

12.7.64

Memorandum:

To: The Foreign Ministers of the Organization for African Unity.
Meeting in Cairo, U.A.R., July 12-20.

From: Eduardo C. Mondlane, President of the Mozambique Liberation
Front (FRELIMO).

Subject Matter: Deceptive Moves by Portugal; FRELIMO's attitude.

Your Excelencies,

When we last year appeared to this illustrious assembly, we presented a denunciation of Portuguese colonialism, urging for your immediate and massive support of our right for freedom and independence. We did so with the confidence that the understanding of the independent African states in relation to our ideals would not translate itself simply in the passing of motions or in platonic condemnations, but that it would have a much more concrete, more solid and more active content. This expectation was based upon the knowledge that it is principally to the brother states of Africa that we should turn for moral and material support in the struggle in which we are engaged. For African Unity is not an empty phrase: it is an expression of a strong sentiment shared by all African peoples, regardless of their race, colour, religion, or region, of liberating all of Africa, of restoring her dignity, of destroying colonialism and all its implications and forms from our continent.

The balance sheet of the work of last year has proved our point, namely, that all of Africa is united behind us, that she has forgotten her internal divisions and differences in the struggle against the common enemy: colonialism and imperialism.

Your Excelencies,

We do not intend to repeat here the description of the atrocities perpetrated by the Portuguese colonialists against our people: in all the conferences in which we have appeared so far we have endeavoured to draw a clear picture of the misery of the oppression under which the people of Mozambique live. We did this simply because it is that socio-economic-political experience which, focussed against a historical perspective, provides the basis for the legitimacy of our desire for freedom. We assume,

therefore, that today Your Excelencies are well acquainted with the conditions of life of our people, with the methods of torture used by the Portuguese authorities against our people, with the systems of exploitation instituted in Mozambique. These do not show great originality in that they are, in all their various aspects, typical of the methods of exploitation, oppression and suppression used by colonialist powers of all times; except probably the fact that the Portuguese, in their desperate desire to continue to control Africa, have shown a greater ferocity in their repression of the people and a greater intensity in exploitation and a more absolute disdain for the rights of the African peoples.

We are here simply to present an outline of our struggle against the Portuguese, past, present and future, underlining certain elements relevant to our present position. In so doing, we wish to reiterate the point that, Portugal has never wished to a) accede to the idea of self-determination, b) establish any contact with the leaders of the liberation movement and c) negotiate a settlement of the problem. On the contrary she is building a military force and using ever more repressive techniques of controlling our people thus preparing to fight against the freedom of our people. As the result of this attitude of Portugal, we have no alternative but to go ahead and fight for our freedom in the best way we can. In this outline we also wish to present some recent facts to indicate that the elections carried out last March in Mozambique were geared to favour European settlers, and to strengthen the political and economic hold of our country by Portugal.

As we stated before, there are only two ways by which we can obtain our independence: 1) through negotiations or 2) through an armed struggle. Up till the end of the year 1963 there were some individuals within our organization who still hoped that there could be discussions between the Portuguese government and ourselves for negotiations for independence. From time to time we encountered some representatives of African independent states who also believed in the possibility of negotiations. But after the private conversations which took place at the United Nations, under the sponsorship of Mr. U Thant, nobody in his right mind can still believe in this course of action.

It is because of this that FRELIMO does not any more expect any moves towards negotiations as being practical, except after we have demonstrated our determination to wrest our freedom from the hands of the Portuguese colonialists by force of arms. From time to time Portugal will try to induce our independent African brothers into the same kind of discussions they engaged in late last year, but only to divert their attention to the necessity of backing up our struggle. In saying this we do not intend to show any preference for war as against peaceful means of gaining our independence; on the contrary, our constant preoccupation has always been and still continues to be that of finding a way of gaining our independence with the least loss of human life possible. The present attitude of Portugal induces us to believe that force is the only language which Portugal will respect.

Clever Manoeuvres by Portugal

The position of the Portuguese government is at present represented by the following tactical moves:

- 1) The juridical artifice of dividing Mozambique into "provinces";
- 2) Portugal's own conception of self-government;
- 3) The new Organic Law, intended to demonstrate that Portugal accepts the idea of self-determination;
- 4) Complete defiance of the United Nations resolutions and of the United Nations itself;
- 5) Failure of the "conversations" between Portugal and the African States at the United Nations;
- 6) Increase in repression in Mozambique;
- 7) Salazar's declaration of May 2, 1964.

Since Portugal entered the United Nations Organization in the autumn of 1955 she has consistently refused to accept the position taken by the majority of the members of that organization concerning the status of her colonies. The United Nations has passed several resolutions strongly urging Portugal to adhere to the principles to which she committed herself by signing the United Nations Charter, but in vain. On the contrary Portugal continues to challenge the position of the majority of the peoples of the world by continuing her presence in Africa and elsewhere as a colonial power and by fostering political, social and economic programmes intended to continue to exploit the

7) Portuguese effort against Portugal
40,000 troops

peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea. Portugal has been able to do this thanks to the support she receives from her NATO allies, especially the United States of America, Great Britain, West Germany, France and Belgium. These Western powers are the main source of funds, military equipment and technical aid for Portugal. In spite of the fact that the United States from time to time pays lip service to the idea of self-determination, she consistently refuses to support measures aimed at forcing Portugal to yield on the question of self-determination and independence for the colonies.

Earlier in the United Nations debates on Portuguese colonies Portugal tried to hide behind the constitutional subterfuge of declaring her colonies "provinces", insisting that she had no colonies. When the General Assembly passed certain resolutions urging her to follow the pattern prescribed by the Charter and by the policies established throughout the last few decades by the other colonial powers, she protested arguing that the United Nations Charter prohibits interference in the internal affairs of member states. Portugal refused even to furnish information on developments in the colonies insisting that she had only provinces in Africa and not colonies. Since late last year Portugal has been trying to put forward a new "front" to the United Nations concerning her colonies, namely, that her policies in these territories were sufficiently democratic to satisfy the requirements of the Charter of the United Nations, and that the idea of self-determination was being fulfilled by the system of political representation which she was now putting into effect in her new so-called reforms.

In the last session of the United Nations General Assembly representatives of nine African states, chosen by the Organization of African Unity attempted to enter into informal discussions with representatives of the Portuguese government, under the auspices of the Secretary General of the United Nations. Portugal accepted to participate in these conversations. But after the first two meetings it became clear that the Portuguese government was not interested in giving any concessions in her original position. On the contrary she was insisting that the African statesmen and the United Nations should change their definition of self-determination to conform to her own. Portugal insisted on defining self-determination as "the adherence of

a certain population to a certain form of State, under a given political structure and a given social organization". In view of this the African statesmen concluded that the Portuguese government was not interested in giving independence to the peoples of her colonies, but she was simply trying to mislead international public opinion, thus gain time in order to intrench her position in these colonies.

During the debates in the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the representative of FRELIMO, speaking as a petitioner, endeavoured to interpret the meaning of the Organic Law which Portugal had referred to as the example of the steps meant to fulfil the idea of self-determination. In this connection, the representative of FRELIMO insisted that the tauted Organic Law does not in any way represent a change of policy or direction in Portuguese colonialism; but that, on the contrary, this new law was intended to complete the integration of all Portuguese colonies under the centralized control of Lisbon. He pointed out that a careful reading of the various clauses of the Organic Law clearly showed that instead of decentralizing power between European Portugal and the colonies it was centralizing it in Lisbon, and that whatever new rights were accorded the colonies by the new legal instrument they were no different from those already enjoyed by the other Portuguese provinces in the Iberic Peninsula. The new Organic Law reinforces the legislative, administrative and judicial authority of the Portuguese government in Lisbon over those of the colonies: the Portuguese national assembly, its administrative arm, which is the central government, and the Portuguese supreme court in Lisbon are thereby given more power over those of the colonies. There is nowhere in the new law any suggestion of a change towards self-government and independence.

If there were any doubts as to exactly what the Portuguese government intended to do, they must have fallen by the wayside when Premier Salazar recently declared at an interview to Reuter, in which he said, among others, that "Portugal is determined to maintain the control of her overseas territories ..."

In view of the above facts, we cannot see any other kind of solution except through the force of arms. The people of Mozambique have lost faith in the value of resolutions in international conferences,

except those which aim at establishing a position of force against Portugal. Any future condemnations of the Portuguese government which are not accompanied by a programme of direct action do not generate any hopes of success in our people. Our people are tired of hearing that another international organization has voted and passed another resolution condemning the colonialist policies of Salazar, for those resolutions do not have the slightest effect upon the miserable conditions under which they live, they do not liberate them from the net of police encirclement under which they labour and by which they are constantly terrorized; they do not give them any hope of any wider horizons of freedom from slavery and imperialism. Therefore, we have come to the conclusion that only a concentrated programme of action by a united African people, combined with the efforts of the peoples themselves within our country, can deliver us from the predicament in which we are found.

A brief analysis of the Organic Law

During the conversations which took place in October-November 1963, at the United Nations, between the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Portugal and representatives of African States, the latter asked the Portuguese representative to clarify as precisely as possible, the implications of Portugal's conception of self-determination. The Portuguese Minister presented the following, as implications of the new policy of his Government concerning the African territories:

"The National Assembly had recently approved a new organic law which would enable the enactment of new political and administrative statutes for overseas territories."

The Portuguese Foreign Minister called attention to a number of provisions of the new law which he considered to be of special value; amongst these were the following:

a) The fact that the new law envisages an increase in the number of local government bodies. This seems to be true. In Article XLV it is indicated that a larger number of local administrative bodies are to be created in the various districts of the Overseas "provinces". From this one might conclude that Portugal is intending to reorient its colonial political policy in

the direction of more decentralization of power. However, certain questions arise which the Organic Law does not answer, namely, who shall control these local administrative and legislative councils? The same law indicates that the Portuguese central government in Lisbon, and the "provincial" government in Lourenco Marques will retain the power to dissolve these bodies whenever they deem it necessary. The fact that these local councils will be elected by the people does not give us any sense of security whatsoever, once we are told that they can be dissolved by a government whose officers are not elected but directly chosen by Lisbon. This is not a move towards more and more decentralization of power, but the very opposite: a more efficient control of the people with a pretence of democracy.

b) The Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs also pointed to the fact that the new Law provides for the election of all the representatives of the African territories in the Territorial Legislative Councils, instead of the previous method of mixed elected and appointed representation.

From now on, "all will be elected, when previously some were nominated", he said, "... and the election will be made on the basis of a new electoral law, according to which the people will participate in the election not only of members of the Legislative Council but also of Tribal Councils, Municipal Councils, Economic and Social Councils, the Overseas Council, the Corporative Chamber and the National Assembly. The electorate will be considerably increased, and in March 1964 there will be new elections, based on the new laws and regulations."

The Foreign Minister went on to state that "the intention of these elections was to elect the members of the various administrative and political bodies at all levels.

In connection with this, last March the promised elections took place, in Mozambique, Angola and Portuguese Guinea. We have already collected some of the most crucial information concerning the manner in which these elections were organized and carried out, as well as the results of the elections, especially in reference to the Legislative Council. In Mozambique there were 93,079 persons who were allowed to register as voters, in a total population of a little over 7 million inhabitants. This signifies about 1% of the total population. But, the number of voters in each district

corresponds with the number of non-Africans of voting age who live in those areas. (Please see the accompanying chart!)

This forces us to conclude, what we have previously suspected, that only the white settlers, and probably a few Asians and people of mixed racial stock, participated in the elections. Nothing changed! Against facts such as these nothing can be said except that they denounce the true policy of Portugal in Africa.

Probably the Portuguese Government will try and argue that because there are some traditional chiefs in the newly elected Legislative Council, therefore these represent the majority of the African people.

The Portuguese government might argue further that because these traditional chiefs were elected by other traditional chiefs, in conformity with the present requirements of the new electoral regulations, therefore, they represent the majority of the African people of Mozambique. Against this argument we must say that all of the traditional chiefs do not represent their people in any way. They are now civil servants, functioning specifically as the local representatives of the district commissioners or administradores. The traditional chiefs take their orders directly from the white administradores or chefes de posto, and they can be dismissed by these without consulting the African people. The African chiefs are local police officers who wear police uniforms only slightly different from the general police uniform worn by the ordinary African police; they receive a salary and have to constantly report to the local administration.

According to Portuguese law, the native customs are permitted to continue to function only if they do not conflict with the Portuguese sovereignty. On the basis of this orientation, the Portuguese policy in connection with traditional chiefs follows thus: if the traditional paramount chiefs accept the official Portuguese orders, as imposed by the authorities, and if they give proof of patriotism (to Portugal), they can be kept in power and maintained; but if they, on the contrary, try to oppose Portuguese control and try to assert themselves as Mozambicans, they are at least demoted and other individuals substituted in their place.

Consequently, the fact of there being some paramount chiefs in the Legislative Council in Lourenco Marques has no relevance to our demands whatsoever, when it is to be remembered that they have already lost all traditional power and therefore all representativeness in the colonial structure, except as ordinary lackeys of the European authorities.

The above facts leave no doubt as to the real intent of the Portuguese government in issuing the new Organic Law: to centralize control of her colonies, while at the same time claim that she was giving them more freedom of action which might lead into the satisfaction of the idea of self-determination. We strongly object to these tactics of the Portuguese government. We believe that the only measures that will lead us into independence are those which must be prepared by our own people, as they must elect their own representatives in a free election and establish their administrative, legislative and judicial systems.

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