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AFRO-ASIAN

118

BULLETIN



Special issue
on Mozambique



Weapons in their hands... a vigilant and determined look... the revolutionaries of Mozambique are attending a course on guerrilla warfare

July — August 1968

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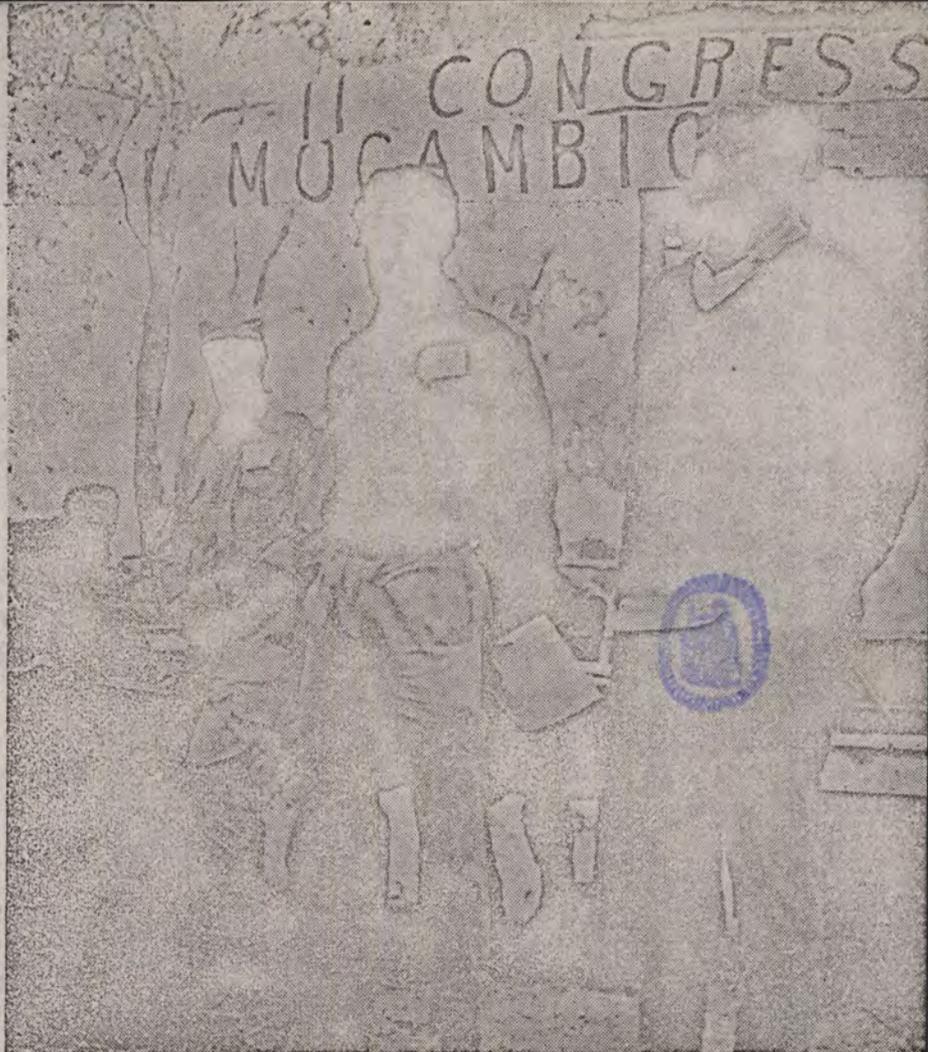


Dr. Edward
Mondlane,
Frelimo Presi-
dent addressing
one of the mee-
tings in Cabo
Delgado.



General view
of the Congress
was taken by
M. Bahadur
Abdurazakov,
soviet represen-
tative in AAPSO

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II CONGRESS
MOGAMBIQ

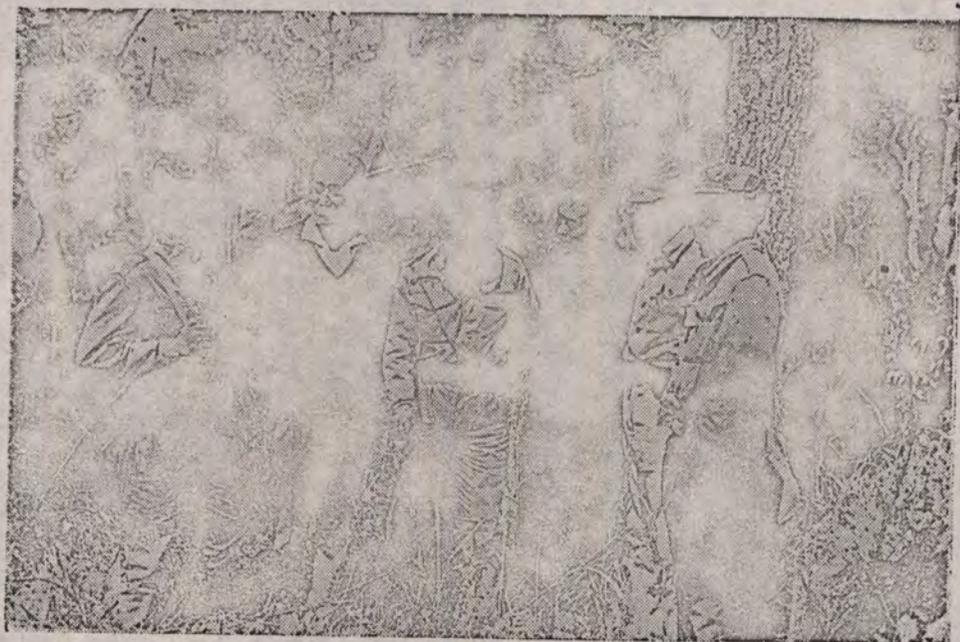


M. Kamal Bahaa Eddin, Assistant Secretary general of AAPSO addressing the Congress.

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Dr. Mondlane and his deputy M. Simango listening to the Speakers.



AAPSO delegation (M Kammal B. Eddine and B. Abdunazakov) among some of the FRELIMO leaders.



AAPSO delegation in the Observers bench during one of the Congress meetings.

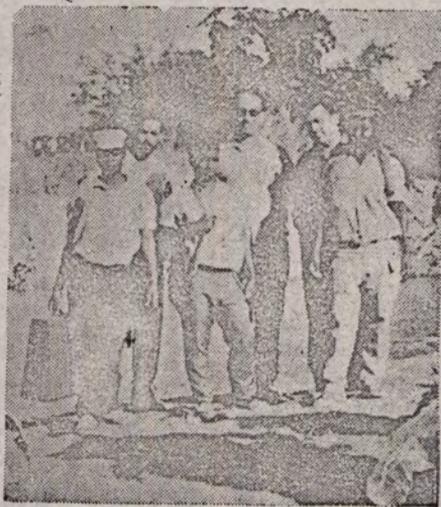


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THE PERMANENT SECRETARIAT DELEGATION ATTENDS THE SECOND NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF FRELIMO

Held in a liberated zone of
Mozambique from 20th July,
1968 to 26th July: 68.

In response to an invitation from FRELIMO addressed to the Permanent Secretariat to attend its Second National Conference as observer, and according to a decision of the Permanent Secretariat to accept the invitation with welcome in view of the significant and important particular characteristic of a conference of this nature, held by a struggling liberation movement waging an armed struggle, inside the interior of a country still under the imperialist yoke although liberated in some of its main areas, the delegation of the Permanent Secretariat was formed by :

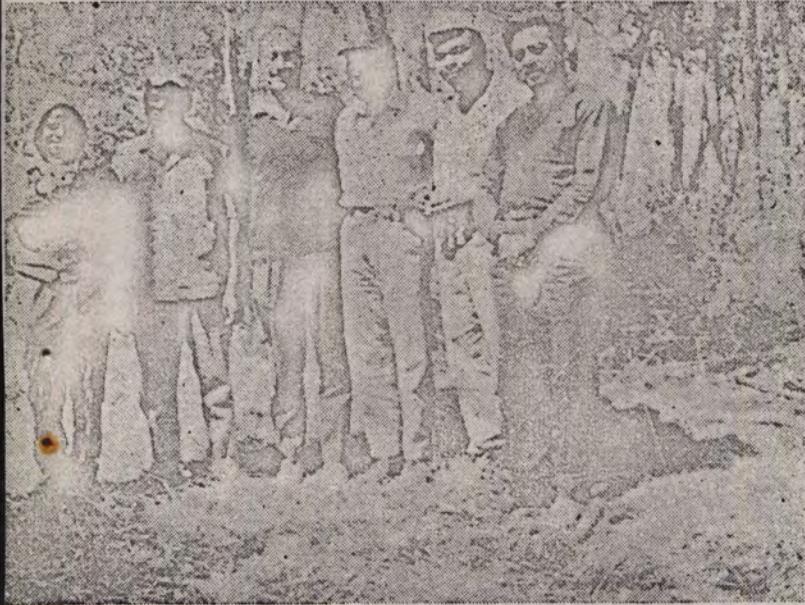


The AAPSO delegation about to cross the borders.

Mr. Kamal Bahaa Eddin,
Assistant Secretary General.
Mr. Bahadur Abdurrasakov,
Soviet Representative.

The delegation left Cairo





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AAPSO delegation
with the delegates
of MPLA, ANC and
ZAPU



to Dar Ess Salaam on the
: In the airport, we
were surprised that neither the
representative of TANU nor the
representative of FRELIMO
were in our reception, later on th
ey informed us that they had re-
ceived no notice informing them
of our arrival. Fortunately, a
member of the U.A.R. Embassy
in Tanzania was in our recep-
tion in the airport. We booked
a double room in the Twiga Ho-
tel in Dar Ess Salaam and we
started immediately our contacts
with TANU and FRELIMO re-
presentatives. Mr. Amanas Sw
ai paid us a visit next day and
facilitated our contacts with the

FRELIMO representatives in
Dar Ess Sa'cam. Mr. Uria T.
Simango, Vice President of FRE-
LIMO, paid us a visit in the Ho-
tel and we also met Mr. Edward
do C. Mondlane, President of FR
LIMO, who briefed on the confe-
rence and advised us to equip
ourselves with the necessary ma-
terial for a trip inside Mozambi-
que (cloth bag, medicine for
purifying water; light shoes for
long tracking and water can-
teen).

On Sunday, 14th July, 1968
we left Dar iss Sa'cam Airport
on board of a two-motor Dako-
ta plane heading for the South,

in company of Mr. Edwardo Mondlane and Mr. Uria Simango together with an English journalist and writer, Mr. Basil Davidson, who also attended the conference as observer. The plane took off at 8 p.m. and stopped at Lindi, 300 miles to Dar Ess Salaam after an hour and a half flight. Resuming our flight after a 15—minutes respite we reached Mtwara in half an hour and then Songea, at a 400 miles distant from Mtwara, after more than two hours flight.

In Mtwara we met some of the FRELIMO members of whom Mr. Marcelino dos Santos who informed us that he would join us with his group, in Songea by car, which would take 12 hours travel.

In Songea we were met by FRELIMO members who accompanied us by car to a small hut hotel. The weather was rather cold and we had to stay in Songea up to Wednesday 17th July. Although we were initially scheduled to leave next day,

British writer and journalist
Basil Davidson taking photos of
the meeting

we had to stay over in Songea until some problems of delegations arrivals were settled. We spent the time in walking exercises and took the occasion to interview some of the leaders of FRELIMO.

We were immediately struck by the high morale of the FRELIMO delegates and their eagerness and readiness to fight, in spite of the extreme hardships they meet with. We learnt that a large number of delegates



had already crossed the frontiers by that time, and that they have built a camping site for the conference meeting place inside Mozambique, we held meetings with leaders of FRELIMO of whom we mentioned particularly Mr. Alfredo Wassira, considered as a prominent political figure and a delegate of the TETE PROVINCE, Mr. Francisco Manyanga, the commander of the liberation army in the new front opened last March in the TETE PROVINCE, and Mr. Lourenco Raimundo, Commander of the Liberation Forces in CABO DELGADO PROVINCE, a liberated area.

We suggested that trenches would be dug around the site of the conference as a precautionary measure against air raids or infantry attacks, as we learnt from Mondlane that raids were not unexpected and that Portuguese planes might bomb the conference with Napalm or highly explosive bombs. We learnt later on that instructions were issued to dig out communications—and—shelter trenches around the conference site.

Crossing the Frontiers :

On Wednesday 17th July, we began to track our way by a

landrover car in company of Mr. Raul Casal Ribeiro, the second commander of the liberation army, and Basil Davidson. The landrover was stacked high with the equipments and carried twelve passengers. The route to the frontiers was narrow, arduous, threading its way with extreme difficulty for 85 miles amidst thick jungle and steep hills. We moved from Songea at 10:00 a.m. in the morning and after four hours and a half the car was stuck on the road, and we had to wait for another, which arrived half an hour later, and finally we reached the camp for FRELIMO forces, from which point we walked for about quarter an hour and then we crossed the river by boat, resumed walking for two hours through the jungle and finally reached a transit camp run by the FRELIMO and composed of several straw and bamboo huts which serve as a grouping point in preparation for another track before crossing over.

We had our supper which was composed of boiled rice, tea and biscuits : our diet, invariably, from this point until we left Mozambique for Dar Es Salaam. The weather was extremely cold, we slept with Ba-

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sel Davidson in a small hut, our bedding consisted of bar boards of wood and we had to put on all our cloths and to ask for an extra blanket in quest of some warmth. Yet almost all FRELIMO members slept on the bare ground under the open sky and with almost no clothes on which demonstrates the extent of endurance these freedom fighters have and the extreme hardships they bare with in good spirits and a highly militant state of mind

Needless to say there was no facilities of any kind.

On Thursday 18th July, after lunch we began to move towards the frontiers, the delegations were divided into groups, each group composed about 15 persons which moved according to a certain time schedule, in single file led by one of the guerrilla. Around 3 o'clock p.m. our group moved led by a guerrilla girl fighter of around 20 years of age, we threaded our way through thick jungle for around 45 minutes, all along the path we noticed huts and camps for Mozambiquan r efugees living in extremely dire cconditions, we reached the Msinge River which is the bor-

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der line between Tanzania and Mozambique.

Infront of us we saw Mozambique with its thick forests, towering trees and rich jungle. The groups preceeding us stood on the other side of the river on an embankment waiting for us, we crossed the river by canoe and climbed up the embankment with difficulty, finally we were inside Mozambique.

We resumed walking in separate groups, in the same order as before, amidst a thick jungle finding difficulty in threading our way on the extremely narrow jungle-track which is barely wide enough for one person to pass. We learnt later that mines were planted on both sides of the track and as a matter of fact we were warned to keep strictly to the track. After half an hour of walking in rather wide strides we reached the first point posted by PRELIMO as customs and frontiers point. We had to show our identity papers and pass through customs measures so as to enter the liberated zone in Mozambique. After another half an hour of these formalities we walked along for another hour until we reached a camp for



the guerilla fighters of PRELIMO. At the camp Casal Ribeiro, second commander of the army gave us our security instructions and regulations for residence in the camp, he explained the responsibility of the army fighters in connection with guards duty and warned us not to move outside the camp and not to show any white clothes so as not to reveal the camps site to reconnaissance enemy planes. From that point we moved again in the South of a small river until we reached the camp prepared for our residence. The camp was composed of several huts built of tree-trunks and covered with palms inside the forest and covered all around with thick trees. A small

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hut with three punks, was allotted to us, we shared it with Bassells Davidson. The bunks were made of tree branches tied up together with palm ropes and covered with grass.

The camp was situated in the Niassa province the nearest of the nine provinces of Mozambique to Tanzania. Local time of Tanzania, we reached the camp at 7 p.m. Tanzania local time i.e. 6 p.m. Mozambique local time.

After a brief respite Mr. Casal Ribeiro paid us a visit and told us the night word which was Cuillière (spoon). We had our supper as usual boiled rice with some hashed meat. It was



LIFEMO'S chairman addressing the Congress on behalf of the Mozambican Women

extremely cold we noticed that some of the occupants of nearby huts set up a fire inside their huts to get some warm.

Edwardo Mondlane and Cimagango had not arrived by that time, they did not arrive, except next day at around 6 p.m.

On Friday, 19th July, Marcelino dos Santos promised to provide us with the list of delegates and all other available documents.

We annex herewith the official list of delegates, the Agenda of the Conference and the regulations of the conference procedure. We held a meeting with Marina Manguedya, Commander of girls detachment of Cabo Delgado.

We learnt that the Portuguese were posted at around 40 or 45 miles from our camps sites.

On Saturday 20th July, we held a meeting with the military commander of Cabo Delgado Province Mr. Lourenco Raimundo and the Political Commissioner Mr. Calisto Mugico.

THE INAUGURATION OF THE CONFERENCE :

The Conference was inaugurated at 5:00 p.f. on Saturday



M. Kamal E. Fidalgo with B. Davidson discussing during a break



20/7/1968, in a special site carefully camouflaged and ingeniously prepared for the purpose, using equipments made out of the materials available in the jungle.

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The number of participants in the Conference was about 150 members and observers.

The inauguration was of a ceremonial character: the National Hymn of PRELIMO was sung by an honour guard of the Guerrillas in front of the PRELIMO flag. Arms were presented to Mondlane in salute. Then he gave a short speech of greeting to delegates and observers. The Political Commissioner of the Nyassa Province welcomed the convocation of the Conference in Nyassa, then the Commander of the Army, Samora Machel gave a speech, and Casal Ribeiro delivered a report on the development of the armed struggle since its inception in September 1964 up till now.

He announced that the Guerrilla troops numbered more than 8,000 fighters in the provinces in which armed struggle was waged. During this period more than 6000 Portuguese were killed, he said. He also declared that the Guerrilla forces opened a new front this year in the TETE Province, that the enemy increased its armed forces which amounts up to 60 thousands soldiers, that recruiting age in Portugal was reduced

and that youths of 18 years of age are now recruited and that the military obligatory service period was increased to four years. He also announced that 2 of the Central Committee members were killed in armed action during 1966.

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE :

On Sunday 21/7/1968, Marcello dos Santos read out the report of the Preparatory Committee of the Conference and the document on the Regulations of the Conference Procedures, which lasted, with the translation and detailed explanations, all along the five hours of the morning session. In the afternoon session, the agenda was discussed and approved. Mondlane briefed the Conference on the schedule of work which would be by delivery of messages of support from observers and friendly organizations on the same session, the delivery of the Political Report the following day and then the five commissions of the Conference would proceed with their works, for two or three days; finally the resolutions would be approved by the Conference in plenary session.



The message of the Permanent Secretariat of AAPSO was the first message delivered. It was read out by the Assistant Secretary General and was met with great appreciation and warm applause, and was followed by cheers and enthusiastic national songs.

The MPLA message was then delivered by Mr. Flavio Bombeiro, (and messages from the Guinean Democratic Party and from other progressive organizations were read out by Marcilo dos Santos as the closing item of this session.

The military commander of the Nyassa Province then stressed the importance of security measures to be strictly observed against possible attacks by infantry, paratroopers, air raids or surprise silent attacks by white arms, he also explained the measures taken by his forces to guard against and ward off any attack.

On Monday 22/7/1968 the Conference was chaired by Simanga, Vice-President of PRE-LIMO.

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The message of the A.N.C. was delivered by Mr. Begard Souza.

Mr. Bahador Abdurrazakov then gave the message of the Soviet Committee on Afro-Asian Peoples solidarity; he also conveyed to the Conference the greetings and support of A.A.P.S.O.

Then the ZAPU representative, Mr. Conrad Combakomba, gave the message of his party, which was greeted by resounding enthusiasm.

Other messages were then read out.

On a request of Mr. Marcilino dos Santos, Mr. Bahaa Kamal Eddine gave the attendance a summary of the A.A.P.S.O. and its Permanent Secretariat activities and the programme of its action in the forthcoming period, as well as on account of the Secretary General's mission to Hanoi, pointing out the main Conferences AAPSO is preparing to organize :

On Vietnam, on Southern Africa... etc. This account found warm response and interest in the attendance.





LIFEMO'S delegation at the congress



Then Mr. Monatane began to read out the Political Report, which lasted during the morning and afternoon sessions. He started with a brief outline of the history of PRELIMO, the difficulties it encountered and overcame, the secessionary organizations splintered off it which were formed and failed or disbanded. Then he gave a fully detailed account of the activities of PRELIMO since the First Conference held in «Tanganyika» in 1962, presented the members of the Central Committee who bore the brunt of responsibility in discharging their tasks in implementation of the First Conference decisions,

He traced out the development and expansion of FRELIMO activities in various fields : Educational, Social, Medical... etc.

Then he spoke of the armed struggle phase, which was initiated on September 25, 1964, the creation of Guerrilla troops, the formation of cadres of various fields, in the friendly countries such as Algeria, U.A.R., U.S.S.R. (and other countries. He delineated the development of the armed struggle from one province to the other and expressed appreciation for the role of friendly (and socialist) countries which backed and aided the struggle.

Then he set out the political programme of FRELIMO at length. We were promised to receive the full text of this report, after translation.

On the next and last open plenary session, on Tuesday 23/7/1968 messages of support from Heads of Provinces were read out amidst great enthusiasm, songs, cheers and dances.



Then Mondlane announced that the Central Committee had met the previous night and decided to add a special declaration to the Political Report. He read out the declaration which supports the struggle of the Palestinian people, condemns the imperialist-Israeli aggression of last June on the Arab peoples and enumerates the occasions in which FRELIMO denounced and condemned the imperialist Israeli aggression. He then thanked the Afro-Asian Peoples Organization for the attendance of its delegation and announced our departure.

As our task was done, the

plenary session were over and observers had no role in the closed committees' sessions, we then greeted the Conference members and took our leave.

We had been informed that the proposal for the formation of the Central Committee that was to be discussed ran as follows: instead of 22 members by appointment, as the previous Central Committee was formed, the new Central Committee be constituted by 40 members: 18 members would be elected from the Conference as whole, by general vote, 9 members would be elected from the provinces (one member for each province) the provinces (one member for each province) and 13 ex-officio members i.e. the heads of various national sections (education, information, economic, external affairs... etc. The Central Committee would then elect from its members a President and a Vice-President.

On our way back we witnessed an air-raid by Portuguese plane which dropped highly

explosive bombs on a refugees camp inside Tanzanian territory, as we learnt later on, the anti-air-craft batteries of the Tanzanian Army gave fire and the plane went back to its base, located at about 70 miles' distance.

It is believed that the plane was looking for the Conference site and that probably the intention was to bomb it.

DEPARTURE :

We reached Songea at around 10:00 p.m. on Tuesday 23/7/1968 stayed over for the night and boarded the plane for Dar Ess Salaam, by tickets issued in alias names, at around 1:00 p.m., on Wednesday reaching the Tanzanian capital at around 5:00 p.m. and left for Cairo on Friday 28/7/1968.

We therefore spent on the mission nineteen days from the 8th to the 27th July 1968.

CONCLUSION :

This mission, the first of its type, undertaken by the A.A.P. S.O. Secretariat delegates in a

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liberated zone of a country waging an armed struggle against one of the most archaic, anachronistic and yet ferocious kinds of imperialism, combined, as it is, with blatant colonial oppression and occupation, neo-colonialist designs and exploitation, military NATO ties and affinities and open shameless racial discrimination — was highly successful and of outstanding significance.

We must stress our thanks, admiration and appreciation to the leaders organizers and members of the Conference who performed a remarkable action of bravery, competent organization, vigilance and ingenuity.

In extremely difficult conditions, and in defiance of the Portuguese imperialists and occupation troops and planes, the Conference was held successfully inside the interior of Mozambique, which is in itself a telling proof of the success achieved so far by FRELIMO as Liberation Movement and its liberation army.

We suggest that this mission would be consummated by tak-

ing concrete measures of support and solidarity with the Mozambique people in its struggle, i.e. :

— To circulate of the Political Report Declarations, Resolutions and Documents of the Conference to all member and friendly organizations, together with a brief report on the Permanent Secretariat mission.

— To issue an appeal to member and friendly organizations to redouble and intensify their support and assistance to FRELIMO and to the Mozambique people, by all means, moral, political and material, particularly through aids in military equipment, clothing, medical supplies ... etc.

— To hold a press conference and a photo exhibition on the mission and on the struggle of the Mozambique people.

— To make the widest possible use of information media to publicize the mission and the struggle of Mozambique, through television interviews, articles in the weekly or daily press, publication of a special supplement of our bulletin ... etc.

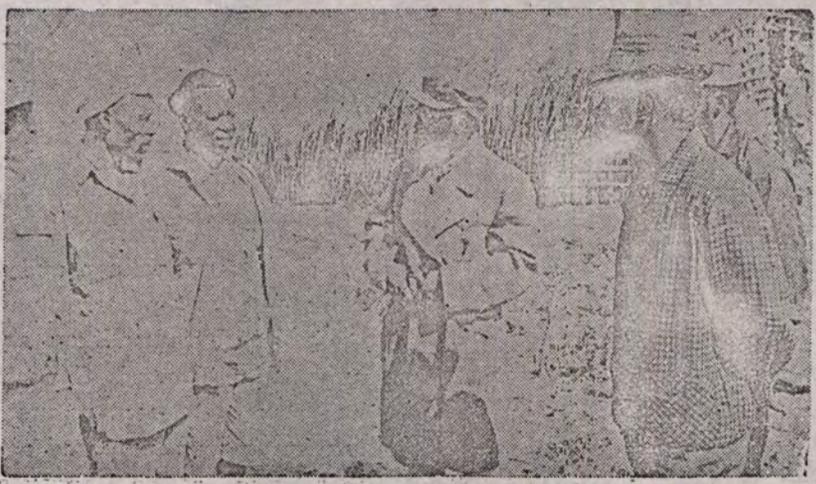
— And to stress both the political and military achievements of FRELIMO and the Mozambique people, in accordance with our principles and objectives throughout this action of support and solidarity.



Highlights of the Congress



From the 20th to the 25th of July, 1968, the Second Congress of FRELIMO was held in Mozambique, in a liberated area of Niassa Province. There were approximately 170 delegates and observers. The delegates came from all parts of Mozambique — from Lourenco Marques to Cabo Delgado; they represented all strata of the Mozambican people — workers, peasants, intellectuals and traditional chiefs. Among the observers were two representatives of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organisation, one representative of the People's Movement for the liberation of Angola, one representative of the ANC of South Africa and one representative of ZAPU. Present at the Congress was a well-known British writer and journalist, Mr. Basil Davidson.



FRELIMO'S Uria Simango speaking to the representatives of the Cabo Delgado province (in the liberated areas)

The importance of this Congress rests on the fact that it is the 1st Congress held in liberated Mozambique, and the 1st Congress truly representative of the Mozambican people. In fact, the participants at the 1st Congress of FRELIMO, which was held in Dar Es Salaam in September 1962, were mostly Mo-



Groups of FRELIMO freedom fighters during guerrilla warfare course

zambican emigrants who lived outside Mozambique for several years. Now, nearly all the delegates came directly from their

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regions in Mozambique, and all of them are actively engaged in the Revolution.

The Congress was held in an atmosphere of wide cordiality, frankness and democracy, with high revolutionary spirit. The delegates presented the problems of their regions — problems concerning the political organisation, the armed struggle, and national reconstruction. These problems were thoroughly discussed; on the basis of these discussions, directives for their solution were drawn up.

Among the most important decisions of the Congress are those which have changed some structures of our organisation. Thus, the Congress continues to be the supreme organ of FRELIMO; but it is now widely representative, comprising delegates of all the Provinces of Mozambique and representatives of the mass organisations — workers, youth, women and students — plus representatives of the political and military structures. The Central Committee has now a different nature. It previously was composed of the secretaries of the Departments and their assistants and its functions were at the same time legislative, executive and judi-

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cial. Now the CC is composed of members elected by the Provinces, of representatives of mass organisations, of the Provincial secretaries and of members elected by the Congress: the CC was thus widened from 20 to about 40 members; and its function has become strictly legislative.

The executive function belongs to a new organ — the Executive Committee — comprising the President and the Vice-President of FRELIMO, and the Secretaries of the Departments.

A Political and Military Committee was created, formed of the President, the Vice-President, the Secretaries of the Defense Department, the Department of Internal Organisation, the Political Department, the Security Department and the Provincial Secretaries. This Committee will study and solve the urgent political and military problems, between the ordinary meetings of the CC.

The President and the Vice-President of FRELIMO are elected by the Congress upon proposal by the Central Committee.

At the Provincial level there is a Provincial Council and a Provincial Committee.

The Congress took important

decisions. It reaffirmed that, in the present circumstances the armed struggle is still the only way to liberate Mozambique and that considering the conditions in which it is fought, this struggle will be necessarily protracted. The Congress decided to intensify the mobilisation and the politisation of the masses; to recruit elements of other provinces not yet affected by the armed struggle; to increase the number of militias; to amplify the women's detachment, and to apply the policy of clemency to captured enemy soldiers.

Concerning the administration of the liberated zones, it was decided to consolidate the establishment of the political and administrative power in those regions; to increase production; to re-populate the liberated areas by persuading the people who sought refuge in the exterior to return to their lands; to uplift the cultural level of the Mozambicans by creating more schools and training more teachers; to better the services of social assistance; to improve medical assistance.

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Regarding external policy, the Congress condemned the American imperialist aggression



against Vietnam, and reaffirmed the total solidarity and support of FRELIMO to the FLN of South Vietnam and to the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam; condemned the imperialist alliance of NATO; condemned the imperialist policy of Israel against the Arab people; hailed the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of Angola, Guinea and Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe and reaffirmed the unitary nature of the struggle of all peoples under Portuguese colonialism. The Congress hailed and expressed its support to the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of South Africa, Zimbabwe, and South West Africa, led by the ANC, ZAPU and SWAPO. It hailed the struggle of the Afro-Americans in the United States, against racial discrimination and economic exploitation. It hailed the struggle of the Portuguese people against Salazar's fascism. The Congress declared its solidarity with the peoples and governments of the

socialist countries, and entrusted the Central Committee to intensify the relations between FRELIMO and the socialist countries.

At the end of the Congress elections took place. Members of the Central Committee were elected. Comrades EDUARDO MONDLANE and URIA SIMANGO were re-elected for the post, respectively, of President and Vice-President of FRELIMO.

The Congress sent a message to His Excellency Julius K. Nyerere, President of the United Republic of Tanzania, thanking him, his government and the people of Tanzania for the support they have always given to the struggle of the Mozambican people.

This Congress reinforced the unity of the Mozambican people. It proved that all Mozambicans are united in the same will to be free, and to work together to regain their freedom. This Second Congress was a decisive step towards our final victory.

**REPORT OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE**



Members of the Central Committee
Provincial and District Secretaries

Secretaries of Sections of the Army of FRELIMO
Provincial Cadres of the Army and Interior Organisation

Delegation of National Provinces,

Representatives of Brother Organisations and Friends of Africa,

Representatives of the Press, Observers,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

In the first place I would like to greet all those who are present here in the name of all the members of the MOZAMBIQUE LIBERATION FRONT (FRELIMO) and all the people of Mozambique. I would like to congratulate you for having once again demonstrated your faithful devotion in the liberation struggle in which now our people are engaged and for having ventured into these areas of war. Those among you who never in your life were soldiers must celebrate these moments because just now you are soldiers. From the moment that you entered that zone of war, you declared war against Portuguese colonialism and joined in that war.

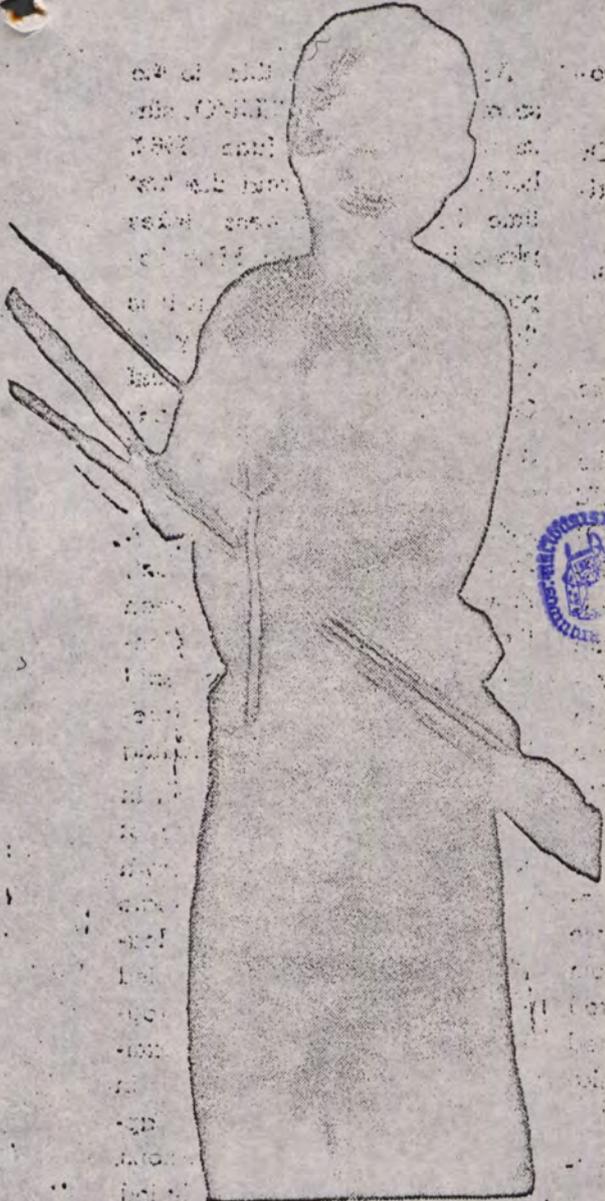
The purpose of this speech is to give you an idea of the work that the Mozambique people want to accomplish during the days of this Congress, to have a more or less clear vision of what we must do in order to attain success.

As you all know, this is the second time that FRELIMO, since its founding in June 1962, holds its Congress and the first time that the Congress takes place in Mozambique. More important still is the fact that it is the first time in the history of Mozambique that a Political Congress is convened. In this sense it is necessary to say that our people have reached an important milestone in its history. In view of the relatively long time which has passed between the first and the Second Congress, something must be said about the reasons which prevented FRELIMO from holding the Second Congress in 1965, in conformity with the statutes of the organisation. As it is known by all during the first two years after the first Congress, the leaders of FRELIMO were occupied with the execution of the programme planned by the Mozambican people, presented in the form of resolutions approved at the end of its sessions.

This programme included among other things.

- a) the establishment of a clandestine political organisation in the interior of our country structured in such a manner as to serve as a solid base on





leus of militants could be created ready to establish the army of liberation, and to begin the armed struggle, c) to establish an executive and administrative structure of FRELIMO which would be able to direct the total programme of the struggle; d) to establish solid relations with the independent countries of Africa, with the governments and the political organisations of the outside world which were interested in peace and in our independence, and to furnish them with all the information necessary to facilitate their understanding of our problem so that they may help us in our struggle against Portuguese colonialism; e) to prepare the necessary conditions for the education of our youth, creating primary, secondary and technical schools and to facilitate the departure to foreign countries of youth who possess the intellectual and moral qualities to follow higher studies, integrated in the liberation struggle.



which to launch the Struggle for national liberation :
 b) the preparation of military cadres whenever possible, in foreign countries, around which a nuc-

From September 1962 to September 1964 the Central Committee worked arduously to put in a operation this programme, obtaining its first fruits on the 25th of September, 1964, the date on which the first military

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attack against the Portuguese colonial repressive forces in Mozambique was launched. During the same period the Central Committee worked on the problems of the structure of the central bodies which were to lead the people in all the provinces of Mozambique, establishing clandestine cells in the countryside, in the villages, towns and cities of our country, organising the peasants, the workers in the plantation of the colonialists, in the ports and docks of Mozambique, in the factories, mines and in the houses of the white settlers.

In order to see more clearly the work which was done during the last five and a half years, since the last Congress of FRELIMO was held, it is better to present the five sections of the programme one by one.

1. THE STRUCTURE OF THE EXECUTIVE BODY OF FRELIMO.

One of the more difficult tasks to realise, during the last five and a half years, was the creation of a structure or an executive body which would be able to direct the programme of the national liberation struggle put forth by the first Congress of FRELIMO. One of the most important factors in the difficulties

which followed the formation of FRELIMO, especially after the first Congress, was the lack of experience of the majority of the members of the Central Committee of FRELIMO, added to the fact that all of them came from different parts, with diverse intellectual preparation and possibly different political views. Therefore it was not easy to maintain unity for a long time in the leading body elected by the Congress. Almost within minutes after the last session of the Congress, some members of the Central Committee began to manoeuvre for the expulsion from this body of certain individuals. From that until the end of the year, the central executive body of FRELIMO knew no peace. Factions opposing one another developed within the organisation: one group, led by the General Secretary of FRELIMO, David Mabunda, decided to obstruct the participation in the work of another group of members of the same central body. The result was the expulsion from the Central Committee of the Secretary General himself, who had to finally leave Tanganyika, accompanied by a handful of dissident allies, such as Paulo Gumane, and Joac Mungwambe, the last of whom

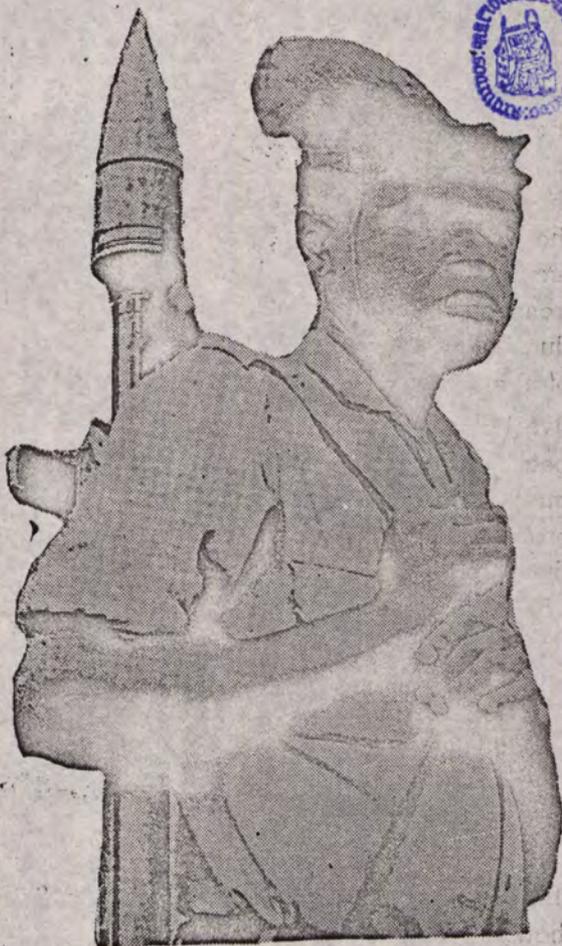


was later persuaded to return.

Concerned about the impression of division which the departure of the Secretary General of FRELIMO and of other members of the Central Committee gave to the world, the Central Committee decided to send the President of the organisation to Cairo, where some of them

had become refugees in order to try to persuade them to return to the party. The President went to Cairo and after various attempts to convince them of the necessity of reconciliation, he obtained a promise in which all of them would return to Dar Es Salaam as soon as a special permission was given by the Tanganyika Government which had expelled them. Also they committed themselves not to establish another political organisation during the negotiations for reconciliation between themselves and the Central Committee of FRELIMO. But less than ten days after the last meeting with the leaders of the group, the 1st of May, 1963. David Mabunda and his companions announced to the world press that he had revived UDENAMO, one of the three political organisations from which originated the MOZAMBIQUE LIBERATION FRONT and accused the rest of the leaders of FRELIMO of every type of crime it was possible to imagine. Later other individuals, taking advantage of the constant contradictions among independent countries of Africa and of other continents, abolished UDENAMO, and formed FUNIPAMO on the 21st May, 1963.

But these groups did not ma-



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nage to keep themselves stable for very long. A year later, some individuals who broke away from these groups formed another group called MORECO; later on, in 1965, they created COREMO, etc. Just recently another group appeared which calls itself UNAR whose president is Amos Sumane, who is at the same time vice-president of COREMO. This UNAR, which was created and is directed by the Portuguese colonialists, has as its principal object to force the Army of FRELIMO to lay down its weapons, and, as its pamphlets claim negotiate peacefully with the Portuguese Government the independence of the northern part of Mozambique which lies between the Zambezi and Ruvuma rivers.

Meanwhile the first leaders of these divisionist groups became tired of these games and decided to get out for some time from this type of politics. It is the case of Adelino Gwambe, who for a long time was the inventor of new names for the same type of organisations; David Mabunda, the first General Secretary of FRELIMO who is now in the United States of America as a student.

At the same time that these manoeuvres of the enemies of

the liberation struggle were proceeding, another type of action of the same enemy was operating in the central body of FRELIMO. I refer here to interference by foreign elements in the central structure of the movement, such as Leo Milas, who, having been introduced into the organisation by his friend Adelino Gwambe, managed to deceive some members of the Central Committee and passed himself off as Mozambican, when in truth he was an American Negro. Only after he had created various problems within the movement that there arose a suspicion that Leo Milas might be one of the counter-revolutionary agents that the enemy sometimes employs in order to destroy our movement. It was then that there proceeded a very careful investigation of the past of Leo Milas and the result was the discovery of his true origin and nationality — the United States of America, where the President of FRELIMO later succeeded in contacting his parents and confirming the discovery. Now the American Leo Milas can be found in Khartoum, Sudan, from where he sends anti-FRELIMO pamphlets to all parts of the world, financed by, we don't know who.



Meanwhile most of the members of the Central Committee, elected by the first Congress of FRELIMO continued working, carrying out the programme put forth by the Mozambican people. Now, I have the honour to present some of those who are here present, or who, in spite of being absent, are doing their duties in other parts of the national liberation struggle. Among the first members of the Central Committee who still continue in FRELIMO, we have the following :

1. EDUARDO C. MONDLANE, President.
2. URIA SIMANGO, Vice-President and Secretary for External Affairs.
- TOS, who was the first secretary.
3. MARCELINO DOS SANTOS, who was the first Secretary of the department of External Affairs, then of the Department of Interior Organisation, but now he is the Secretary of the new department of Political Affairs.
4. SILVERIO NUNGU, the Administrative Secretary
5. LOURENCO MUTACA, the Secretary for Finance, but now studying economics in the University of Stockholm.
6. MARIANO MATSINHA, who

was the deputy for Administration, but now after the death of Comrade Jaime Sigauke, was elected the Secretary of the Department of Interior Organisation.



7. MZEE LAZARO KAVANDAME, the Provincial Secretary of Cado Delgado.

8. JOAO MUNGWAMBE, who was the first Secretary of the Internal Organisation, and later of the Department of Defense and Security, and afterwards he represented FRELIMO in Algiers, for two years, and came to serve as deputy in External Affairs, and now he is a student in Switzerland.

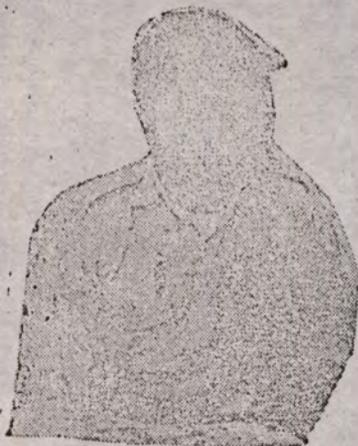
9. FELICIANO GUNDANE, for some time was the deputy of Defense and Security, and now he is in Switzerland and having been permitted to complete his studies.

10. JACOB JEREMIAS NHAMBIR, who was deputy of Defense and Security but now he is our representative of CONCP in Algiers.

11. JONAS NAMASHULUA, who is the chief of the Department of Social Affairs.

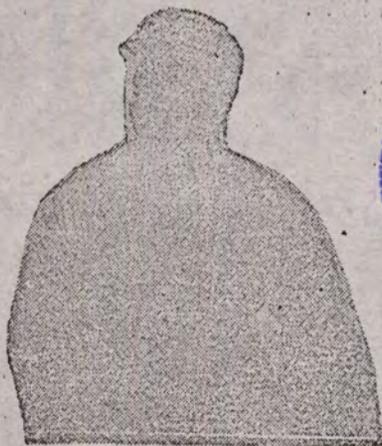
The departure of the divisionists and agents of the enemy about whom I referred above, forced the Central Committee to

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SAMORA MACHEL

Commander of the armed forces



Edwards Mondlane

president of FRELIMO



fill the gaps thus created, electing new elements among those Mozambican militians more faithful and capable. It is the case of the inclusion of the following colleagues among the Central Committee or as chiefs of Departments or as deputies or assistants.

1. The late FILIPE MAGAIA, who replaced JOAO MUNGWAMBÉ as chief of the department of Defense and Security.

2. The late JAIME R. SIGAUKE, who substituted MARCELINO DOS SANTOS as Secretary for the Department of Interior Organisation.

3. FRANCISCO SUMBANE, who took the place of CHAGONGA as chief of the department of Health, after he deserted to

the enemy.

4. PASCOAL MUCUMBI, and later, JORGE REBELO, who replaced MILINGA MALINGA in heading the Department of Information and Propaganda, after the last left the struggle and integrated himself in Tanganyikan life.

5. After the departure of Comrade LOURENCO MUTACA to Scandinavia, it was necessary to find other Mozambican militants capable of taking over the complex financial problems of FRELIMO. Happily in this there returned from abroad the first Mozambican economists graduated from Universities, Comrades MANUEL DOS SANTOS and ANTONIO BOUSTCHA who now head the Department of Finance

reproduction of an original document deposited in the National Archives of Mozambique

and Treasury.

6. The Department of education for some time was led by the Presidency but since 1964 it was necessary to establish an independent department which having been first headed by Comrade JOAO UNHAI, later came to be directed by Comrade who still occupies that position of Secretary of Education after the departure of Comrade UNHAI to continue his studies in Czechoslovakia.

7. After the death of Comrade FILIPE MAGAIA, Comrade SAMORA M. NACHEL was chosen Comrade who still occupies that position of Secretary of Education after the departure of Comrade UNHAI to continue his

the Department of Defense. 247

8. But as it was felt necessary to separate the responsibility of Security and Defense, Comrade JOAQUIM CHISSANO was nominated to lead the new Department of Security, responsibilities which had been part of the old structure of the Department of Defense and Security. As deputy of the Secretary of the Department of Defense Comrade CASAL RIBEIRO was chosen, who up to then was a political commissar of the Demany difficulties and vicissitude.

As it can be deduced from the foregoing, the structure of the present central body of FRELIMO was obtained only after



Ammunition captured from the portuguese in Mozambique

dany difficulties and vicissitudes.

The method of work followed by the Central Committee of FRELIMO is democratic centralisation, that is, all the members have the right to take individual positions on all questions, discussions guided by a unified proposal and ready to cede to the decision of the majority. Once the majority of members of the Central Committee takes a decision about a certain question, each of its components has the obligation not only to carry it out, but also defend it in the presence of those who, for one reason or another, may not understand or accept. This method of working has contributed to the good progress of the Central Committee, through the five and a half years since FRELIMO was formed and enabled it to continue to direct the struggle for national liberation. This does not mean that the members of the Central Committee always agree in everything. But each time that divergencies of opinion arise in the movement about some question or problem, the members of the Central Committee, through the five and a half years since FRELIMO was formed and enabled it to continue

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to direct the struggle for national liberation. This does not mean that the members of the Central Committee always agree in everything. But each time that divergencies of opinion arise in the movement about some question or problem, the members of the Central Committee represent a refined thermometer by means of which the popular feeling can be measured. In spite of the majority of questions discussed in the meetings of the Central Committee being concluded by a tacit agreement, many end in a vote in which the position of the majority is accepted. Sometimes this vote is secret, if the case in question is very serious.

FUNCTIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

As it is known, the First Congress of FRELIMO delegated all the responsibilities of the whole direction of the national liberation struggle to the Central Committee of the movement, which every three years must give an account of its activities to the members of the Congress. Therefore, the Central Committee of FRELIMO to this day has legislative, judicial and executive powers, functions which

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normally belong to at least two different bodies in the majority of political organisations in the world. In spite of this fact that it has contributed a certain degree of easiness in the work of directing the organisation, especially in this period of the armed struggle, it has also led to the creation of many problems which can only be resolved after the establishment of a division of responsibility into legislative, executive and judicial powers for which three distinct bodies have a specialisation in the work involved. It is for this that internal rules, which will be presented in this Congress for your appreciation and approval, were established which indicate different bodies that will carry out different responsibilities, balancing the powers of one group against another, thus giving to the Mozambican people better possibilities of expressing with effect, better justice and more productive work in the higher processes of the movement.

II. CREATION OF POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS IN THE INTERIOR.

One of the responsibilities of the Central Committee, mandated by the First Congress of

FRELIMO was to create political organisations and structures in the interior of Mozambique which later would serve as a basis on which would be launched the armed struggle and the rest of the programme of economic and social reconstruction of Free Mozambique.

In order to carry out this programme the Central Committee had to consider objectively the Mozambican situation: the conditions of political, economic and social life of the black Mozambican people and the possibilities which existed which would favour the more or less rapid mobilisation of the people.

After an analysis of the situation it appeared that the Mozambican population could be divided into three groups, in conformity with its socio-economic conditions: a) the peasants which comprise the great majority, perhaps 95 per cent of the population of the country; b) the migrant workers, which being approximately 15 per cent of the black Mozambican population, and having its permanent residence in the rural areas of the country, derived from the same population of peasants mentioned above. In this group is included the Mozambicans who work in the gold and coal



mines of South Africa, in the plantations and farms of the whites in South Africa and Rhodesia. The third group is composed of the urban proletariat, the great part of which work in private houses of the white and Asian settlers of Mozambique and of the dock workers. For each of these socio-economic groups it was necessary to elaborate a special programme, taking into consideration the conditions of life peculiar to each one. In conformity with this situation and the modern principles of the peasant masses was shown to take priority. The settlers and their economic, political and administrative machinery are supported by the police, and military forces which are concentrated in the cities and in neighbouring regions, along the sea coast and in the great means of land communications. In view of this objective situation, it was imperative that the creation of political institutions of FRELIMO should begin in the rural areas. There, the people are relatively free from constant enemy observation, despite the presence of some administrative posts which attempt to impose Portuguese authority on the traditional rural populations, using the residues

of traditional authority.

In places where para-political organisations existed, traditional or modern, FRELIMO managed to incorporate them in its political structure and reorganise them in such a way as to serve the main purpose of the national liberation struggle. Most of the regional or tribal organisations which could be converted into the structures of FRELIMO were social associations for mutual aid and agricultural cooperatives, the former preponderant in the cities while the latter ones predominated in the rural areas. The infusion into FRELIMO of cooperative organisations of the people of the Makonde plains, in MUEDA, represents a case of this characteristic type of popular association which benefitted our action among the people of the North-West of Mozambique. It was from the leaders of some of these associative groups that FRELIMO obtained important elements among its leaders. From the mutual aid associations of the Beira region, province of Manica and Sofala came some of the present members of the Central Committee, like comrades SAMUEL DHLAKAMA, URIA SIMANGO, and SILVERIO NUNGU. From the agricultural cooperative associations of the





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Northern part of Mozambique came such comrades as LAZARO KAVANDAME, JONAS NAMASHULUA, and others; from the mutual-assistance association of the cities of Lourenço Marques and CHAI—CHAI, in the South, came leaders like the late MATEUS MUTEMBA, FRANCISCO SUMBANE, and SHAFFJUDIN KHAN. Many other FRELIMO fighters who are now in the interior or in concentration camps and in political prisons of the enemy or those who continue to work underground for the launching of the armed struggle in their zones belong to this class of Mozambicans. It is proper to include here also the contribution made by religious, sports and cultural associations, which developed in Mozambique since the beginning of this century. It is the case of various Muslim associations from the urban centres of our country, of the football associations of various localities of Mozambique, and of cultural associations, such as the Associative Centre of the Negroes of Mozambique. (Centro Associativo dos Negros Mozambique) African Association (Associação Africana), and the student Nucleus (Núcleo dos Estudantes). Some of the leaders of these

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organisations are still found languishing in enemy cells, accused of being members of FRELIMO or of having helped the establishment of underground political cells aimed at the overthrow of the colonialist and fascist Salazar government.

The political organisation work of FRELIMO in the interior, especially in the regions where the armed struggle has not yet begun, continues to be done in this level of popular framework. It is only after the establishment of essential political conditions by the Department of Organisation in the Interior, that the Central Committee decided to put the rest of the action programmes to each region in Mozambique, culminating in the military intervention against police and the armed forces of the Portuguese. Having at one time started the armed struggle in any district of our country, the underground political framework of FRELIMO appears on the orbit of the society and takes stock of political and administrative leadership of the people, openly challenging Portuguese authorities. Starting from this moment onwards, the work of the liberation struggle in this region takes a completely different aspect. It is then that the

masses participate overtly in the task of struggle; the youth enmesh themselves into the ranks of the FRELIMO Army, the elderly ones enlist for the militias, the rest of the population participate in programmes of war material, provisions and medicines, while at the same time maintaining vigilance on the movements of the enemy in the whole region.

Later on in this presentation we will analyse some of the necessary details to explain how the various tasks mentioned here were framed up by FRELIMO Central Committee, and how these institutions which incorporate the functions of each kind of work cooperate among themselves. Now let us pass on to the military action programme.

III. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ARMY OF FRELIMO

The necessity for the creation of the army of FRELIMO as part of the programme for national liberation was imposed on us by the nature of Portuguese colonialism. As it is known by all present here, the regime of Dr. Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, which has been more than 40 years governing Portugal, is fascist, therefore, it is antide-



mocratic. If we emphasise the fact that colonialism, by its nature being an oppressive authoritarian system of government and by a foreign minority on the national majority, it can be easily understood why it is that the Ministry of Defense and Security that the first Congress of FRELIMO did not hesitate to mandate the Central Committee that there be established a liberation army as an integral part of the general programme of the struggle for the independence of Mozambique.

For that reason, among the decisions taken at the last plenary session of the first departments of FRELIMO that were established by the Congress and approved in WAMBE as its first secretary and the late FILIPE MAGAIA as his assistant. Within a few days after the Congress, the Central Committee sent Comrades Filipe Magaia for Algeria to go and prepare conditions necessary for the establishment of a training programme of the first FRELIMO military cadres. In the meantime, the President and the then Secretary of External Affairs, Comrade MARCELINO DOS SANTOS, was charged with the contact of leaders of the Alger-

ian Government, which had just achieved its independence from France, after a 7-year war, and was already training various nationalist groups from the other Portuguese colonies. The Algerian leaders were asked to generously include Mozambicans in their programmes of preparation of guerrillas, which was already about 50 Mozambican youth went to Algeria in the beginning of January 1963, followed by two more groups of more than 70 fighters on each group. More than half of the first group returned to East Africa in June of 1963 and the remainder returned in the beginning of 1964. Then followed a period of going to-and-fro on the part of those who had the responsibility of joining all the groups until then trained in Algeria and to establish a unified military force which would serve as a base for the development of the armed struggle in Mozambique.

The first problem that arose was to find a country, in the neighbourhood of Mozambique which would agree to the establishment of at least one camp for the military training of our fighters who would go and launch an armed struggle in our country. The problems that were



to be faced were many and complex. For example, the internal security problem of that country once it agrees to the creation of a military force which would not be completely subjected to its control; the financial problem that come out of the necessity for the maintenance of the trainees; the diplomatic problem that would ensue as soon as the Portuguese come to the knowledge of the existence in Tanganyika of such a military force that would prepare for the overthrow of their government in Mozambique, etc. It was for that reason that when Tanganyika agreed to take our soldiers, provide material facilities for the establishment of training camps for our recruits and to facilitate the entrance of all the military and civilian equipment coming from whichever part of country in the world, FRELIMO leaders were more than thankful.

The consequences of this courageous and revolutionary decision of the Tanganyika Government are well known to all the Mozambicans who work in intimate cooperation with the representatives of this neighbouring fraternal country. Since when the Portuguese government knew of the existence of mili-

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tary training centres in Tanganyika, aimed at launching an armed struggle against their power in Mozambique, they at once began a series of manoeuvres to threaten the government of Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, threats which continue up to this day. These threats include diplomatic attacks in international conferences, attacks on the Tanzanian populations who live in the Southern borders, resulting in the death of women and children or in aerial incursions, flying over the Tanzanian national territory, spreading anti-FRELIMO pamphlets, and creating rumours among the people of the country with the intention to confuse and to demoralise the people. These irritations came to such a point that in the year 1967, the Tanzanian army put a suggestion to their government that they be authorised to take direct action against the Portuguese forces stationed near the border, on the stretches of the RUVUMA River. But the Tanzanian Government, confident of the politico-military action of FRELIMO and in conformity with scientific rules of a revolutionary war of guerrillas, restrained the patriotic enthusiasm of its army, announcing in the famous pub-



lic declaration of the 25th May, 1967 (Africa Day) that for the time being the Tanzanian government will not interfere directly in the fight in which the people of Mozambique are engaged for it has complete confidence in the way in which the Mozambican people fight against the Portuguese.

We consider that the position taken by the Tanzanian government is correct and just in that this stand and many other attitudes of the government and people of Tanzania, demonstrate that there is complete coincidence of positions between us concerning the liberation struggle in Mozambique and that there exists a straight collaboration among the leaders of the parties that lead the political life of the two neighbouring countries. For that I wish to solemnly express the profound gratitude of the members of the Central Committee and through these the gratitude of our people to the government and people of Tanzania.

Let us come back to the analysis of the problems of the development of our army. As we found a neighbouring country which was completely independent with the necessary rev-

olutionary spirit and which had the moral courage to agree to take in a revolutionary movement like ours, the Central Committee was entrusted to intensify the recruitment of Mozambican volunteers, subjecting them to the toughest political and military preparation possible, making use of the few graduated cadres from Algeria. Here it is important to underline the part played by the camp of **BAGAMOYO**, our first politico-military camp. The history of the village of BAGAMOYO is a sad one because, according to Swahili philology, the word, «BAGAMOYO» means «broken heart» derived from the slave days, and perhaps on the fact that BAGAMOYO, having seen the first seat of German imperialism in East Africa, could have been referring to the efforts that the hosts of the Berlin Conference of 1885 made to emasculate the liberating spirit of the people of this African coast.

Notwithstanding these sad inference of its past, for us BAGAMOYO has come to imply **Faith and Expectation**, because it was in BAGAMOYO that the foundations of our revolutionary policy were set up. It was in BAGAMOYO that the sieve of



time helped us to select among the hundreds of Mozambican recruits those who were truly nationalist and were ready to do everything, including the ultimate sacrifice of their lives for the liberation of their country. This selection and the toughening of the Mozambican fighters was realised after many months in which we experienced difficulties of all kinds : the scarcity of food, resulting in fighters spending days having little to eat and at times even eating nothing ; shortage of clothes and shoes, causing many comrades to be dressed in rags, to do hard exercises, including cross-country runs and crawlings through thorny bushes, almost naked and without shoes and with very irregular medical supplies, etc. etc.

Owing to that, and in attempting to forestall the negative effects of this material situation, the leaders of FRELIMO were compelled to intensify political education of the recruits and to impose a military discipline such that, in spite of the shortage of the minimum material means, including the complete shortage of war material, today those who survived these conditions are among the toughest units

of the army and the political organisation of FRELIMO.

The successes obtained in the camp of KONGWA, which followed the camp of BAGAMOYO in 1964, derived, for the most part, on the work and the experience acquired in BAGAMOYO. When later on, in 1965, it became necessary to establish another camp in the South of Tanzania, FRELIMO had much reserve personnel with adequate experience and the correct political character to be able to easily dispense with the foreign cadres for the training of the basic fighters. Nowadays the basic training of the FRELIMO fighters is done in the interior of our country, completely and exclusively led by Mozambican cadres. In foreign lands there is still the necessity to make use of the goodwill of the countries which had long experience in modern warfare. For that reason the training of some of our military cadres is done in cooperation with the skill of the friendly countries of Africa, Asia, socialist Europe and Cuba.



IV-THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE OAU IN THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF MOZAMBIQUE

In the same year in which

FRELIMO began its programme of military training of its fighters the **Organisation of African Unity (OAU)** was established in Addis Ababa. Among the first programmes indicative of the spirit of unity which then hovered on the independent African people was the establishment of the co-ordination Committee for the Liberation of Africa, with its headquarters in Dar-Es-Salaam, and a Secretariat composed of citizens of some of the member countries of the OAU. It was entrusted upon the **Liberation Committee**, or the **Committee of Nine**, and later the **Committee of Eleven**, the responsibility of co-ordinating the moral and material resources from the independent African countries and to put them in the disposition of the liberation movements of the countries which are still found under colonial rule.

The Mozambique Liberation Front was not of the nationalist organisations which benefitted and continues to benefit a great deal from the assistance which the independent African countries give to those still fighting for their freedom. In this connection it merits special mention the fact that of all the countries that are still fighting for their

independence, Mozambique is the only one in which the Organisation of African Unity had the insight to identify and the moral courage to recognise only one liberation movement - FRELIMO. There is no shadow of doubt that the ease with which the OAU managed to recognise FRELIMO as the only movement which truly represents the interests and the aspirations of the Mozambican people must be credited to the action of the people themselves, who never let themselves to be easily divided by the enemy manoeuvres. From time to time the enemy tries to sow confusion among the people and in the independent states, launching names of political organisations led by puppets without scruples, who do not represent anything more than their own stomachs. Annually, at meetings of the Liberation Committee and of the heads of State of the OAU, the enemy tries to throw in names of new Mozambican political organisations, insisting that they be recognised and be given assistance also. Even now that the Liberation Committee is convening in Algeria, I am convinced that the enemy sent some of his lackeys to attempt to multiply the number of movements that



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the OAU ought to support in Mozambique, with the aim of diluting the material and moral value of the assistance from the African independent Countries.

We think that the only answer to these typical manoeuvres of the enemy is only one: **unity within FRELIMO and the intensification of the politico-military struggle in our country.** We shall come back to refer to this point later on when we discuss the problems of foreign affairs.

In relation to the material and moral assistance which we receive from the African independent states, I wish to affirm that without them our struggle could not have attained its present level. Among the African countries which help us and continue to help us, four are outstanding: **Tanzania**, to which we have already referred various times; **Algeria**, the pioneer in the training of our army; **Zambia**, whose understanding of our problems and subsequent cooperation expand from day to day, and the **United Arab Republic**, whose genuine leader, Gamal Abdel Nasser, is one of the most devoted defenders of our cause in Africa as well as the outside world. There are some African countries also, who

for the meanwhile give us assistance within and without the Organisation of African Unity, but whose constancy depends on the regularity with which FRELIMO leaders contact them and keep them informed about the progress of our struggle.

As we said previously, an important part of the technical and material support which FRELIMO receives yearly from the friendly countries outside the African continent comes from the **Peoples Republic of China**, the **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics**, the various European socialist countries, Asia and Cuba.

At this moment I would like to take this opportunity to express the gratitude of the Central Committee of FRELIMO and of the militants of the Mozambican people to the government and people of the Peoples Republic of China on the tireless work of its citizens who have trained and continue to train many of our military cadres in the art and science of modern guerrilla warfare, developed and perfected by the Chairman Mao-Tse-Tung and for the material support which the Chinese People give us through the Government of Tanzania. I would also like to

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make use of these moments to thank the Soviet Solidarity Committee with the peoples of Africa and Asia for espousing our cause before the high bodies of its party and government, which in the course of recent years, resulted in a lot of material support. It is because of it that the Soviet Government each year allows us facilities to train Mozambican cadres in certain technical and military specialities and gives us material support. In this respect it is necessary to say that despite the fact that the two above-mentioned countries have given us a higher material and technical support than any other non-African countries, during the same period under review, many other freedom-loving countries helped us a great deal within their material and technical capacities. Here I am going to refer to among others, the assistance we received from the following countries: **Bulgaria**, which gave us war material, **Hungary**, which gave us war material, clothes and medicines; the **German Democratic Republic**, which gave us medicines, clothing, all kinds of provisions and paramilitary equipment; **North Korea**, which gave us some clothes and some

provisions. From Latin America, only **Cuba** is interested sufficiently with our struggle to help us materially and technically, sending us war material and training some of our cadres. For all these and other friendly countries that have helped us and continue to give us all the assistance they can afford, the Central Committee of FRELIMO on its part and on behalf of the Mozambican people, wish to express their most sincere thanks.

Let us continue with the analysis of the development of FRELIMO army. Once are established the political, military and technical foundations inside our country, after the arduous task of setting up of the secret political cells by the organisation of the Interior, the Central Committee of FRELIMO, in its session of June, 1964, decided to launch an armed insurrection of the Mozambican people against Portugal's armed forces in Mozambique. After a careful study of the conditions of our country and the military situation of the enemy, the Central Committee decided to launch the first attacks against the Portuguese on the 25th of September, 1964. Thus said, thus done.



Before we enter into the most important stages of the armed struggle, I find it necessary to emphasise here the part played by two of our fighters in the formation of the FRELIMO army. These Mozambican militants are in the first place, the late FILIPE MAGAIA, who, as we said before, went to Algeria alone to establish the first programme for the training of Mozambican guerrillas. Later on the late Comrade Magaia administered the works of the BAGAMOYO camp and served as a linking official between FRELIMO and the Tanzanian army, who have helped us and continue to lend us a hand in the practical tasks of the struggle. Despite Comrade Magaia being absent from Africa when the Central Committee decided to launch an armed struggle, it was he who was honoured to head the Department of Defense and Security and he brilliantly led the war up to his death two years later. I ask the comrades to stand up in memory of Comrade Magaia. The other Mozambican militant whose contribution merits special mention at this moment, is the present leader of the Department of Defense, SAMORA MOISES MACHEL, who directed the politico-military training camps.

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The political line and military discipline which Comrade Samora was able to inculcate in the spirit of the fighters is so instilled in the life of the Mozambican guerrillas that now serve as the basic elements of the national liberatory struggle without which perhaps our struggle would not have proceeded as such during the later three and a half years.

The problems that followed the formation of FRELIMO army especially after the launching of the armed struggle, are many and unfortunately I do not have sufficient time to analyse them in detail in this discussion. Despite the time element, I deem it necessary to present three of the problems of our army, perhaps typical of the problems of all national liberation armies. The first has to do with the central establishment of the whole national military body which controls and leads all the forces. At times this body is called the High Command, High Military Council, or General Headquarters, etc. The problem here is: how to structure the army leadership in such a way as to produce the maximum effect possible against the enemy. Secondly, we are faced with the

problems of the solution of the first. To lead an armed struggle, based on guerrilla war tactics, making everyone become involved, be they individuals acting separately, small or big detachments of armed soldiers or militias, is a problem which preoccupies the leaders of all the world. The third problem that I also consider very serious is one of supply for the armed forces with all kinds of equipment that they would need.

As can be seen from the order in which I presented these problems, there is a hierachical sequence in their importance which also suggests that their total or partial solution requires that they be tackled in the same order. Our experience during the three and a half years of war in Mozambique shows that without a central commanding body, it is impossible to effectively coordinate the various forces that operate in such distant points of our country. In the same manner the problem of supplies cannot be resolved in an army that does not have any coordination or whose coordination leaves much to be desired.

During the first two years after the launching of the war in Mozambique, the army of

FRELIMO had no central command structure, except the Department of Defense and Security, headed by a secretary just like any other department of the organisation. Due to this the control network, coordination and supply was done without a clear apportionment of definite responsibilities. In other words, the army of FRELIMO existed and operated without a central commanding body, without specialised sections. The head of the DSD, as secretary of the department was preoccupied with all the details of military work. From time to time he would delegate his authority to another of his military colleagues, but without a fixed responsibility which would guarantee colleagues, but without a fixed responsibility which would guarantee a minimum regularity. While the guerrilla forces were very small and their action weak and limited, a certain efficiency of control and the direction of the work could be effected. But as soon as the number of guerrillas in action and training increased and the region where the fighting was taking place expanded, the necessity for the establishment of a central military commanding body became imperative.



It was due to this that the second and last session of the Central Committee of 1966, it was decided that the army of FRELIMO be reorganised in such a way as to have a **High Command** or a like body, with its headquarters at a certain point in the Interior or outside depending on the communication facilities with all the regions in the fight. The implementation of this decision resulted in the formation of the present National Commanding Council which is now functioning, headed by the Secretary of the Department of Defense (DD) and composed of the following:

- a) Secretary of the DD; b) his assistant who is also the **Political Commissar** of the army; and 12 more leaders of army sections, thus :

- 1) Operations; 2) Recruitment, training and formation of cadres; 3) Logistics (supplies); 4) Reconnaissance; 5) Transmission and communications; 6) Information and military publications (which edits the newspaper « 25 » September); 7) Administration; 8) Finance; 9) Health; 10) Political Commissariat; 11) Military Security.

All the leaders of the sections

of the army are found constantly in motion, visiting and carrying out the work in various parts of Mozambique where the military operations are in progress. In the Command headquarters each two weeks, presided by the **President** or by the **Vice-President** of FRELIMO if one or the other of these officials of the organisation are found in the headquarters, or by the **Secretary of the Department of Defense**.

The section of work of the Council of Command is, like that of the Central Committee of FRELIMO, **Democratic Centralism**, in which all the leaders of the sections present their work in the form of reports and discuss all the details, at the end of which they take decisions which they later execute, in conformity with the directions established by the Central Committee of FRELIMO.



In each province where the armed struggle has already been launched, the army of FRELIMO is structured in the following manner :

- i) Provincial Chief, who is also under-secretary of the province; ii) Provincial Assistant Chief; (ii) Political Commissar; iv) Operational Chief etc..

the rest of the structure is the same as that of National structure, and also that of the District level. The effect of this new structure of the army, which was put into effect in the beginning of 1967, was the almost immediate pressure of the work of military action in all fronts. The communications which poured in constantly from the Provinces and the districts in war began to reach the headquarters of the army and the movement with more regularity, the flux of war material and other essential equipment for the war became more effective, the recruitment of new elements for the ranks of the guerrillas reached higher proportions; for that reason our forces multiplied in number and our capacity to engage the enemy and the plans for the creation of programmes of action of a major extent against the enemy materialised. In short, with the restructuring of the army of FRELIMO in the above stated way, the military programme of national liberation became more clear and the enemy felt the weight of our action against his armed forces.

V. CENTRALISATION OF ADMINISTRATION IN FRELIMO

At the same time that the

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leaders of FRELIMO exerted themselves to regularise the work of the central body of the organisation the Central Committee, they were preoccupied with the systematisation of the central bureaucracy, administration, without which the flux of things inside the movement could not be realised. The Department of Administration, which since its establishment in the first Congress of FRELIMO has been, and continues to be headed by Comrade SILVERIO NUNGU, the responsibilities of this important Department were well defined in the Internal Regulation which will be presented in this Congress for approval. For that reason we are going to limit the description of its purpose and the general logic of the work to help those who, perhaps by natural aversion, do not like any kind of central administration, labelling it **bureaucracy**, in the most pejorative sense of this word. Therefore, to better understand the value of administrative centralisation in any organisation, we must try to remember the many confusions of work that FRELIMO knew in the first two years after its formation. It is even not necessary to go so many years back, to see what still goes on in certain depart-

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ments of FRELIMO this day, whose leaders still have not understood the value of centralisation and the systematisation of their work. Here I have to tell the comrades to use a bit of their imagination to avoid embarrassing some of the inmembers of the Central Executive body of FRELIMO, including to a certain extent, the very speaker.

The administration of FRELIMO has as its main responsibilities a) to control the movement of all civilians of FRELIMO b) to control all movable and immovable property to the organisation including registration transfer, buying, sale, entrance and departure of all kinds to equipment, material and utensils possessed by FRELIMO, putting up to date an inventory of all that there is in the organisation. c) preparing membership cards of FRELIMO and distributing them to all the points where they can be sold to new members of FRELIMO, and to maintain a list of all the members of FRELIMO, including their curriculum vitae; d) to control the movement of correspondence in the organisation; e) to engage, control and to give passes to the civilians of the organisation; to represent FRELIMO in all rela-

tions and contacts with organisations and administrative institutions and external relations of the organisation.



Those among us who in the last two years spent some days in our Central Bureau in Dar Es Salaam certainly were exposed to some of the positive and negative effects of the work which the responsibilities above-mentioned imply. Each time a militant arrives in any point where there is FRELIMO in function and is not well served, he always remembers with bitterness and easily accuses the Department of Administration for not having portioned the facilities of the work or the amenities of which one thinks has a right. How many times in which the President of FRELIMO did not receive telephones from short or long distance, often in the middle of the night, in which was heard an angry voice, which accused the Administration Department of not having given someone food, bed to sleep, permit to go from one place to another, a pair of trousers or shoes for him or for his wife or children, etc. etc.. I do not like to mention here the price in money which these calls cost the organisation. Unfortunately those who easily get irri-

tated by some side-steps or even simple inefficiency here and there, forget and at times purposely ignore that most of the administrative work of FRELIMO goes on very well. Those work of the Department of Administration since 1963 and who saw the big achievements that were made to perfect its functioning and efficiency, have the obligation to present their good wishes to «Mr. Administrator», alias Comrade SILVERIO NUNGU, and his «clerks», Comrades KAWAWA, LOPES TEMBE and others.

VI. EDUCATION AND NATIONAL CULTURE.

As the whole world knows, one of the characteristics of Portuguese colonialism is the almost complete lack of interest in the scientific and cultural education of the peoples found under its control. This generalisation applies in the case of Mozambique as a Portuguese colony. It can also be affirmed, with out danger of contradiction, that in the education of the blacks of all the Portuguese colonies in Africa, Mozambique has been the most neglected by the Portuguese government. Before the abolition of the indigenous system is

1961, the black Mozambican child who wanted and could study could only get places in the few missionary schools ; and as these were found to be few, the majority of our overwhelmed children had not the slightest possibility of even learning how to read and write. The few who used to go to the missionary schools spent the major part of their time memorising words of the Christian doctrine and working in the mission farms. Until 1961 only some of the children of public servants who lived in the cities got admissions in the few secondary technical and academic schools of the colony. Until then the educational situation of the African child in Mozambique was so miserable that more than 80 per cent of our children did not go to school, and less than 200 African children attended high school courses, and only 2 black people had done their high school course in Mozambique.

Therefore, the first Congress of FRELIMO, aware of these and other sad facts of the situation of the African child in Mozambique, decided to include Education and Culture to its general programme of action against Portuguese colonialism. For the execution of this programme,



the first Congress gave a mandate to the Central Committee to establish a system of selection of Mozambican youths capable of continuing their studies and to give them the means of leaving the country for overseas where they could get places in the secondary and higher institutions.

The carrying out of this mandate of the first Congress of FRELIMO by the Central Committee was done in various stages and since 1962 it underwent many changes in reaction to the problems which arose in the passage of time. For example, the first preoccupation of FRELIMO leaders was that of looking for scholarships in foreign countries for the Mozambican students who would like to continue their studies on secondary and university levels. But, within a short time, it was discovered that while some friendly governments and organisations offered many secondary and university scholarships, the number of Mozambican African youth who could qualify for them was scanty. It was therefore necessary to establish a special programme for the academic preparation of those Mozambican students who could have the possibility to

continue their higher studies. The idea culminated in the Mozambique Institute, which was established in Dar Es Salaam in mid 1963.



The original purpose of the Mozambique Institute was to establish a collegiate centre in which Mozambican refugee youths could live, studying in the secondary schools of Dar Es Salaam so that afterwards they could acquire scholarships to continue their higher studies in foreign countries or to integrate in the national liberation struggle. However, when it was later noted that the academic level reached by a Mozambican youth, entitling him for admission into a Portuguese secondary school, was not enough to guarantee him access into the Tanzanian school, it was decided to create conditions which would give him academic elements necessary to fill the gap which exists between the two secondary systems. It was here where the high school programme of the Mozambique Institute developed.

In the meantime the African American Institute was establishing a secondary school for refugees from East Africa in Dar Es Salaam, including the Mo-

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zambican students. Owing to the English language which is the medium of instruction in American schools, it was necessary to include an accelerated teaching of the language in our Institute programme.

The source of funds through which we bore the construction of the first building of the Mozambique Institute was the Ford Foundation of the United States of America, which granted us approximately shs. 500,000/— in June, 1963. As this donation was not repeated in the following year, we had to look for some other sources of financial support so that we could continue with our work. Fortunately in 1964 and the years that followed, until today, we were lucky enough to receive subsidies from SIDA, which is a Swedish foundation for the assistance of underdeveloped countries. Later we received funds from other Scandinavian governments and humanitarian and religious organisations from various parts of the world. From the socialist countries we had received educational, technical and material aid, such as teachers and scientific laboratory equipment. Since 1963 up to now the

programme of the Mozambique Institute underwent various changes and transformations due to the general growth of the work of FRELIMO, and the various factors related to the struggle. The most important changes resulted from the decisions of the Central Committee of FRELIMO, which in October, 1960, gave a mandate to the Department of Education that it transforms the programme of the struggle. Just now the main function of the Institute is to serve as a national planning centre for the secondary, primary and technical education programmes of FRELIMO. The Mozambique Institute also serves as a conduit of funds from various sources to meet the expenses of education in the liberated zones of the country.

The organisation and the structure of the rest of the programmes of education follow the same pattern as the other departments of FRELIMO. In the central core of the organisation, Education and Culture is guided and controlled by the Department of Education and Culture, headed by Comrade ARMANDO GUEBUZA. The Secretary of Education controls and monitors all the educational work of the Mozambique Institute, in-



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institutions, including the secondary school, the Nursing Aides School and all the primary schools of the Interior and the outside of Mozambique, created by FRELIMO.

To end this chapter, it is necessary to present, in short, the philosophy which guides FRELIMO in its efforts to try to provide facilities for the education of the Mozambican youth. It is necessary to say something about this for all the liberation movements, FRELIMO concerns itself much more with the establishment of centres of education than any other. Part of the reason has already been given in the beginning of this chapter, when referring to the fact of education in Mozambique having been neglected by the Portuguese colonialists. But the most important reason is that the leaders of FRELIMO want a total revolution in Mozambique; that is, in order that the Mozambican people can be able to free themselves from the tentacles of Portuguese colonialism and imperialism they have to change all what has been implanted by the enemy, including the reactionary ideas which the enemy inculcated. We think that the school is one of the national

institutions which should undergo a profound change so that our people can be able to feel completely free.

At a time when our people are engaged in a war against the Portuguese armed forces, we think that everybody should participate; that is, everyone: youth, adults, old people, men, women and even children should participate in the national liberation struggle. The students who are in our primary schools in the Interior and outside; the students who go to technical and secondary schools of FRELIMO, all should always be ready to participate in any task imposed by the national liberation struggle. The students pursuing higher courses in foreign countries are also affected by the national liberation struggle; for that reason, at any time that the struggle demands the interruption of studies from anyone of them, they should agree to return to the motherland to participate in its defence. This is the central policy of FRELIMO without which there is no revolutionary war in Mozambique.

However, despite this policy having been clearly announced to all orally, through writing

and by all means of communications, there are still some individuals, within and without the country who pretend not to understand it or not to know it. In this respect we have to be frank, the attitude of these who create, confusions and difficulties in FRELIMO does not stem from their lack of understanding or from the ignorance of the official line of FRELIMO on the purpose of education. NO : The problem is that these Mozambican confusionists do not agree with us. They do not want the complete and total destruction of the vestiges of Portuguese colonialism and imperialism in Mozambique. Their problem stems also from their not wanting to endanger their own lives. They want that other fight and that some should die so that later after independence they would govern. In other words, some Mozambicans want privileges now and after independence. FRELIMO insists on telling them : you cannot have your cake and eat it too. They are either revolutionaries or not revolutionaries. If they are revolutionaries they should be ready to do all that the revolution demands from all the Mozambicans.

This problem underlies the

attitude of the majority of the secondary school students of the Mozambique Institute at this moment. They want to learn and at the same time they want independence without having participated in the struggle to achieve that end. Because they think that after independence, it is not those who fought who are going to rule the country, but those who have been studying : the so-called intellectuals. Here is the root of controversy which divides the militants and leaders of FRELIMO from some of the students and «intellectuals» of Mozambique.

VII. SOCIAL ASSISTANCE PROBLEM.



The social problems during the national liberation struggle are related, to a certain extent to the problems that are found in education for a large proportion of them result from the disinterest and the insensitivity of the Portuguese colonial system on the problems of the black people and the fact of being in a war.

The Mozambican social problems which preoccupy us more are found mainly in the regions affected by the armed struggle. Most of them result from the

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displacement of the populations from their traditional habitation centres either to foreign countries or to regions formerly uninhabited. Any political movement worth anything, from any number of people, creates psychological and social problems which always need special attention on the part of its leaders. This is exactly our case today.

Even before the beginning of the armed struggle, as soon as the enemy understood that FRELIMO was preparing for a confrontation with him, he began to pursue a great number of our peasant and urban populations, thinking that in that way he could prevent them from participating in the struggle or to support the armed forces of FRELIMO. It is known that between June, 1962 and September 1964, hundreds, not to say thousands of Mozambicans were being witch-hunted, many of them were imprisoned, by the Portuguese colonial authorities in all the provinces of Mozambique. Many of them are still found in prisons and concentration camps of the enemy. Among the Mozambicans who were being rounded up, some managed to escape and sought refuge in neighboring countries. Most of the present leaders of

FRELIMO were at one time refugees in neighbouring countries.



Therefore, since the formation of FRELIMO, it has always been necessary to establish a system of social assistance to the refugees who are now in Tanzania, Zambia and Ma'awi. In the first phase of our organisation, almost all the work of FRELIMO consisted in helping the refugees in these three neighbouring countries. Later, when the war started, the number of refugees that entered into Tanzania grew so much in such a short time that it was impossible for FRELIMO to give them the assistance that they deserved. It was necessary to make an appeal to religious and humanitarian organisations which had better financial and human resources to take care of the responsibilities which were presented.

The development of the Department of Social Affairs took the following path : a) when the Department of Social Affairs was established in 1963, under the direction of Comrade URIA SIMANGO, the Vice-President of FRELIMO, the problems which were our main preoccupation were those of the Mozambicans who were in

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Tanzania, Zanzibar and Mombasa. The work of the department was almost exclusively centred around the distribution of means of livelihood, clothes, medical assistance money and the payment of rents for the homes of the individuals who were considered refugees. b) After the beginning of the armed struggle, the Department of Social Affairs expanded its work to include help to the thousands of refugees who were leaving Mozambique daily for the Southern regions of Tanzania. In this period the refugees' problems grew in such a rate that the organisation could not attend even to the minimum of their material needs.

The Central Committee limited itself to contacts with organs of the Tanzania Government which had responsibilities for refugees and with humanitarian and religious organisations. The Tanzanian Government established a special section in the Second Vice-President's Office to take care of the Mozambique refugees problems. Likewise, FRELIMO, in cooperation with this section of the Tanzaniann Go-

vernment and with religious and international humanitarian organisations, took steps to alleviate the suffering of many Mozambican refugees in the MTWARA and RUVUMA Regions. In various emergency operations which fell in the line of flux of our people for Tanzania, FRELIMO became involved in the solution of various problems that followed, such as epidemics, shortage of clothing and food and helped in the establishment of permanent residence camps of Rutamba, Mbamba Bay and others. c) The third preoccupation of FRELIMO also was concentrated in the situation of the Mozambicans in the interior who, because of the constant attacks of the enemy, became displaced from their villages. This displacement brought about various epidemics that attacked many people and it was necessary that FRELIMO does something to limit their effect and when possible, to limit the number of deaths. Here also the larger part of the assistance that



could be given was to be of a medical nature. For the time being, FRELIMO sent clothes to the various regions of our country whose populations were found completely separated from the enemy commercial centres.

At the present time the **Department of Social Affairs** is directed by Comrade Jonas Namashulua.

The policy of the Central Committee concerning the refugees is the following : a) that during the war, all the Mozambicans should be resident in the Interior of the country so that they participate in all responsibilities imposed by the war. That is, FRELIMO, leading a revolutionary war of guerrillas, needs the constant support of all the Mozambican people in country. For that no persons should be allowed a voluntary exit from Mozambique. Therefore, the Mozambicans who are refugees in the neighbouring countries of Zambia, Malawi and Tanzania are being en-

couraged to return to Mozambique to participate in the struggle against enemy.



It would be unfair for us to end this analysis without making a particular mention of the generous and disinterested contribution of the services of social assistance to the Mozambican refugees who are displaced in the Interior. Most of this assistance comes from Catholic and Protestant organisations from various parts of the world. In this respect I am going to point out especially the work that **The United Nations High Commission for Refugees** in Tanzania and Zambia, from whom we benefitted dozens of thousands of Mozambican refugees who are found in these two countries. The United Nations High Commission for Refugees also given funds to the humanitarian and religious organisations which handle social assistance programmes to the Mozambicans who are found in the various refugee camps of Tanzania and Zambia.

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VIII. FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF FRELIMO.

The capacity of FRELIMO to obtain sufficient funds to meet the expenses of the war, depend, for the most part, on the economic situation of the African people of Mozambique. If the economic situation of our people was more favourable than it is, the organisation would have little difficulty in acquiring funds to support its work. But as our African people are found in a miserable economic situation, the acquisition of adequate funds to carry out the work of the war becomes very difficult.

In a protracted war like this, it is necessary that the people be self-reliant in everything including the financing of the various programmes of the war. For that it is necessary that the economic efforts of the various social strata of Mozambique be joined together : the peasants who produce many types of foodstuffs and other negotiable agricultural products, should

produce more so that there may be a surplus ; those who work in the primary and secondary industries or in the harbours and railways, and earn a certain amount of cash, they should pay monthly quotas to the central organisation so that it may meet the expenses of the work. The same applies to the workers in the Portuguese colonial Government in Mozambique, these should contribute monthly that which they can afford from the salary which they receive regularly. It is in this way that our people can hold on until independence.



But modern warfare requires material and military equipment that cost much more than what can be paid from the material and financial resources of our people. Consequently, it is still necessary that the countries that support our struggle continue helping us with all that they can afford to offer. For that reason, we are always going to make efforts to maintain contacts with the countries and

people which have an interest in our struggle, informing them of all that can facilitate the understanding of our problems to the point that will enable them to channel us assistance of which we have dire need.

Presently, the assistance that FRELIMO receives from the friendly countries is distributed in the following manner: a) war material, b) textiles, clothes sets and clothing, c) foodstuffs; d) medicines; e) military and civilian technicians; f) school equipment, including books and laboratory equipment; g) funds.

The sources of this assistance is divided into three parts:

- 1) the socialist countries of Europe and Asia which offer us most of the articles included in the a, b, c d and e) groups above;
- 2) Scandinavian and socialist countries of European and North American humanitarian and religious organisations which offer us things listed in the f) and g) group, and the African countries, who give us

mainly funds through the African Liberation Committee and bilaterally.

As can be seen from the above distribution, the socialist countries offer us those things which, if we were to buy, could cost us a great deal of money: military material. Therefore, it is correct to conclude that the socialist countries of Europe and Asia, give us more help in our struggle than any other people, if by that we are not to undervalue the value of that which we receive from the other sources.



Whatever possibilities there may be for us to continue to receive material and financial assistance from outside, we must not depend on them. The laws of modern armed struggle and of a protracted war demands the people involved to depend more and more on themselves. To uplift our struggle with efficiency, we must depend on our own moral and material efforts and on no one else.

IX. FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The problems which we have just finished discussing in analysing our economic situation are found intimately linked to those of our relations with foreign countries. Despite our determination to maintain a self-supporting policy in all, we are not living in an isolated world; we are in an African continent, linked to them by bonds of race culture, economic and social conditions, with all other people who inhabit this continent. The history of our people during the 5 centuries is the same as that of our brothers who inhabit the surrounding territories. Our socio-economic condition, in the world context, is the same as that of all the African people in the rest of Africa, Asia and Latin America. On the other hand, our enemy, Portugal, is intimately linked in a chain of relations with other powers and political, economic and military forces which covers part of Europe, the Americans, and Southern Africa. Therefore, a challenge

to Portugal is equivalent to a challenge on all its allies. Just a point of contention with the Portuguese Government, our independence is not only for our interest, but for all the countries of the world.

Consequently, it is important that FRELIMO should establish more or less permanent relations with the other people of Africa, Asia and other continents, to keep them informed about what goes on in our country, of our preoccupations, problems and work.

In the central structure of the organisation, these contacts with the outside world are maintained through the Department of Foreign Affairs, which since the first Congress until the end of 1967 was headed by Comrade MARCELINO DOS SANTOS and which is now in the hands of Comrade Vice President URIA SIMANGO.

The points of contacts which FRELIMO has with the people of Africa and overseas are



i) the African Liberation Committee, which as had already been, has its headquarters in Dar Es Salaam; ii) the international solidarity organisations such as the Afro-Asian Association, supported by Afro-Asian Committees of the various countries of Africa and Asia; iii) the Tri-continental Solidarity Organisation, which unites the forces of the Third world; iv) and the bilateral relations which FRELIMO tries to maintain with political and cultural organisations, e.c., the progressive forces of the rest of the world

In order for us to maintain the interests of all these forces the Department of Foreign Affairs established representation centres in strategic points of the world, such as Dar Es Salaam, Cairo, Lusaka, Algeria, New York, Moscow, Stockholm, etc. each one of which controls the distribution of information about our struggle to the surrounding regions.

Our foreign policy was de-

finied by the first Congress as being one of solidarity with all the people who suffer from the yoke of colonialist and imperialist oppression, ready to cooperate with all the forces who fight against colonialism and against forces that are favourable to the exploitation of man by man. In this manner it can be deduced that FRELIMO associates itself with the efforts exercised by the African peoples, Asia and Latin America, to liberate themselves from the racist, political and economic yoke of the whites of the Americas, Europe and Southern Africa.

In this respect, it is necessary to point out that FRELIMO condemns the aggression and genocidal war which the United States Government is waging in Vietnam. We think that if there are internal problems to be resolved in Vietnam, it is only the Vietnamese who can solve them, and no one else. On that account, we insist that the American armed forces



and their allies unconditionally quit Vietnam and leave the Vietnamese people to resolve their problems by themselves. And here we wish to salute the heroic struggle which the people of South Vietnam are carrying out under the direction of the National Liberation Front.

We condemn Israeli expansionism. Particularly, we condemn the Israeli aggression of June 1967 against the Arab Peoples in which part of the Arab territory was occupied by the Israeli forces. Our position is that Israel must withdraw from the territories it occupied and cease all acts of aggression against the Arab peoples.

At the same time, we support the just struggle of the Palestinian people to regain their rights, that have been usurped by Israel, backed by the imperialist powers.

We also associate ourselves with American Negroes attitudes, who are now engaged in a struggle against American ra-

cism. We believe that the Afro-American is entitled to complete enjoyment of the rights which the American citizenship confer upon all without discrimination.

In connection with the African people of Angola, Guinea, South Africa, Zimbabwe, and South West Africa, who, like us, still suffer under the yoke of colonialism and European racism FRELIMO shares in their griefs and is ready to cooperate with the revolutionary organisations who fight for the liberation of their people.

X. PROBLEMS OF INFORMATION, PUBLICITY AND PROPAGANDA.

The last but not least of the important problems of structuration and development of work of FRELIMO is the one of collection, compilation and the diffusion of information to the whole people of Mozambique and for all the foreign people who are interested in supporting our struggle against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism. For that purpose the



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Central Committee of FRELIMO established the Department of Information and Propaganda, which, after for some time being headed by Comrade PASCOAL MOCUMBI, and then to be headed temporarily by Comrade JUDAS HONWANA, is now effectively directed by Comrade JORGE REBELO.

The principal function of the Department of Information and Propaganda is to keep our people well informed about 1) the work of FRELIMO; 2) the part the people should play in the implementation of this work, 3) the divisionist and propagandist manoeuvres of the enemy and how to fight them, and with the cooperation with Education and Culture, try to uplift the cultural level of our people. Besides that, the Department of Information and Propaganda should serve as a permanent source of information and publicity for all the peoples who have interest in our struggle, making use of the immense services of the Inter-

national Press, from the foreign embassies in each capital where we have permanent representation, etc.



The work that has been done so far in FRELIMO includes, among others, a) a periodic publication of a bulletin in Portuguese - 'A Voz da Revolucao', in English, Mozambique Revolution, and in French; b) a weekly edition of military news despatch and a journal, '25th September'; c) and the publication of various propaganda pamphlets in Portuguese and in some of the more important Mozambican languages. The Department of Information and Propaganda is also entrusted with the preparation and direction of works of the External Services section of Radio Tanzania for Mozambique which are broadcast daily and listened to with keen interest in our country. These programmes of information and propaganda of FRELIMO are presented in various African languages, besides Portuguese. They include,

among others, daily world news of the liberation war in Mozambique and the other Portuguese colonies, specially prepared and taped speeches about various themes of political, economic, scientific and cultural interest.

It is somewhat superfluous to say that, without the information, publicity and propaganda services, it would be difficult for the people from the various parts of our country to closely follow the development of the national liberation struggle. Due to that, it is necessary that all possible efforts be made to facilitate the flow of all the information about all that goes on and that which has revolutionary value in our struggle, so that our information services, publicity and propaganda could enrich its programmes.

xi. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

Comrades, Delegates,
Comrades visitors and observers,

The problem that FRELIMO

encountered in trying to establish the leadership and a well structured organisation are many and complex. In this excessively summarised exposition we are trying to give you an idea of the bodies who since the last Congress created the personages who played a positive or negative part in FRELIMO, the problems that ensued and the manner in which the Central Committee tackled them.

As you have noticed, we shall not go deep into the analysis of anyone of the problems presented here except perhaps go roughly over them to facilitate their identification. We expect that during the discussions that will follow, the delegates can analyse with much care some of the problems posed.

In short, the Central Committee which was elected by the first Congress of FRELIMO fulfilled its mandate in the following manner : a) it created and put into operation a Central body which led and contin-



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RESOLUTIONS



RESOLUTIONS ON THE ARMED STRUGGLE.

1. The Portuguese government is a colonialist, fascist government that still maintains the myth that Mozambique is a Portuguese Province, and, consequently, «part and parcel of Portugal». It still does not recognise the right of the Mozambican people to their national independence.

Nationalist demonstrations are violently repressed with massacres, killings, tortures, assassinations.

Under these conditions, and in order to face all forms of colonialist oppression and repression, the Mozambican people have decided to follow resolutely the way of armed struggle, by fighting a decisive war of independence or death.

2. The Portuguese colonialists have dominated and exploited the Mozambican people for a very long time. Today: they still have the control of the means of production in those regions of Mozambique where they exert their domination.

Their military force is a powerful one. Besides the army, they have an air force and navy. Despite the rapid growth of our military power, the Portuguese colonialist army is even stronger. On the other hand, we still have great material needs. We need weapons, medicines, means of transport, etc., which, at this phase of our struggle, we have to get from

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abroad. We also need technicians. So that, with respect to the supply of material and training of technicians: we shall continue for some time to depend on external aid.

Furthermore, the geographical and political situation of our country, as well as the political situation of the neighbouring countries—Swaziland, South Africa, Rhodesia, Malawi — makes it difficult to extend the war further to the South. To carry war material into Zambezia, Mozambique, Manicae Sofala, Inhambane, Gaza and Lourenco Marques Provinces, we have to overcome many difficulties.

All these factors put together build the existing imbalance of forces between us and the enemy. Though politically stronger, we are still militarily weak. In order to get our victory, we have no other way out but to change the direction of this imbalance; we will do it, but for that a great effort is required from us. Our war will therefore be a hard and long one.

3. Our struggle is a people's struggle. It requires the total participation of all the masses of the people. For this reason, it is necessary to intensify the mobilisation and the organisation of the masses in the liberated zones, as well as in the regions where the armed struggle has not yet started.

The direct participation of all in the armed struggle is, therefore, one of the main objectives of the people's mobilisation effort.

In the present phase of our struggle, our main armed forces are made up of the regular guerrilla forces, but people's militias do also play a very important role. People's militias are part and parcel of the populations. They are supplementary to the guerrilla forces and they are fixed in the territory in which they work. All the people — old young, women and men — who are not part of the guerrillas: must be part of the militias.

People's militias should at the same time satisfy the needs of production, vigilance and defence. In the liberated and se-





in liberated zones; people's militias do in particular the following work :

- transport of material and the sick;
- reconnaissance and patrol of the zones in which they work against the infiltration of enemy troops and agents;
- fighting, when the enemy invades the region.

People's militias do take part in heavy fighting, when that is called for.

The organisation of people's militias is an important form of integrating the masses into the armed struggle. In this way, at every place sufficient and militarily prepared forces are created. People's militias are therefore reserve forces.

4. In order to realise more completely and efficiently the participation of the Mozambican women in the struggle, a women's detachment has been created whose main functions are :

- a) mobilisation and organisation of the masses;
- b) recruitment of young people of both sexes to be integrated into the armed struggle;
- c) production;
- d) transport of material;
- e) military production for the populations.

5. The phenomenon of desertion is not a specific characteristic of the struggle for liberation of Mozambique. There are desertions in most countries, even in the absence of war.

In the movement for National Liberation of Mozambique, desertions have many causes.

Many comrades are engaged in the struggle because they really have a nationalist, political conscience. But there are some whose national feeling is very weak. There are other who, after committing transgressions, fear punishment by the

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Portuguese authorities. Then, to escape from punishment, they engage themselves in the nationalist movement. Persons with such a behaviour often fail: they are unable to withstand difficult guerrilla's life, and they can hardly acquire nationalist political conscience. So they desert. And once out of the movement, they give themselves to inventing excuses to justify themselves. Some spread every kind of rumour in order to discredit the leaders, divorce them from the masses, and disintegrate the struggle. Others give themselves up to the Portuguese. Desertions are grave crimes. Desertors are enemies of the Mozambican people:

6. Prisoners of war have a political importance for us. We should treat them well. Through them, we can obtain information on the enemy. We should reeducate them as much as possible, and, according to our interests, eventually let them free.

We may also use prisoners as hostages to be exchanged for our comrades who may be in the Portuguese colonial prisons. In this way, we would be showing to the world that we are fighting against Portuguese colonialism and not against the Portuguese people; we would be breaking the fighting morale of the enemy's army, and encouraging its soldiers' desertions.

The II Congress decides, therefore, that FRELIMO should continue to apply the policy of clemency with regard to captured enemy soldiers.

7. Our war is essentially a political war, and its direction is defined by the party. The people's army is part and parcel of the party, and its strategic plans are made by the top leadership of the party.

In order to conduct correctly the struggle, all the leaders should be involved in the armed struggle. Only in this way, following the struggle step by step, the leaders can be able to solve all the complex problems arising daily. The people's army performs its task in accordance with the policy defined by FRELIMO.

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RESOLUTIONS ON ADMINISTRATION OF THE LIBERATED ZONES.

1. The administration of the liberated zones aims at establishing the people's power. Only through an adequate administration it will be possible to consolidate the defence of the liberated zones, to promote its growth and the economic and social progress of the people, and thus to lay the basis for a victorious development of the revolutionary, armed struggle for national liberation.



The direction of the administration in the liberated zones will be undertaken by committees at the several organic levels of FRELIMO — Provincial, District, Local etc., — as stated in the general regulations.

People's management committees, elected by the people themselves, shall be created, whenever possible, to supervise general tasks.

The Provincial Committee, the District Committee or the Local Committee, each at its level shall direct the establishment of these people's management committees, and shall render them, whenever needed and as possible, the necessary technical assistance.

2. The II Congress maintains that only when the Provincial structures are functioning conveniently, it will be possible to administer correctly the liberated zones. For this reasons the II Congress rules that :

- a) clear guidance shall be given to the various provincial organs, so that they may realise completely their functions;
- b) adequate control system for the provincial organs shall be organised;
- c) leaders of FRELIMO shall make frequent visits to the provinces;
- d) the various positions in each of the provincial organs shall be conveniently and effectively filled;

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e) necessary sections shall be established which shall function under the provincial administration:

f) training of technical cadres needed by the provinces shall be accelerated.

3. Furthermore, the II Congress rules that :

a) provincial budget shall essentially depend on the production of the province;

b) all necessary efforts shall be made such that Mozambicans who have sought refuge abroad may return to Mozambique.

c) Judicial Committees shall be created which shall look over the execution of the laws.

RESOLUTIONS ON NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION.

1. The II Congress notes that the building of a new life in the liberated zones is a requirement of the struggle for national liberation. The liberated zones shall constitute the material basis for growth of our revolutionary armed struggle for national liberation. In that sense, the growth of production assumes special importance.

It is necessary for us to produce progressively the material goods we need for the growth of our armed struggle. We should promote the development of agriculture, industry, cottage industries, always directing our activities towards the meeting of the interests of our people's revolution.

Hand in hand with production, we shall develop commerce, both internal and external. We should also promote the development of education and health services. At the same time we should promote our national culture by developing the positive values of our regional customs now enriched by our effort to create a new reality : a united and free Mozambique.

All these aspects of our efforts for national reconstruction are closely connected, and for efficiency of work, it is imperative that all sectors will be useless.

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To carry on our work, we have to overcome various difficulties and solve many problems, some very pressing ones, such as population dispersion into small settlements separated by large distances, the lack of means of communication, the scarcity of cadres. In order to face these problems, measures shall be taken with a view to :

a) Promoting, whenever possible, the resettlement of the populations;

b) Encouraging Mozambican refugees in neighbouring countries to return to Mozambique in order to take part in national reconstruction tasks;

c) Intensifying the training of cadres necessary for the execution of the various tasks dictated by the Revolution.

Whenever deemed necessary and indispensable, foreign technicians shall be recruited, who accept to follow the political line and the Programme of FRELIMO.

2. More specifically, the II Congress of FRELIMO rules that :

(i) ON PRODUCTION AND COMMERCE.

a) Agricultural production shall be developed, such that we may get all we need for food as well as the raw materials for production of soap, fabrics, etc.

b) Technical and scientific level of production shall be promoted.

c) Defence of agriculture fields shall be more and more consolidated;

d) Organisation of agricultural, commercial, and industrial cooperatives shall be developed;

(ii) ON EDUCATION.

a) Development of primary schools shall be accelerated;

b) Teacher training programme for primary schools shall

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be developed in order to raise rapidly its number and its technical level;

c) Intensive literacy campaigns among the masses of the people, men women, old and young people shall be promoted.

d) Special courses for raising rapidly the level of knowledge of the militants shall be organised;

e) Young Mozambican women shall be encouraged to complete at least primary school education;

f) Production centres shall be created at every school places for self-maintenance;

g) A system shall be established which shall make it possible for the students to interrupt temporarily their studies in order to participate in teaching and literacy campaigns;

h) It shall be the duty of all Mozambican students to take part, whenever it may be deemed necessary, in the various tasks of the struggle for national liberation;

i) Development of schools of political training shall be promoted.

(iii) ON HEALTH.

a) Intensive campaigns shall be promoted for obtaining medicines and medical supplies, throughout the world;

b) Establishment of medical centres shall be promoted in the regions that will be successfully liberated.

c) Organisation of transport of medicines and medical supplies shall be organised for the various regions.

RESOLUTION ON SOCIAL AFFAIRES.

The growth of the Mozambican Revolution requires that particular attention be given to the social conditions of the masses.

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A correct direction that will promote the satisfaction of the social needs of the masses will also raise their revolutionary spirit, and will at the same time avoid that the difficulties, normal in a war situation, may turn into serious obstacles to the progress of the war for national liberation.

So, therefore, the II Congress rules that :

a) Necessary measures shall be taken to improve the material conditions of the masses in the war zones, particularly with respect to satisfaction of primary needs, such as salt, soap, clothing;

b) Institutions for social assistance, as well as for study and suggestion of solutions to problems on social relationship, particularly those concerning marriage, at the provincial level, shall be created;

c) Particular attention shall be given to the wives of the militants, seeing to it that whenever possible, they are fixed in provinces where their husbands are fighting, and encouraging those outside the country to return home.

d) Whenever possible, pregnant women and those with little babies shall be settled in zones of greater stability.

e) FRELIMO, in cooperation with LIFEMO, shall establish the ways in which the latter shall take care of the orphan children, the same care shall be given to the children of unmarried women, in order to give a chance to the latter to contribute to the struggle;

f) Conditions for assistance and rehabilitation of the war disabled shall be created.

RESOLUTION ON FOREIGN POLICY.

1. The Mozambican people are engaged in an armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism for their na-

tional independence and for establishment of a social, democratic order in Mozambique.

This struggle is part of the world's movement for the emancipation of the peoples, which aims at the total liquidation of colonialism and imperialism, and at the construction of a new society free from exploitation of man by man.

For this reason, FRELIMO has created and developed solidarity and friendly relations with peoples, organisations and governments fighting for the realisation of these objectives. FRELIMO has established relations with nationalist organisations of the Portuguese colonies, and with nationalist organisations of other African countries still under foreign domination.

FRELIMO has relations with progressive organisations of Asian-African and Latin American countries. FRELIMO has relations with all socialist countries, and with progressive countries, of the West. FRELIMO is member of the following international organisations :

- a) CONCP — Conference of Nationalist Organisations of the Portuguese colonies.
- b) O.A.U. — Organisation of African Unity;
- c) OSPAA — Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organisation;
- d) OSPAAAL — Afro-Asian Latin American Peoples Solidarity Organisation;
- e) WCP — World Council of Peace.

The II Congress declares that FRELIMO and the Mozambican people shall continue to develop and consolidate their alliances and to give their maximum contribution to the world people's movement against colonialism and imperialism for economic, political, social and cultural emancipation of peoples

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and for the construction of a new society free from exploitation of man by man.

2. The struggle under which the Mozambican people, under the leadership of FRELIMO, are engaged in against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism, enjoys the world's sympathy and support.

The II Congress highly appreciates the aid given by the peoples, organisations and governments of African countries to the liberation struggle of the Mozambican people, in particular through the African Liberation Committee.

The II Congress points out in particular the aid given by TANU, the people and government of TANZANIA, under the leadership of President Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, to the anti-colonialist, national liberation struggle of the Mozambican people, directed by FRELIMO.

Among the African countries, the II Congress stresses also the high contribution given the Mozambican people's struggle by Algeria, the United Arab Republic and Zambia, either through the O.A.U. or bilaterally.

The II Congress highly appreciates and hails the aid given the Mozambican people by socialist countries of Europe and Asia, which aid has been a great contribution for the success of the Mozambican Revolution.

The II Congress appreciates the aid given to the Mozambican people's struggle by the revolutionary people and government of Cuba.

The II Congress appreciates the aid that FRELIMO and the Mozambican people get from progressive organisations of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

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The II Congress appreciates the support given the Mozambican people's struggle by the Western progressive organisations:

The II Congress appreciates the material aid accorded to the Mozambican people by humanitarian and religious organisations of Western countries.

3. The II Congress notes that if the Portuguese colonial-fascist government is also to carry on the war up to now, that is mainly because of the help it gets from the Republic of South Africa, Rhodesia, and from its western allies of NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation) countries.

These are the countries, in particular the United States of America, West Germany, France, Great Britain, Belgium, as well as Japan, which give aid to Portugal in terms of weapons, planes, helicopters, sub-marines, warship, etc., and in terms of financial and diplomatic support, and which continue to make considerable capital investments in our country.

Thus, these countries, directly or through NATO, give support to the criminal policy of the colonial-fascist government of Portugal.

So, therefore, the II Congress :

a) Condemns the alliance of Portuguese, South African and Rhodesian governments, which constitutes an imperialist conspiracy against the freedom and independence of the Southern African peoples, and aims at perpetuating white man's supremacy in this part of the world.

b) Condemns the NATO countries: in particular the United States of America, West Germany, France, Great Britain,

Italy, Belgium, as well as Japan, for their military, financial and moral support to the colonial-fascist government of Portugal, support which enables the latter to continue to implement its criminal, outmoded, colonialist policy of war genocide against the Mozambican people, as well as against the people of Angola and Guinea-Bissau.

4. The II Congress notes in particular :

a) That the colonial-fascist government of Portugal persists in denying the right of its colonial peoples to national independence and is carrying on a genocidal war against the peoples of Angola and Guinea-Bissau;

b) That peoples of South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Comores, Equatorial Guinea are still under foreign yoke;

c) That the American imperialists are carrying on a war of aggression against the people of Vietnam;

d) That the reactionary government of Israel is carrying on its aggression against the people of Palestine, in order to expand its territory exterminating entire populations;

e) That the Portuguese people are still living under fascist oppression;

f) That the people of the imperialist countries, and, in particular the workers, are dominated and exploited by their reactionary governments;

g) That the black people of the United States of America live under economic and racial oppression of the American capitalism.

So, therefore, the II Congress :

a) Hails the heroic and revolutionary struggle of the peo-

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ples of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Cabo Verde Islands, S. Tomé e Príncipe, directed respectively by MPLA, PAIGO, and CLSTP;

— congratulates MPLA and PAIGC for their successes in the armed struggle respectively in Angola and Guinea-Bissau, which are important contributions in the common struggle against Portuguese colonialism;

— Hails and appreciates the existing fraternal relations among the nationalist movements of the Portuguese colonies.

b) Hails and supports totally the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Namibia, directed respectively by ANC, ZAPU and SWAPO.

c) Condemns the colonialist policy of the French and Spanish governments which still oppress the peoples of, respectively, Comoro Islands and Equatorial Guinea, hails and supports the struggle of these peoples for their complete freedom;

d) Vehemently condemns the American imperialist aggression against the people of Vietnam, demands immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the American Allied forces from the Vietnam; reaffirms its total support for the government of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam and the Front for National Liberation of South Vietnam;

e) Condemns the imperialist policy of Israel against the Arab peoples; hails and supports the position of the Arab peoples with regard to their struggle against the occupation of their territories by Israeli aggressive forces; supports the struggle of the people of Palestine to reassert their right to live in their national territory;

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f) Hails and supports the struggle of the Portuguese people against the fascist regime of Salazar for their freedom;

g) Hails and supports the struggle of the peoples of Asia and Latin America against imperialism and for complete national liberation;



h) Hails and supports the struggle of the workers' and progressive forces of the Western countries against capitalism and for socialism;

i) Hails the struggle of the black people of the United States of America against racial discrimination, and for their economic, political and social emancipation.

5. The II Congress of FRELIMO notes that the struggle of the peoples and governments of the socialist countries for consolidation of socialism is a valuable contribution to the general struggle of the peoples of the world against imperialism, and it is an important support for national liberation movements.

On the other hand, the successes obtained by the Mozambican people in their armed fight against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism are due, in particular, to the material aid given to FRELIMO by the socialist countries.

The existing friendship and solidarity relations between the Mozambican people and the peoples, organisations and governments of the socialist countries, acquire, therefore, high importance and constitute a factor of progress in the common struggle against imperialism. So, Therefore, the II Congress :

a) declares complete solidarity of FRELIMO and the Mozambican people with the peoples, organisations and govern-

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ments of the socialist countries, engaged in the struggle for consolidation and against imperialism;

b) decides to consolidate even more the existing friendship and solidarity relations between FRELIMO and the socialist countries.

6. The II Congress notes that it is important to enlarge constantly the means of keeping the world informed on the progress of our struggle. For that end, it becomes evermore urgent to establish new FRELIMO representations in various regions of the world.



The II Congress thinks in particular that, at the present phase of our struggle, the opening of FRELIMO Representation in Cuba and another in Western Europe, would constitute an important contribution to our struggle.

