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EDITORIAL

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"A VOZ DA REVOLUCAO")

=25th of September, 1966=

Two years of armed struggle in Mozambique

The armed struggle of the Mozambican people against Portuguese Colonialism and imperialism is entering its 3rd year. Since the 25th of September 1964 our people are building their freedom, facing with guns the Portuguese bandits who invaded our land and who are oppressing, robbing and massacring us. Today, after 2 years of war we are able to pause and analyse the results we achieved. We must make a critical analysis of our revolution, our thinking of the revolution, see what is wrong and correct it, see what is right and continue and widen, reaffirm our determination to fight until the final victory. This is the order of the day that FRELIMO sends to all its militants.

In two years of struggle we have already won much.

We won LIBERTY

There are in Mozambique many areas where our people are free, where the Portuguese cannot enter. The people there govern themselves, have their shambas, their dispensaries, and their bush schools, they do not have to pay taxes to the Portuguese, they are free from the police, from the administrators, and from the exploiters.

We won DIGNITY

Our people, even in the regions still controlled by the Portuguese, no more look at the colonialists with submission, as "bosses", "patroes". Our decision to fight, with guns in our hands, restored our dignity in the national and international scheme. We are no longer slaves, whom the colonialists can enchain, beat and kill impunity. The Mozambican people are fighting, and they know that those Portuguese who today oppress us, will be soon liquidated or sent back to their country.

We won EDUCATION

Since the creation of FRELIMO until today, many dozens of Mozambican students who joined the Revolution, have finished their secondary and university courses. Thousands of young Mozambicans study in our country, in the areas controlled by FRELIMO. In 4 years, the results achieved by FRELIMO in the field of Education are already much superior than those produced by the Portuguese colonialists during 4 centuries.

We won ECONOMIC PROGRESS

In the area under our control, the number of fields being cultivated by the people are increasing. There are now many more cultivated fields than those which existed in the period of Portuguese domination. The people know that they are producing for themselves, and not for a Portuguese colonialist "Boss".

We won UNITY

Our struggle of liberation against our common enemy - Portuguese Colonialism - made our people to acquire a national conscience and to unite. Today, Mozambican Makondes, Nianjas, Macuas, Ndaus, Ajaus, Thongas, Chopes, Lomues, etc, fight side by side, as truly brothers, sons of the same country.

However these results we have ^{already} achieved are mostly found only in the areas where there is armed struggle, in the Provinces of Cabo Delgado and Niassa, and in some parts of Tete and Zambezia. But we want the whole people enjoy FREEDOM, all our people to have access to EDUCATION and to ECONOMIC PROGRESS. For this to be possible, it is necessary to spread the armed struggle to all Provinces in Mozambique, it is necessary that the entire people participate actively in the struggle, so that constantly more and more areas of Mozambique may come out of the control of the Portuguese and fall under the control of the people, led by FRELIMO.

The 25th of September is approaching. It is the DAY OF WORLD SOLIDARITY WITH THE STRUGGLING PEOPLE OF MOZAMBIQUE. On this day, in many countries of Africa and Asia, in Socialist European countries, in Cuba, and among the progressive groups of Western Europe and North America, the people will express their solidarity with the Mozambican people. In Tanzania, brother country which since the first hours has always been on our side, firm in its stand for the liberation of the entire continent of Africa, there will be demonstrations of support to our Revolution throughout the country, organised by the People's Party - TANU.

We, Mozambicans, FRELIMO militants, must act in order to continue to deserve the world solidarity and confidence of our people. To deserve this confidence we must continue fighting for the success of our Revolution, creating the basis for a Mozambique where the whole people will be happy. We must continue to fight against those factors which may divide and weaken us. We must continue to fight against tribalistic, racialist and bourgeois tendencies in our midst.

As last year, the 25th of September will be commemorated by the whole people in Mozambique. And all FRELIMO militants must repeat the oath they made to themselves when they joined the Revolution: "On this day, I, son of Mozambique, nationalist and patriot, in the name of those things most sacred to me - my people and my country, - swear to devote all my energies to the service of the Revolution. I shall never vacillate. Until the liberation of my people my life belongs to the Revolution."

Independence or Death!

We will win!

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THE ARMED STRUGGLE

The people of Mozambique will defeat the Portuguese-colonialists. The results of 2 years of armed struggle prove that victory is certain. We shall win. The analysis of the present situation show us that there are many political contradictions within the enemy, not only political but also economic contradictions: There is strong opposition to the colonial war even in Portugal. Most of the Portuguese people are opposed to the war; Portugal is the poorest country in Europe, and has to spend millions of pounds for the colonial war. There are also contradictions within the military establishment of Portugal.

Mozambique is a big country (783,000km²), about 9 times bigger than Portugal. This means that the Portuguese have to fight in a wide front line. But the soldiers they have are not enough to cover the whole territory of Mozambique, nor to successfully face our guerrillas. In fact:

- a) The Portuguese must keep many of their soldiers in the towns, and only one part can be sent to the fighting zones.
- b) Of those soldiers sent to the fighting areas, an important part (more than 3,000) have been already liquidated by FRELIMO guerrillas.
- c) Another part of them have to serve the garrisons, defending the military and administrative posts.
- d) Consequently, only a small number is able to carry on campaign operations. And these campaign troops are being systematically liquidated by our forces, in ambushes, direct attacks etc, the number of the Portuguese desertors is increasing - thus reducing their numbers progressively.-

Parallel to the reduction of the Portuguese troops, our forces grow: the number of the FRELIMO fighters constantly increase, more and more guerrillas are being trained at the FRELIMO military bases and swells the ranks of the Mozambique Liberation Army.

On the question of the military contradictions, there is still an important element to consider: the presence of the African Mozambican soldiers in the Portuguese army. Most of them were recruited by force. They do not want to fight against their people, against their parents, their brothers and their children. They cannot forget that they are Mozambicans, sons of Mozambique. Therefore, as soon as they find an opportunity, they will desert and join the liberation forces of FRELIMO. About 150 have already deserted. Even amongst white, European Portuguese soldiers, many have been deserting and many more will desert in the future, since they feel that the war they are fighting is for the benefit of the same economic lords who oppress them in Portugal.

In the international sphere, the conditions are more and more favourable to our Revolution. In the whole world the forces against colonialism and imperialism are becoming stronger - in Africa, in Asia, in Latin America and even in Europe, where the workers' progressive movements are developing an important political action.

On the other hand, the armed struggle that our brothers from the other territories under portuguese colonial domination are waging against Portugal, force her to divide her forces: Today Portugal has to face simultaneously 3 fronts of armed struggles - in Guinea, in Angola and in Mozambique. Everyday, in these territories, there are attacks in which portuguese soldiers are killed, and portuguese war material are captured. This explains the important victories already won by FRELIMO guerrillas. In two years of war, our guerrillas have put out of action, killed or wounded, more than, 3,000 Portuguese soldiers, destroyed 175 military vehicles, shot down 16 aircrafts, destroyed many bridges, roads and railways lines (such as the important railway line from NAMPULA to CATUR, which was destroyed in the zone of the river Lurio.).

Portugal is a small country, extremely poor and undeveloped. And although she receives aid from other imperialist countries, specially from NATO powers she will not be able to stand the struggle against the peoples of Mozambique, Guinea and Angola, who have the support of all progressive forces in the world. Everything indicates that our victory is certain.

It is necessary that our militants be conscious of this reality, and they in turn must explain it to the people and to the militants who still have doubts about our final victory.

The enemy is still strong. Our struggle will still last, with many difficulties for us. But, as it is proved by the results we have achieved already - no force in the world will be able to prevent our independence.

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IN MOZAMBIQUE

1. -- I ESCAPED FROM A FIRING-SQUAD

"In my military base, in Mueda region, we were in need of food. I went to the lake (NEGURE) to fish, as I had already done several times. I hid my rifle, and began fishing.

I was surprised by a Portuguese patrol. I was not dressed in uniform, and nothing from what I possessed could identify me as guerrilla. The Portuguese soldiers, however, encircled and arrested me, and took me to their base. I did not offer resistance, as it was useless because they were armed and I was not. During the march to the base, they threatened me constantly and tried to force me to show them our base.

At the enemy headquarters, I was interrogated. The Portuguese commander said that he had a special power to read on the forehead of people and that he could read in my forehead that I was a bandit. During the long questioning through which the enemy tried to convince me to betray my comrades using threats of torture, and killing, and even trying bribery, my only answer was "I am not a bandit".

My mind was crowded with a host of thoughts, during the whole period of questioning. I remembered the words of our political leader, who was constantly reminding us that each guerrilla is responsible for the security of the whole group, and that all FRELIMO guerrillas must prefer to die better than to betray their people. Thus, I decided to face death with calm and serenity.

After the interrogatory - which, in the final phase, seemed to be a monotonous dialogue between frogs - they saying: "You are a bandit", I answering, "I am not a bandit". - The Portuguese decided that I should be shot, even without any proof of guilt. I was taken to the execution place. A number of soldiers formed a line in front of me at a short distance, and waited for their commander to arrive and give the order to shoot.

I was affraid. However, I did not panic, and continued thinking on my responsibilities and on the way to escape - I should fight until the end.

I looked back, to study the conditions of the terrain, and I noted that escape by that side was impracticable. The most convenient side was precisely that on which the Portuguese soldiers were standing. I quickly drafted a mental plan of action and waited.

A little later I saw the commander approaching. Taking advantage of a moment when the Portuguese soldiers were shifting position I ran in their direction, shouting loudly to desorient them, as if I was among my Company at the moment of the assault. I jumped on the most confused soldier. I could not get his gun, but I threw him down, and made a series of somersaults and fell in a deep trench. I rolled over and began running in zigzag towards the bush taking advantage of all the natural contours of the terrain thus getting away from the dangerous zone of fire.

I succeeded in entering into the bush. The enemy pursued me, but they could not get me, because I was very familiar with that area. I went to take my gun, which I had hidden, and went to my base.

At the base I had already been taken dead. When I finally appeared, all my comrades looked at me, as if I were a ghost. After the first moment of surprise, all began shouting with joy. While some of them cried with joy, others warmly embraced me. It was our friendship, cemented in hard combats, in difficult situations, inspired by our common ideal - the liberation of our mother country.

This is the story of my arrest and escape.

XICALAVITO

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2. --- THE PUPPETS

In the zones still under Portuguese control but where FRELIMO is developing an intensive political activity, the Portuguese are trying to find among the local people those who can be easily bought or deceived. These persons are principally local chiefs and small proprietors.

They say to those persons that FRELIMO is fighting to steal their possessions and privileges, that FRELIMO members are bandits. At the same time, they tell them that the Portuguese Government can help them to defend their goods and privileges, if they accept to indicate, among the people, the members or organisers of FRELIMO, and to inform the authorities of the place where FRELIMO bases are located. Besides protection, those informers would receive much money from the Portuguese government, as a prize for their "patriotism". However they are told that if they do not obtain information, they will be arrested and will receive the same treatment as the bandits.

The cupidity and or the fear make some Mozambicans to accept the proposition of the portuguese, and to betray their people. But, as the whole people of their place know them to be puppets, nobody reveals himself before them as a member of FRELIMO. Weeks and months pass without the puppet being able to provide any information to his bosses.

Pushed by the greed for money or by fear of being arrested, he goes to the administration and denounces randomly innocent people, naming them as members and militants of FRELIMO, or saying that they have connection with the guerrillas. The Portuguese authorities, without any investigation, send the police to arrest those Mozambicans and torture them to death, to make them "confess".

In all revolutions there have been traitors. In all revolutions, after the final victory of the people, the traitors are brought before the people's tribunals in which their counter-revolutionary activities are denounced and punished.

In Mozambique, it will also be so.

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3. -- MOZAMBIQUE WILL WIN (letter from a guerrilla)

I wish to tell some concret facts about the Portuguese soldiers in the region where I am fighting.

We are constantly attacking the Portuguese troops. Some times only 3 or 4 of an entire platoon escape. when they return to their headquarters and tell the other soldiers about the attack and the heavy casualties they suffered, the moral of the whole Company become extremely low. At meal-time, instead of eating in their canteens, they take their plates to the trenches and eat there. At night they do not dare to sleep in the barracks - they sleep in the bush, fearing our attacks, When a door bangs, when they hear any noise, they get panic and often shoot wildly, seeing guerrillas everywhere. Everything - the people, the guerrillas, nature - all are enemies.

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On the other hand, we, inspired by the justice of our case, have everything on our side. We trace in our mother earth the plans of our attacks. The animals are our friendly companions. The bush gives us natural production.

Our mother country offers willingly all conditions for the success of our Revolution - because she also wants to be freed from foreign domination.

EVARISTO J. MASIYE

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THE MOZAMBIQUE INSTITUTE

One of the main problems our Revolution is facing is the lack of cadres. The basic characteristic of Portuguese colonialism has been from the beginning, to keep our people illiterate. The idea behind this policy is to justify colonisation by alleging that the people are not able to govern themselves.

In order to face this present necessity, an educational center for young Mozambican refugees was established three years ago in Dar-es-Salam in the city where the provisional headquarters of FRELIMO are based. It is called THE MOZAMBIQUE INSTITUTE. The organizer and present director of the Institute is Mrs. Janet Mondlane, the wife of Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, the President of FRELIMO.

Today, the Mozambique Institute is playing a very important role in the education of Mozambican refugees. Although it started as a hostel for 50 students, it is now a full-fledged boarding secondary school for 131 pupils studying mathematics, history, politics, geography, science, Portuguese, English and French. The programme also includes non-academic activities: gymnastics, music, drama, art and sports. The academic programme covers the first three years of the Portuguese "liceu" or secondary school still in use in educational system of Mozambique. However, the three years have been condensed into one and a half years of studies. This means that both teachers and students have twice as much work to do, which is a very heavy burden.

In spite of this, the work is carried on with the willingness of the same revolutionary spirit which is typical of the Mozambican freedom fighter. The expectation for a free homeland is immediate - there is no time to lose. The activities of the school are not limited to secondary education. In July, 1966, the Institute graduated its first class of rural medical aides who completed one year of intensive medical training under the instruction of two doctors and one nurse - all from Mozambique. The Institute is responsible for the medical care of all refugee students in Dar-es-Salaam, no matter what their country of origin, and also assists in organizing other medical programmes for Mozambicans both within and outside Mozambique. Primary schooling has also become an important part of the educational programme. The Institute only maintains an upper primary school at a refugee camp for young boys, but when possible makes school supplies and services available to established refugee camps.

More important in the field of primary education, the Institute has launched, with the cooperation of FRELIMO, primary schools in the liberated areas of Mozambique, where there are thousands of children who are yearning for education - an education that has been denied them by the Portuguese colonialists for so long. The Institute is now planning to begin the training of Primary school teachers.

HAND IN HAND WITH THE MILITARY STRUGGLE GOES THE STRUGGLE FOR EDUCATION.

CIRCULAR LETTER

To the
Organisations in Solidarity
with the Mozambican People.

Dear Comrades,

As you know, on the 25th of September 1966, we commemorate the 2nd Anniversary of the beginning of the general armed struggle of the Mozambican People against Portuguese Colonialism, for the National Independence of Mozambique.

This day, the 25th of September, has an historical importance for us. It is the MOZAMBICAN REVOLUTION DAY, and therefore the most appropriate occasion to celebrate the unshakable determination of our people to liberate themselves and to install a people's order.

On this 2nd Anniversary of our Revolution, the Central Committee of FRELIMO, on behalf of Mozambican people and fighters, addresses your Organisation inviting you to celebrate the Day of the Mozambican Revolution and to turn this Day, the 25th of September, into a great Day of solidarity with our people who, under the leadership of their Organisation, FRELIMO, with guns in their hands, fight against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism for the total National Independence.

We want to leave to your Organisation the initiative regarding the programme to be set up for the date. However we take the liberty of suggesting some appropriate steps (public meetings for example) aimed at making your people more deeply aware of the life and the struggle (the problems, the difficulties, the successes) of the Mozambican people.

On the other hand - and this is also urgent and fundamental for us - the Day of Mozambican Revolution should be a suitable occasion to organise activities in order to enable your people to give, once again, financial and material aid to FRELIMO.

This aid will be an important contribution to the efforts which are now underway for a rapid victory in Mozambique.

While reaffirming once again its sympathy and gratitude to you the Central Committee of FRELIMO, on behalf of all Mozambican people and fighters, extend to you, dear Comrades, to your Organisation, to your people and Government, its warm and fraternal greetings.

Long Live the 25th of September,
DAY OF THE MOZAMBICAN REVOLUTION!

Long Live the Friendship and Solidarity
between our Organisations and Peoples:

Down with Portuguese Colonialism and Imperialism!

INDEPENDENCE OR DEATH! WE WILL WIN!

The Central Committee.

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