

THE MOZAMBIQUE LIBERATION FRONT

The Crystalization of a Struggle for Freedom

I nearly felt flattered for being asked to address this conference, especially after seeing the list of the individuals invited to speak. Such names, for instance, as Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta, Vice-President Rashidi Kawawa, Kenneth Kaunda, venerable political names as they are, were matched against an unknown, me. But then I saw the name of my friend and fellow academician and United Nations officer, Bernard Chidzero, listed, and I concluded that you wanted me to reminisce on my academic past and the exciting years with the United Nations trusteeship system. I tried to see how that could have any relevance with a student seminar on East, Central and Southern Africa, whatever that means. On scrutinizing the programme further I noticed that my subject matter is to be "The Mozambique Liberation Front", then I realized that it wasn't me they were really inviting but a representative of Mozambique, who must be a politician, with all the implications thereof.

I still feel flattered for the honour of representing my country in this seminar, but the role I must play is quite different from that of either an academician or an international civil servant. While as an academician I might have been forced to restrict myself to the narrow path of cold facts and their theoretical implications, as an international civil servant I might have been required to reduce whatever theoretical relevance there was in the situation in Mozambique to a restricted few, I am very glad that now as a politician I shall try to impart to you as much as possible the range of facts, theoretical implications and emotions.

Mozambique is one of the unfortunate few areas of Africa where independence will have to be won the hardest way possible. The reason for this is the fact that it is under the control of one of the most backward countries in the world: Portugal. In fact, Portugal, the nation which runs the affairs of our country today is itself not only under one of the most ruthless of modern dictatorships, but it's a colony of foreign capitalist interests. That is to say, the people of Portugal itself are not free. They are controlled by the Salazar fascist regime, which represents a number of economic interests holding stock in the wine, cork, cotton, sugar, rubber, shipping, diamond and cocoa industries. When you add to this a special Latin-Portuguese mentality or logic and the buttressing which all of this receives from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, then you have one of the toughest colonial situations you could ask for. And that is Mozambique.

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The Mozambique Liberation Front or FRELIMO therefore, is the organization called upon to shake up this whole situation and move the people towards not only independence, but also establish a system of government which will steadily direct them towards a more prosperous, just and happy life.

It might be necessary for me to give a brief outline of the geography and history of our country in order to enable some of you to understand what FRELIMO is facing.

Mozambique is a long coastal strip of land, with a coast-line of about 1,700 miles, a north to south stretch of 1,250 miles and an average east to west width of 400 miles, with a maximum of 718 miles in the Tete area, and a minimum of 56 miles in the Lourenco Marques area. Most of the country is within the coastal strip which is rather low and warm, while a small proportion falls in the plateau of the interior which has a comfortably mild climate. While the interior plateau is a grassland in which thousands of wild animals graze, the coastland alternates between the thickly forested north and the progressively thinning bushland of the south, with patches of sandy areas here and there. Agriculturally the north and the centre are fertile and rich in minerals of all kinds, including bauxite, oil, coal, cobalt, and gold.

The population for Mozambique is estimated at 7 million, including 100,000 Europeans, 35,000 Asians, 25,000 Coloured and the rest being of the Negroid stock. The most densely populated areas are the north and the centre, with an overall average density of 9 persons per square mile.

For many hundreds of years before the Portuguese colonialists occupied our country our people were organized in various linguistic and ethnic kingdoms whose economic base was mainly agricultural, with livestock as the mainstay.

The colonial history of Mozambique dates from the end of the 15th century when, in 1498, Vasco da Gama reached an island called Mozambique. However, for the next 300 years the relationship between Portugal and Mozambique was mainly commercial, for Portugal's main interest was India and the Far East. At that time the principal trading centres in East Africa were Pate, Malindi, Mombasa, Kilwa, Zanzibar, Pemba, the island of Mozambique and Sofala, all of which were populated by a combined population of Arabs and Africans, with a sprinkling of Persians and Indians. Also at that time, most of East Africa was part of an Indian Ocean commercial complex in which Arab, Indian and African goods were traded back and forth by middlemen who spoke a language very similar to the present-day Swahili. By the middle of the 17th century the Portuguese had been able to weaken, if not altogether destroy, the power of the various sheiks and princes who separately controlled the political and economic life of the coastal people. However, Portuguese

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authority never extended beyond a narrow strip of the northern part of the present-day Mozambique, plus a few coastal towns in what is now Tanganyika, Kenya and Zanzibar. In 1591 the Portuguese crown was forced to build the famous Fort Jesus at Mombasa, in order to strengthen her East African economic empire which was being challenged by the Arabs and Turks. During most of the 16th century Portuguese practically monopolized East Africa's rich trade in gold, ivory and precious metals. The presence of Portugal in this part of Africa, however, confined itself to the equatorial region of the coast which included the northern coastal strip of Mozambique. The conquest of what is now called Mozambique did not take place until towards the end of the 19th century. The last wars against the encroachment of Portuguese colonial control over our country were fought between 1895 and 1917. Obviously, it was during the main period of the scramble for Africa, in which other European powers such as Britain, Germany, Italy, Belgium and France were busy imposing their authority over other African communities of East Africa and Madagascar, and Cecil Rhodes and his British-South African economic empire builders were grabbing the interior.

It is clear from the foregoing, therefore, that Portugal's claim of having controlled Mozambique for over 450 years has no foundation whatsoever. If anything it is a reflexion of the traditional European tendency to claim a country by simply visiting it.

The rest of the history of Mozambique after its conquest by Portugal follows the same lines as most of the histories of colonial Africa. Soon after the subjugation of the last of the resistance forces the Portuguese proceeded to take possession of our land resources, beginning with those areas which were capable of producing commercial crops such as sisal, cotton, tea, palm-oil, sugar and ground-nuts. These were handed over to large private economic interests which went on to drive the African people off their land. With the help of the Portuguese government they turned most of our people into cheap labour. Wherever there were mineral resources in the country, the Portuguese government appropriated them and sold the right of exploration and exploitation to European economic interests, again turning the traditional African people into cheap labour for the extraction of these resources.

When precious metals such as gold, copper and diamonds were discovered in the neighbouring then colonies of the Rhodesias, the Republic of the Transvaal and the colony of Natal, the Portuguese colonialists seized the opportunity of getting a share out of the business by selling cheap Mozambique African labour to the companies which were engaged in mining. This was the beginning of the now traditional tendency of Mozambicans migrating in large numbers to the neighbouring countries to seek employment. When the Portuguese noticed that more and more Africans were migrating to the Transvaal, the Cape and other industrial

areas of southern Africa to work in mining, they arranged to harness the labour force, control it and bargain for more financial gains for themselves. With the Transvaal and now the so-called Republic of South Africa, the Portuguese cinched quite a number of profitable agreements, such as the 1875 treaty between Portugal and the Transvaal Republic which was later revised in 1901, 1928, 1934, 1936, 1940, 1950 and is now under consideration for another revision. The essential point in these agreements is that the economic interests which are now represented by the Transvaal Chamber of Mines are to be granted large-scale labour recruiting privileges in the southern part of Mozambique in return for guarantees that a certain proportion of the sea-bourne traffic to the industrial zone of the Transvaal, that is, the Witwatersrand area of Johannesburg and Pretoria, must pass through the port of Lourenco Marques rather than through the rival South African ports of Durban, East London, Port Elizabeth and Capetown. In the latest revision of the agreement the proportion of goods to be shipped from this area through Lourenco Marques is 45.5 per cent.

Other points figuring prominently in this agreement are: a) direct monetary payments per African recruited, which now amounts to 35 shillings per head; b) guarantees to repatriate Mozambique workers if found anywhere in South Africa outside of the contract arrangements included in the agreement; c) a maximum contract time of 18 months, and the permission to establish Portuguese Native Affairs inspection stations within the Republic of South Africa.

In order to make certain that enough African workers will sign up for work in South Africa under this agreement, the Portuguese government passed a series of laws restricting the free choice of employment within Mozambique, aimed specifically at that class of people who are needed in the mining system of South Africa. While the language and tone of these laws might appear to those accustomed with European jurisprudence to be aimed at discouraging vagrancy and laziness, their actual effect is to force individuals who are employed in their own traditional economic enterprises to migrate to South Africa. The latest of these laws states that any African who does not work for a European or Asian or so-called "civilized" African, or anyone who is not engaged in cash-producing economic activities must be arrested and forced to sign a contract with any of the various economic interests in Mozambique or abroad. These are the notorious "contract labour laws". Since in Mozambique itself there are not enough industries to employ most of the able-bodied men of our country, hundreds of thousands of people must sign contracts with South African and Rhodesian mining companies for work in these countries at wages much below subsistence levels. Every year there are over 100,000 Mozambican men who take up employment in the gold mines of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State alone. More

than 200,000 other Mozambican workers are also employed in South African plantations, farms, homes and secondary industries. Estimates for Northern and Southern Rhodesia run to 150,000, mostly employed in copper mining, farming and white homes. More than 100,000 northern Mozambicans are forced by the same law to seek employment in Tanganyika, Zanzibar and Kenya, mostly in sisal plantations, railways and harbours and as servants in European and Asian homes and as night watchmen.

We Mozambicans, therefore, have the largest number of people working outside of their national boundaries in the whole continent of Africa. We are persecuted and exploited at home and used as slave labour abroad. Students of modern economic and labour practices have described our situation, and that of our brother Angolans and Guineans (under Portuguese rule) as being that of modern slavery. Modern slavery is defined as a system of labour exploitation in which the slave owner does not take any responsibility for the welfare of the human being he uses. The Portuguese government makes profits out of us, while at the same time the various economic interests which make direct use of us accumulate large profits. Therefore, we can conclude, on the basis of the facts above, that Mozambique is a slave reservoir for both Portugal and the economic interests controlling the major industries of Southern, Central and East Africa.

As you see, I have cited only one phase of Portuguese colonialism, probably the one that typifies Portuguese policies as against those of the British, the French and the Belgians. There are, however, a whole range of colonial practices which Portugal engages in for which the Mozambican citizen suffers tremendously. These include, among others, direct imposition of Portuguese legal, religious, moral and social systems upon our people without even the slightest regards for our feelings. The denial of political rights to the majority of the people of Mozambique is another typical characteristic of Portuguese colonialism. Racial discrimination in all situations where Europeans and Africans live and work in the same area is as typical a Portuguese practice as it is of all colonial powers, despite Portuguese claims to the contrary.

If you add to the above an educational system whereby the children of more than 99 percent of the population are denied schools, except for a bare ten per cent of them who get some Christian mission schools, while the children of less than 1 per cent of the population enjoys educational facilities up to university, then you have a perfect situation for breeding of a society of slaves.

It is against this kind of colonialism that the Mozambique Liberation Front arose. The Mozambique Liberation Front is a reaction against foreign domination. It is a revolt against European and foreign exploitations. It's a movement against modern slavery. It's a movement organized to fight for the restoration of our political freedom.

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Through the Mozambique Liberation Front we wish to complete the process of regaining the self-respect and dignity of the African person. It is a movement which is determined to take over from where our heroic forebearers left off at the end of the last century and develop our people to new heights of achievement in the economic field, in science, the fine arts and religion. We want to be the free people that we once were, and more. We want to join the rest of the free peoples of Africa to form a United Africa and a United, Free and Peaceful World.

While the beginning of the organization itself is simple and dates from June 1962, the spirit behind the Mozambique Liberation Front derives from long years of suffering through exploitation, beatings, tortures, exiling, separation, etc., of our people by the Portuguese colonial government over the last 75 years. It is the result of the action of a new generation of Mozambicans who will not subject themselves to indignities by anyone. The Mozambique Liberation Front is the crystalization of the spirit of freedom implanted in us by our ancestors and fanned by the strong wind of change now blowing all over Africa.

Historically, the Mozambique Liberation Front came out of the union of a number of Mozambican nationalist movements, specifically the Mozambique African National Union, Uniao Democratica Nacional de Moçambique and Uniao Nacional Moçambicana de Independencia. These groups had started their work independently in various parts of Southern and East Africa. The Mozambique African National Union (MANU) started in Mombasa, prompted by Mozambican members of the Kenya African National Union. Later it combined with political groups organized in Tanganyika, and finally established its headquarters in Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika. While many of its members had been active members of KANU and TANU after the independence of Tanganyika they began to concentrate on organizing their own people against Portuguese colonialism.

The Uniao Democratica Nacional de Moçambique was started in Southern Rhodesia by a group of young Mozambicans who were working mostly in Salisbury. In 1961 when Tanganyika appeared to be clearly moving towards final independence, several of the leaders of the group decided to move on to Dar es Salaam. For a while after arriving in Dar, it appeared as though there might be an immediate union of the two organizations, but unfortunately personal ambitions of some of the individuals in both parties blocked the action. Later on the UNAMI leaders, who were mostly from the Tete area of Mozambique, also moved to Dar es Salaam. So that for a while there existed in Dar es Salaam no less than three political organizations all of whom claimed to represent the people of Mozambique.

During the time previous to the independence of Tanganyika, I was working in the trusteeship department of the United Nations Organization in New York, as a research officer in connexion with informa-

tion from Tanganyika, South West Africa and the British Cameroons. I often received letters, documents and petitions from various organizations in all Portuguese colonies, pleading that the United Nations take action against Portugal. After correspondence with several of these groups I began to receive personal letters asking me to join this group or that group as one of its leaders. All three of the above Mozambique political organizations wrote to me asking me to join them individually, but I insisted that the only way I can join a political party for the independence of Mozambique is if they would promise to take immediate steps to unite with other Mozambique groups forming a united front. After all of these three groups had promised that they would, I then came to Dar es Salaam and helped to organize the conference in which the Mozambique Liberation Front was formed.

On establishing FRELIMO, however, we decided to do away with all previously existing organizations and concentrate on the development of the new body, for fear that if we kept the parent organizations, we might waste valuable and scarce talent by working at cross purposes instead of pulling together in one party. However, when the former president of UDENAMO failed to get support for his candidacy for the presidency of FRELIMO, he left Tanganyika and from a foreign African country he announced the dissolution of FRELIMO, calling for the formation of a new front. But since he was speaking only for himself and a couple of other disgruntled fellows, he did not get any support. He kept floating from one African country to another arguing that UDENAMO was not within FRELIMO. While I was still finishing my contract as professor at an American university, preparing to return to East Africa to assume my duties as president of FRELIMO, the gentleman who had been elected secretary-general of FRELIMO became involved in a number of quarrels with other members of the organization. On being disciplined for his part in the disturbances which followed, he and a small number of his supporters were asked to leave Tanganyika and from a foreign African country he also revived another UDENAMO party. So that from time to time you may read in the newspapers about the existence of an UDENAMO representative saying this or that against FRELIMO or UDENAMO against UDENAMO.

While we were attending the Addis Ababa conference of the Heads of State for the establishment of the Organization of African Unity one of the two UDENAMO fellows, aided by the head of the bureau of African affairs of one of the African states, gathered together a number of people, most of whom had been disciplined by FRELIMO for various reasons, and each one claiming to represent a different political party, announced the dissolution of FRELIMO and the formation of a new front in Kampala, Uganda. But when the Uganda government investigated the matter and discovered that this was the work of the same fellow who had previously

announced the dissolution of FRELIMO from another African capital, they asked him to move out of the country. Finally, last October, again while a number of the top leaders of FRELIMO were away on diplomatic tours abroad, the director of the bureau of African affairs of the same country which had been supporting one of the UDENAMO's dispatched a member of his staff to Dar es Salaam, who scooped together a number of Mozambican refugees and in the name of his protegee announced for the third time the dissolution of FRELIMO and the formation of the same new front. And for the third time in one year the stunt came to nothing. So much for the internal squabble.

In the meantime, soon after the formation of the Mozambique Liberation Front, it was decided that there should be a conference that same year which would formulate the main lines of the policy of the new organization and elect a group of officer who would carry out its work. The congress was to meet in Dar es Salaam, and would be attended by delegates representing the various political groups of Mozambique exiled in East Africa, and as many others as could send delegates from within Mozambique.

In the last half of the month of September, the congree finally took place, attended by 80 delegates and more than 500 observers from Dar es Salaam, Tanga, Lindi, Morogoro, Songea, etc., in Tanganyika, where there are more than 100,000 Mozambicans working in various spheres of life, including thousands of refugees who had just recently arrived from Mozambique. There were also observers from Zanzibar, an island off the coast of Tanganyika, where over 30,000 Mozambicans work in shipping and clove farms and plantations; from Mombasa, Kenya came several people representing a Mozambican community of over 200,000 in the dockyards; and a few came from the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. All in all, the first congress of our party was a very representative affair, inspite of the fact that it was the first of its kind in the history of our country.

The congress of FRELIMO examined carefully the present situation in Mozambique and made recommendations for the Central Committee to carry out during the year. During the discussions of the congress, the following points were noted: a) that the people of Mozambique were still under the subjection of Portuguese colonialism, characterized by political, economic, social and cultural oppression; b) that the Portuguese government in Mozambique denied the basic freedoms to which modern man is entitled; c) that the Portuguese government failed to recognize the primacy of the interests of the Mozambicans, and that it opposed the right of the people to determine their own destinies, continuing to insist upon labelling Mozambique as an "overseas province"; d) that Portugal, instead of seeking a peaceful solution to the conflict

between her and the people of Mozambique, continued to use fascist methods of repression, reinforcing the military and police apparatus by the despatch of military contingents, massacring innocent people, imprisoning and torturing people suspected of nationalistic tendencies. The congress noted further that as a result of the above facts, the people of Mozambique were being forced to seek effective methods of self-defense. It also considered that the recent reforms promulgated by Portugal were within the framework of the same colonialist spirit that has typified Portuguese action for centuries; that because they were taken unilaterally, even if they were fair to the people, they would still be unacceptable. The congress, therefore, called upon all Mozambican patriots to unite under FRELIMO's banner to fight for the independence of their country. It went on to call attention to the existence of an alliance between the racist powers of Portugal, South Africa and the so-called Central African Federation, led by Salazar, Verwoerd and Wellensky, aided by a multifarious system of economic interests financed in London and New York, and urged all freedom-loving peoples of the world to condemn and act in such a way as to frustrate the inhuman activities of these forces.

The congress of FRELIMO declared its determination to promote the efficient organization of the struggle of the Mozambican people for national liberation and adopted the following measures to be carried out by the Central Committee:

- 1) Development and consolidation of the organisation of FRELIMO;
- 2) Development of unity among Mozambicans;
- 3) Maximum utilization of the energies and capabilities of each member of FRELIMO;
- 4) To promote and accelerate the training of cadres;
- 5) To use every effort to expedite the access of Mozambique to freedom;
- 6) To promote the social and cultural development of Mozambican women;
- 7) To develop literacy programmes for Mozambican people, creating schools wherever possible;
- 8) To encourage and support the formation and consolidation of trade unions, student and women's organizations.
- 9) To encourage as much as possible cooperation with nationalist organizations of Angola, Guinea and Cape Verde;
- 10) To procure all means of self-defense and prepare the people for every eventuality;
- 11) To appeal for financial support from organizations which sympathize with the cause of the people of Mozambique;
- 12) To establish permanent centres of information and propaganda in all parts of the world;

- 13) To seek diplomatic, moral and material help for the cause of freedom in Mozambique, especially from the already independent states of Africa, and from all peace and freedom loving countries of the world.

I am sure you would also be interested in knowing about what FRELIMO is doing to implement at least some of these decisions by the congress. As you may realize it would be unwise for me to give you any indication of what we are doing to implement those resolutions which have to do with direct action within Mozambique. There are, however, two areas of action we can freely outline publicly without danger. These are: diplomatic action and education. Since the formation of FRELIMO, and even before, diplomatic contacts have been intensified in all parts of the world. For example, we have made certain that our point of view is well understood by those committees of the United Nations which are directly responsible for gathering information on Portuguese colonies. Consequently, as soon as the meetings of the congress ended, I flew back to New York to petition the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly when our territory was being discussed. We also intensified our contacts with international conferences in Africa, Asia and the Americas. At the annual conference of PAFMECSA which met at Leopoldville, Congo, Mr. Uria Simango, the vice-president of FRELIMO, presented a petition on our behalf. At the Moshi Conference of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Council, we sent a team of five members of the Central Committee who shared the responsibility of presenting our case. In the United States, I attended the first Negro Leadership Conference on Africa, where I presented a background paper on conditions in Mozambique and participated in informal discussions, giving substantive information to the delegates. Our university students in Europe and North America also carry the responsibility of informing their fellow-students on Mozambique whenever they attend international student conferences. They have a student organization, Uniao Nacional dos Estudantes de Moçambique (UNEMO), which works in close cooperation with FRELIMO. We believe that our case against Portuguese colonialism deserves to be known by all people of the world. We also hope that through this knowledge the representatives of the peace loving peoples of the world will be able to take the proper steps to convince Portugal of the stupidity of her position.

Finally, we have launched a crash programme for educational advancement for the people of Mozambique.

I have made reference to the almost complete lack of education for the black peoples of Mozambique. The congress of FRELIMO, taking into account the sad state of educational facilities in our country under Portuguese colonialism, has asked the Central Committee to study the education of the Mozambique people as a priority matter.

In response to this situation, the Central Committee of FRELIMO has divided the problem into three levels of action: the university

level, the secondary school level and the mass literacy level. At the university level it was decided that we should send out to all countries any available Mozambicans with educational background equivalent to secondary school. For this purpose we have sent out to most independent countries of the world requests for scholarships for Mozambicans for education in any school above the secondary level. We have also appealed to the United Nations to do all it can to help us in this respect. Consequently, we have received offers for scholarships in many countries in Eastern Europe, North and South America and Western Europe. So far we have been able to send out students to the United States of America, where facilities for both training and transportation were liberally given by governmental and private bodies; to Western Europe, especially France, where training especially in medicine is being given to several Mozambicans, and Italy, in law and economics. We also have some students in the Soviet Union, taking courses in various fields of study, including technology. We have more scholarships offered to us than we can take. Therefore, with a generous grant from a private foundation in the United States, the Mozambique Institute (Instituto Moçambicano) has been formed under the directorship of my wife, Janet, in Dar es Salaam. This Institute is separate from the political body of FRELIMO, but caters to the needs of the refugees from Mozambique who have yet to complete their secondary education. The Institute will provide housing for 50 students, and educational and cultural facilities for any Mozambican refugees who wish to partake of them. The Institute's activities also include a general survey of the refugees in Tanganyika and neighbouring countries in order to assess the number and needs of these people. In addition, literacy programmes are needed to reach the millions of our people who are not able to read or write. We believe that without at least literacy, our efforts for a stable, progressive and peaceful Mozambique cannot be crowned with success. We, therefore, appeal to all those who believe in the effectiveness of these programmes to give us whatever help they can afford.

We have already sent out to various parts of the world a number of Mozambican students who are now pursuing their studies in different fields of learning in America, Europe and Asia.

I shall not discuss here that phase of our programme which is being done within Mozambique for security reasons, except to say that it is proceeding as scheduled. Nor can I with impunity engage in any analysis of our military training programme, which is also going on.

Our diplomatic work has been intensified since our congress. We have opened a number of offices in several African independent states; in Europe. American and Asia we depend mostly upon our students for representation, who constantly distribute information to the various organizations interested in our struggle.

During the months of October, November and December I, as President of FRELIMO, undertook a long trip to America, Europe and the People's Republic of China, to present Mozambique's case against Portugal. At the United Nations, I petitioned against Portugal and made representations in West Germany against reported economic activities in Portuguese African colonies by some of the big German financial interests. I also stimulated interest in our situation among the West German press, radio and television, calling the German people's attention to those relations between their government and the Salazarist colonial regime which we consider detrimental to our struggle. In West Germany I find a great deal of interest from among the rank and file people. The press, radio and television gave me an ample opportunity to state our case. Educational organizations showed interest in giving us places in their colleges and universities, which we hope to take up soon.

While at the United Nations, I assisted the nine representatives of the Organization of African Unity who were carrying our conversations on the future of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea with Portuguese representatives at the office of the Secretary General, Mr. U Thant. My function during these conversations was to expose the veiled attempts by Portugal to hoodwink the African representatives and the people of the world concerning the status of our country. The Portuguese representatives were claiming that the "organic law for overseas provinces", which the Portuguese parliament rubber-stamped last August, was aimed at applying the principles of self-determination to the colonies of Portugal in Africa. I called the attention of the delegates to the fact that contrary to what Portugal was saying, this new law was in fact completing the incorporation of our country into Portugal as a province, instead of giving more and more self-government. After reading the law itself, the African statesmen saw the point, and suspended the conversations, insisting that Portugal declare first unequivocally that she is ready to apply the right of self-determination to the people of her colonies in Africa; secondly, that she take immediate steps to discuss with the representatives of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea how she will hand over the economic, political and other instruments for an independent government. In my petition in the Fourth Committee of the United Nations General Assembly, I urged that the member states act on the resolution passed last July by the Security Council. I gave further evidence concerning the support which Portugal receives from several members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, including the United States, Great Britain, France and West Germany, almost in that order. I cited the fact that Portugal continues to receive weapons from these powers, even though it has been proved beyond doubt that these weapons are now being used by Portugal against us in Africa. I also called attention to the various arrangements being made by these same NATO powers to prop the

Portuguese economy during this period of crisis in her colonies. I demanded that the United Nations be called upon to condemn these criminal acts.

During the months of November and December, Brother Marcelino dos Santos, external affairs secretary of FRELIMO, visited the People's Republic of China to initiate conversations, which I later completed when I also visited China. Our visit to China was aimed at seeking aid from the people of that country, and to strengthen our position against Portuguese colonialism. While there we thanked the Chinese people for their solidarity with the peoples of Africa in their struggle against colonialism and imperialism.

On his way back from China, Brother dos Santos, joined by Brother Simango, FRELIMO's vice-president, visited several Eastern and Western European countries, including the Soviet Union, Poland, East Germany, Checkoslavia, Italy and France, in all of which they sought aid of all kinds.

On my way back from China, I stopped in India, and since then I have been making representations to the government of that country to see if they could help us in various ways, including providing educational facilities for some of our Portuguese speaking students, making use of the vast educational resources and experience of that country.

Summary

As it can be seen from the foregoing, our struggle is a difficult one. Portugal as a colonial power has almost no resemblance to any other modern colonial power. She is a dictatorship; she is backward in every way conceivable; and she has no desire to conform with the principles of self-determination approved by all the international organizations of which she is a member.

Therefore, there is no other means of bringing her to the conference table for the discussion of our independence. Instead, Portugal is taking steps to incorporate further our country by passing new laws to that effect; she is building an ever increasing military force to suppress our people and is putting in prison, torturing and killing and exiling thousands of some of the most courageous of our freedom fighters.

Yet the writing is clear on the wall of Portuguese colonialism: Portugal will scam out of Mozambique! The Mozambique Liberation Front is determined to hasten the day in which our people will be free.