

NOTES ON SPEECHES BY DR. AND MRS. EDUARDO C. MONDLANE OF F.R.E.L.I.M.O.
(American Committee on Africa meeting at the home of Mr. and Mrs.
William Landis, 103 East 84th Street, N.Y.C., December 2, 1965.)

Dr. Mondlane is president of the Mozambique Liberation Front, FRELIMO, and is on leave of absence from his teaching position at Syracuse University.

Dr. Mondlane spoke of going to Dar es Salaam in June, 1962. At that time he was still teaching at Syracuse, and had the summer to organize the various African nationalist groups working for the liberation of Mozambique. By the end of the summer the various groups had been formed into FRELIMO with Dr. Mondlane as president. Since he had to return to Syracuse for the academic year 1962-3, he had consciously planned to form a secretariat, and during 1962-3 the Executive Committee was left in charge. In view of the provisional nature of the arrangements, it is not surprising that that year was one of considerable confusion. In 1963 Dr. Mondlane took a leave of absence from Syracuse and with Mrs. Mondlane moved to Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

His aims included the building up of a secretariat (his term -- "bureaucracy") and the founding of an institution (for training).

FRELIMO's plan of action included: (1) the people inside Mozambique would be organized. The population of Mozambique was to be formed into cells for contacts and for political education. (2) The Portuguese attitudes and police system made great difficulties for this sort of organization, but also ensured that the people are basically anti-Portuguese, and are therefore willing to help get rid of them. The people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissao want independence. (3) Since there is no chance of discussion with Portugal, as there had been with Britain or France, then fighting must be envisaged. We wish to avoid sporadic outbreaks by people who are fed up. Incidentally, this seems to be what happened in Angola - that the depression became too much, and Africans started fighting with whatever weapons they could lay their hands on - rifles, muskets, or pangas. We in Mozambique want to avoid such indiscriminate fighting and to guide scientifically what our people do. We wish to choose our targets scientifically, and to limit them as far as possible to Portuguese police and military personnel. It is more moral to kill in this way.

We sent men to Algeria for training. Colonel Boumedienne (who is now supreme in Algeria) was in charge of training. Ben Bella, who at that time was president of Algeria, approved and helped. There was a 1-1/2 year training period in Algeria in which the time came to fight in September, 1964.

FRELIMO recognizes the need for world public opinion in its favor. We know the need for wide diplomatic, economic and military help. We therefore had from the beginning a Foreign Affairs department. We had a well-worked out program of contacts with African States, attendance at All Africa Conferences and at Afro-Asian solidarity

conference. We have attempted to keep up our contacts with all countries, whether of the West or of the Socialist countries. We have had good contacts in Switzerland, Holland and Scandinavia, some with France, practically none with Great Britain (which does not seem to wish to be involved with Portuguese territories), and as much as possible with the United States, though the response has been small. We have had wide contact with all the Socialist countries - Yugoslavia, Rumania, Hungary, Russia and China. We will accept help from any quarter we can get it.

From the beginning we recognized the need for an institution for educating young Mozambicans. This has been in the charge of my wife, who will speak about this later on. It has always been a major program, a major part of the FRELIMO Central Committee program.

At this time the military program is the most important. We chose the time for beginning the struggle and the place of the beginning. Our first attacks were made more than 100 miles inside Mozambique. They had been organized by men who had received their training in Algeria. We deliberately avoided incidents on the frontier so that the Portuguese could not clear a fairly wide zone all along the Tanzania border and claim that they had a "sanitary zone", and that all the "terrorists" had been pushed back into Tanzania.

Without going into the details of the fighting we can say that most action is taking place in the Cabo Delgado and Niassa Provinces next to Tanzania and Lake Malawi, and in Tete and Zambesia near Zambia and Malawi.

Principles of fighting against the Portuguese:- (1) We act against the centers of power - thus, against the military and police posts. We reason that if we get rid of them, the political authorities too, and in fact this has happened in some areas already. This was reported by the British journalist Lord Kilbracken, who was in Mozambique in September, 1965. The London Evening Standard printed four articles of what Kilbracken had seen. A former RAF fighter pilot, Kilbracken flew with Portuguese Air Force planes on reconnaissance flights, went out with the military on patrols with jeeps, and went with the armored boat on Lake Malawi.

(Incidentally, at a number of points in his speech, Dr. Mondlane referred to the difficulty of getting any news into the American papers. It seems that American news agencies are accustomed to getting their news through Lisbon and find it difficult to believe that there can be fighting going on when Lisbon says nothing about it. This is why the report by Kilbracken, a right-wing journalist writing in a Tory paper, is important. While obviously predisposed in favor of the Portuguese authorities, he is a good informed reporter to set down what he has seen of the fighting in Mozambique.)

(2) FRELIMO has to do its best to save the people in Mozambique from counter measures taken by the Portuguese. There have been air attacks, particularly on villages, so that in the area of fighting

people have had to take to the forests. To be in a village is to invite attack from the air. About 90% of the casualties suffered by the Mozambican people have been among the civilians, even though we try to avoid involving them. Most of the rest of the losses are among the locally recruited freedom fighters. Losses among the Algeria-trained leaders have been very small indeed.

Along with the fighting there is training for freedom, and particularly in the organization of the new communities which are needed as the old villages are abandoned due to military action.

- a) Protection against the Portuguese is given as far as possible.
- b) Medical assistance is very much needed. Even though the Portuguese health services are very scattered, yet the fighting disrupts what little there is, and we must try to supply the gap.
- c) The organization of food growing and distribution is very much needed. FRELIMO's fighters must also show people how to hide their food when they are in the forests so that they can always have an extra supply. Help in ways of planting is also needed.

It is interesting to note that Kilbracken reported on one Anglican mission which is still functioning, though in FRELIMO-held territory. In the Roman Catholic mission stations, the Portuguese authorities have endeavored to withdraw all priests, and the Portuguese have generally complied. However, Italian and Dutch priests are remaining. The people are continuing their services of worship even though scattered through the bush, under the leadership of lay catechists. It is reported that some baptisms are taking place in the forests with the permission of absent Roman Catholic priests.

One of the problems has been to convince people who have been under colonial domination for a long time is that the time has come for revolt. Even though FRELIMO has been carrying on a campaign and political education and has spoken of the necessity of fighting, many people have been taken by surprise when the fighting actually began. More than this, they have found it difficult to believe in the possibility of fighting successfully. However, there are more and more who wish to fight - even young girls in their teens are taking training in the use of weapons and wanting to take part in the fighting. FRELIMO uses only volunteers, and gives them the best training it can.

At the beginning, many people who were startled by the fighting fled into Tanzania, where the Government has moved them away from the frontier and into refugee camps. The number involved is not really known, but Dr. Mondlane claimed that there were as many as 50,000 who have been helped by various governmental, international and voluntary agencies, including Catholic Relief Services and the World Council of Churches, which has received some support from CWS, and the Lutheran World Federation.

FRELIMO's aim is to avoid having refugees come out of Mozambique. While it is certain that there will be dislocation it is hoped that

they will be displaced persons within Mozambique. One of FRELIMO's big tasks is the organization of these D.P.'s, especially as normal life has been disrupted, and the Portuguese and Indian traders in the bush, who normally supplied cloth and other necessities, have fled.

In her fight, Portugal is not alone. Portugal has not maintained her share of the NATO forces because she has had to send a great many troops to Angola and Mozambique. In allowing her thus to evade her treaty obligations the other members of NATO are in fact helping Portugal in her struggle against the nationalists. Furthermore, though arms provided through Portugal to carry out her obligations may not have moved out of Portugal, yet the fact that they have been provided by other NATO partners means that Portugal can use all her old material and whatever she can manufacture herself against the rebels in Africa. It is also feared that Portuguese officers have been trained in U.S. counter insurgency and anti-guerilla techniques.

In response to questions, Dr. Mondlane said that he would welcome more help from the West and particularly the U.S.; he had never hidden his intention of accepting help from any quarter whatsoever and regretted in fact that more help had been given by Socialist countries than by the West. One of the purposes of this present visit to the U.S. was to seek more support, particularly for the educational work carried on by Mrs. Mondlane.

In reply to another question, Dr. Mondlane said that he expected to be in Mozambique within two years. Asked what he meant by "in Mozambique within two years", he said that as fighting grew, that FRELIMO would have effective control of more territory and that it would be necessary for the head of FRELIMO to be in Mozambique. This did not mean that he expected to be in control of Mozambique in that short a time. He could not in fact forecast whether it would be four, six, eight, or twenty years before the whole of Mozambique was under the control of the nationalists.

He did not intend to form a Government-in-Exile, nor a provisional government. When they had control of Mozambique they would in fact be the government, and at that time, the FRELIMO Government would be proclaimed.

In response to another question about Rhodesia, Dr. Mondlane observed that U.D.I. had brought the worst possible situation for them, in that an illegal and determined white minority would be especially vigilant in rooting out any so-called "subversives" whether in their own territory or from neighboring Mozambique. However, he pointed out that even when Zimbabwe is under African control, all three countries of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi will continue to be depending on the Portuguese-controlled railway and ports. Their landlocked position will continue to hamper them until the Portuguese-occupied territories are freed.