refusal to let our labour and wealth

be exploited for the exclusive benefit of foreigners; is a desire of being free, with our personality to dictate our own destiny; is, at last the general conclusion we have reached that the conflict which exists between us (Moçambicans) and the Portuguese colonial administration cannot be solved but with complete independence of our motherland, Moçambique.

And the fact is this that, the acquisition of National Independence is the road which history will indicate the Portuguese colonial people ; this is the way which is being followed by our brothers of Angola and the said Portuguese Guinea, this is the path Moçambican people are following.

To refuse today, this reality, to be oposed to it, is not only to be criminal but also ridiculous.

This is Mr. Salazar's position in the meantime. Following his idea in the speech, he is raising a protest against nearly the whole world, thus showing his government's incapacity to adapt itself to the realities of our present time.

This Portuguese minister certainly covers himself with mockery ; with a tragic mockery, because his irresponsible attitude agravates not only the situation of Moçambique, but also of other colonies, even of Portugal.

The struggle which we are carrying on against the Portuguese colonialism for the independence of our country, is an exact proof that Moçambicans reject the myth that they belong to the Portuguese Nation.

We respect the cultural values of the Portuguese people, but we are convinced that we have our cultural values - which are not Portuguese in any form.

We are conscious of the objectives we wish to attain, and we are sure that our forces will bear fruits.

We shall never beg from anybody - and much less from Portugal, a majority certificate. It will be through our endeavour, through the struggle of all Moçambicans united, that we shall convince the whole world - and particulary Portugal, that we are in a majority and capable of assuming Independence Responsibilities.

In revolting against the African Independent States, the Portuguese minister accuses them of provoking subversion in our country, and proceeding against the will of our people.

This attitude which the Portuguese Government adopts is coherent about itself.

Therefore, if the Nationalist Movements are of foreign origin, if they do not incarnate the popular will, it is logic that the people responsible are foreigners, and in the first place, the African Independent States.

However, it is also certain that, following this idea, the colonial government of fascist Mr. Salazar will be unable to explain why the war in Angola and in the said Portuguese Guinea continues and develops neither why there are so many Moçambicans in prisons of Lourenco Marques and of all the country, the reason for the so many military aerodromes, a great number of troops mounted in Moçambique, nor the proliferation of P.I.D.E. agents, etc., etc..

The great truth is that the attack against the African Independent States as well as lamentations before the western countries and the U.N., are arguments which Portugal uses constantly to try to justify its colonial and retrograde policy.

It is also with an end to justify itself before its western friends, that the Portuguese Government proclaims to be the defender of the West, and that the ~~nationalist~~^{list} movements are guided by the "International Communism".

That is why Salazar affirms that the western countries, by refusing to give unconditional support to Portugal and preferring to adopt a dubious policy, they do nothing else save to support the communists.

Such arguments are well known, they were used by other colonial powers before Portugal, as for example: France, Belgium and Holland. But that did not prevent the colonies of those countries from becoming independent.

By repeating this argument, Mr Salazar tries, under the covers of differences between East and West, to break the general movement of international solidarity which manifests itself in the whole world in favour of our struggle.

Persuing this idea, Mr. Salazar stands against the U.N., trying in vain to prove that this International Organisation does not only interfere with the internal affairs of Portugal, but it goes beyond its competence.

As far as we (Moçambicans) are concerned, the U.N. has no reason to exist if it does not defend justice and does not impose

upon all its members the obligation of respecting the Human rights and the people's right of self-disposal (determination).

That is why, by emphasising several times the importance of the resolution of 14th December, 1960, which condemned the colonial system and consacrated the right of colonial people to ascend to National Independence, FRELIMO also remarked the necessity of applying these decisions with the maximum urgency.

The speech of the Portuguese Prime Minister formulates definitely and clearly the directives of his Government: No concession to the legitimate demands of the Moçambican people; to maintain at all cost the Portuguese colonial domination over the people of Moçambique; to reinforce the military and police repression measures in order to continue to oppress, terrorise and massacre the people of Moçambique.

In spite of the clarity of that speech, some of his western friends tried desperately to find a minimum sign of change of policy in it.

This attitude appears to have come from the fact of Mr. Salazar having said: "Personally I do not see but advantage in that the people of Portugal and colonies should decide through a solemn and public action about what they think about the Overseas policy followed by the Government." From this declaration these friends of the Portuguese Government pretend to conclude that Salazar wants to say that he will consult the African people through a referendum.

This attitude of Portugal's friends is once more, another manifestation of the anti-African position which they have been taking, particularly in the United Nations.

Western Powers like the United States of America, Britain and France, take positions which constitute clear indications of their complicity with the Portuguese Government, in the policy of oppression which it exercises in Africa.

The Governments of those countries express verbally their sympathy for the right of colonial people of Africa for self-determination, but when an occasion offers itself for them to demonstrate this concretely, they do nothing.

It is immoral, inadmissible that Great Powers as the United States, Britain and France, should hide behind pretty words, when they should be taking positive action in favour of the people who fight for their freedom.

We cannot accept that modern governments should defend a retrograde and too anti-democratic system as the Portuguese colonial regime.

We believe that it is high time that these Powers should choose between being friends of our people and helping the fascist Portuguese colonial Government.

If these western Powers, friends of the Portuguese Government, wished to see the reality, they should not have tried in vain, to justify Portugal. They should have understood the exactness of our position that is dictated by a long experience of Portuguese colonialism, which forces us to conclude that when Salazar says that he wishes to consult his people, he only refers to a few Portuguese voters in Portugal and the whites living in Moçambique, Angola and the said Portuguese Guinea, etc. Because, although Portugal proclaims to have realised reforms in Africa, the civil rights continue to be denied to almost all colonial people. In view of this we have no alternative but to affirm that FRELIMO will not recognise any referendum or consultation in which it does not fully participate with all guarantees, and which is not supervised by an independent organisation.

The speech of the Portuguese Prime Minister confirms openly what we have been telling the world about the Portuguese colonialism.

Indeed:

- 1- Portugal does not recognise the right of the African people for self-determination.
- 2- Portugal does not believe ⁱⁿ or respect the democratic ideals which the western countries say to be the basis of their defense pact, NATO.
- 3- Portugal enjoys the help of a big number of western

western powers which appear to be interested in the exploitation of the natural and human wealth of Africa.

- 4- Portugal is using NATO for consolidating its own interests and economic privileges.
- 5- Portugal is ready to sacrifice our people in order to defend her own archaic system of Government.
- 6- The United States of America, Great Britain and France, still strive for defending the Government of Portugal, when all the African Independent States have decided to support us fully in the struggle in which we are engaged against the Portuguese colonialism for our complete National Independence.

Before this situation FRELIMO :

- Affirms its position to carry on the liberation struggle until the total Independence of Moçambique has been achieved, by all means and through the most efficient and rapid ways.
- Encourages the people of Moçambique to develop the combat in the interior of the country, to unite more strongly and better in the bosom of FRELIMO, and to maintain a constant vigilance before the manoeuvres of the Portuguese colonialism.
- Makes it clear to all that the liberation of Moçambique will be complete and that its social-economic orientations and developments will be determined by real and objective aspirations and necessities of Moçambican people, which they have been suffering for many years, under the foreign domination and slavery.
- Expresses its gratitude to all African States for the support they give for the National Liberation struggle of the people of Moçambique, congratulates them for the formation of the Liberation Committee created by the Organisation of African Unity at Addis-Ababa, whose aim is to assist non-independent African countries to free themselves from the colonial yoke.
- Welcomes the disinterested (unbinding) assistance of all peace-loving people of the world who wish to contribute in any way possible, for the liberation of our people.
- Deplores deeply the position of the western powers such as the United States of America, Great Britain and France, before the Portuguese colonialism.

" INDEPENDENCE or DEATH "