

Aspects of the Mozambican Struggle



FRELIMO

I - INTRODUCTION

On 25th September, 1964, the first shots of liberty were fired in Mozambique. This heralded the outbreak of the armed struggle for national liberation in the country. As a result, today, guerrilla warfare already covers one third of the national territory, in the Provinces of Cabo Delgado, Niassa and Tete, three out of the nine Provinces of Mozambique. About one quarter of the country has been liberated and is under the effective control of FRELIMO. In these areas about 1 million Mozambicans live free from the Portuguese colonial oppression.

In the course of these seven years of armed struggle FRELIMO has scored outstanding achievements in different fields of action. In this very short document we will deal with *some* of the aspects of the Mozambican struggle.

II - POLITICAL SITUATION

II - I political work

The Mozambican people are composed of various ethnic groups with different customs and languages. Most of these ethnic groups had never known each other before the war for national liberation. Therefore, uniting them into one front was the condition *sine qua non* for the success of the Mozambican struggle. The achievement of unity is attributed to Dr. Eduardo C. Mondlane, the first President of FRELIMO, treacherously assassinated on 3rd February, 1969.

Another important victory is the general mobilisation and the elevation of political consciousness of the popular masses of our country. This enables them to better understand the nature and objectives of our war for national independence, as well as giving them a firm determination and readiness for all the sacrifices and hard work required for the attainment of national independence. As a matter of fact, the Mozambican people are taking an increasingly active part in the transport of war materials, medicines and school material, the providing of food for our militants and military bases, our hospitals and schools. They dedicate themselves to production, agriculture and other types of economic activities.

II - II structures of the new power

In the liberated areas, FRELIMO is exercising *de facto* the right of sovereignty, because it is really the only effective ruling power. In these areas all colonial power is being destroyed: no colonial taxes are paid; the Portuguese law is no longer applied; the Portuguese administrative and judicial machinery no longer has any power. A new type of life is being created and new administrative, economic and social structures adopted. On the ruins of the colonial structure a new society has been established, the basis of which is committees through which the voice of the people is channelled. The most remarkable aspect of our development in this field is that even the women - traditionally limited to domestic work and the producing of children - are now able to speak and express themselves freely and with authority. Therefore, in Mozambique a new democratic society is emerging, where power rests in the hands of the people and all Mozambicans are equal and enjoy human dignity, justice and freedom.

II - III international solidarity

In the international field the evolution of the political situation is characterised by the development of a stronger solidarity movement towards our struggle for national liberation.

In Africa, the independent African countries, through the OAU and directly, are developing and consolidating their support for our struggle. Tanzania and Zambia are two solid rear bases for us, and in spite of all the threats, they are continuously reinforcing their solidarity with us.

For a long time the socialist countries have always been our allies and our principal source of material support. Last year the President of FRELIMO, Samora Moises Machel, visited a number of socialist countries both in Europe and Asia. During these trips, our President and our delegation were accorded the greatest sympathy, friendship and respect. As a result of the strengthening of relations with the socialist countries, we are now enjoying increasing material, moral, political and diplomatic support.

One of the important aspects of the evolution of the international political situation is the development of the solidarity movement towards us, precisely among some organisations in the imperialist countries. This is very important, because it is exactly these countries that are members of NATO and are the

main supporters of Portugal in the colonial wars which she is waging in Angola, Mozambique and Guiné.

An important event and victory in this field of international support is the complete withdrawal from Mozambique, in the middle of last year, of the White Fathers, a missionary community of the Roman Catholic Church. The withdrawal was a concrete recognition of the legitimacy of the evergrowing aspirations of the Mozambican people for national liberation, and a public denunciation and condemnation of the presence of Caetano's illegal and oppressive regime in Mozambique.

II - IV Portugal's allies

The immense interests that the imperialists have in our country makes our struggle truly a confrontation between our people and world imperialism; that is, a confrontation essentially with the U.S.A., West Germany, France, England and Japan, and also with all the other countries that have a military alliance with the Portuguese. The development of our struggle is a threat to these interests.

The geographical position of our country makes it strategically important for imperialism because Mozambique can be used to support militarily and economically the racist governments of South Africa and Rhodesia and at the same time to sabotage the development of the independent African countries.

On the other hand, the wealth of our country is all in the hands of the imperialist powers and Portugal is but the intermediary in the exploitation of the Mozambican people. Thus, for example, Sumitomo, a Japanese trust, received important iron deposit concessions in Namapa; 12 American, French and West German companies exploit the natural gases and prospect for oil in vast areas of our country. The production of sugar is controlled by 3 companies: the Sena Sugar Co., English; the Anglo-American Co., South African; and Açucareira de Moçambique, French. The same phenomenon occurs in other important industries and different branches of agriculture and commerce, which are in the hands of the big monopolies. Eighty per cent of the foreign workers in the gold mines of South Africa are Mozambicans - forced labour, and an identical situation exists in the big plantations in Rhodesia. Therefore, it can be understood that when Portugal found herself incapable of sustaining the wave of the popular movement of national liberation, she asked for - and received - massive support from world imperialism.



In order to attract even more support, the Portuguese government, in an unprecedented manner opened the doors of her colonies, and particularly Mozambique, to big investments from the western countries. It is thus, for example, that the construction of the Cabora Bassa Dam in Tete Province was initiated. This dam is the most important imperialist project in Africa, developed by the imperialists to serve only their own interests. In the construction of the dam is invested capital by the North American Banks; capital and material and technicians from France, West Germany and England; capital and technicians from South Africa and also, the participation of Italian and Canadian companies. It is in defence of these big investments and all their interests in Mozambique and in all Southern Africa, that the Western powers, members of NATO and Japan are engaged in furnishing Portugal with massive military support in the form of material as well as technico-military assistance.

In fact, among the war materials captured from the Portuguese army, planes and helicopters shot down and vehicles destroyed, the bomber planes "Fiat G'91" are from Italy; the Douglas B-26 bombers as well as napalm bombs are of American origin; the UNIMOG cars, the DORNIERS DO-27, the SARO SKEETER helicopters are imported from West Germany; the G-3, a weapon, has a Belgium label; the "ALOUETTE" helicopters are supplied by France, and these helicopters in 1970, numbered 80. From 1962 to 1967, Britain supplied Portugal with 150 AUSTER D/5 160 planes. In April 1967, the Portuguese Press announced that Portugal had 700 planes, including F/104 G. It is unnecessary to point out here that none of these planes have been made in Portugal where no airplane factory exists.

In June last year, a group of military experts from U.S.A., France, England, West Germany and Spain visited Mozambique.

Last December, an agreement was signed between the United States and Portugal. According to this agreement, the U.S. has promised Portugal up to \$435-million in economic and social development credits in return for the use of air and naval bases in the Portuguese Islands of the Azores until 1974. Also approved was an outright \$1-million grant for education.

In Africa, Portugal is engaged in an unholy alliance with South Africa and Rhodesia against the national interests of the peoples of Southern Africa. In this field it is worth noting that, very recently the white minority regime of South Africa supplied Dr. Banda of Malawi with arms. These arms have been explicitly requested by Dr. Banda on the pretext that FRELIMO fighters operating in Tete Province are threatening his country.

III - NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

III - I production and commerce

Agricultural fields have been extended from the liberated areas to the battle front where enemy military activities, especially air bombings are frequent. Our people produce enough for themselves and for the guerrillas and even sufficient to sell. Therefore, FRELIMO has had to establish exchange centres in the liberated areas, where people go to exchange their products for goods not yet manufactured in Mozambique, especially clothes. This production work is carried out jointly by the people and guerrillas in a spirit of close collaboration. We not only cultivate the traditional crops but have also introduced new crops from other regions or provinces and have introduced scientific methods of agriculture.

Handicrafts are being developed as well. It is here that the creative and inventive capacity of our people has manifested itself in an exciting manner. For example, with the metal of destroyed cars and undetonated bombs, our people make agricultural tools, domestic utensils, home-made guns, etc. The artistic ability of our people is also being encouraged. Thus co-operatives of sculptors are being organized to produce the world-famous Makonde carvings.

III - II education

The educational and cultural programmes are experiencing a great impetus in all the Provinces where we are fighting. In the liberated areas of these Provinces we have 160 primary schools, 16 of which are pilot boarding schools. About 20,000 children are being taught in these schools by 250 teachers. There is also a large pilot boarding school at Tunduru and a secondary school at Bagamoyo in Tanzania. Last year at the Bagamoyo school, apart from the normal secondary course with 52 students, we also ran a Teacher Training Course with a total number of 16 candidates. This school year, reopening on 15th January, we are expecting about 130 Secondary school students. Besides this, two extra courses will be going on too with an average of 20 students each.

There was a time when our students had to leave our country to complete their fourth year of primary school abroad, in Tanzania. But since 1970 we have succeeded in establishing complete primary school education in Mozambique.

In all the provinces at war, literacy programmes for adults are being encouraged, and thousands of people are now learning to read and write. Meanwhile, special programmes for uplifting the cultural and political level of our cadres as well as pedagogic seminars are being organized continually. Therefore, in our ranks the struggle against illiteracy and ignorance is the task of everybody.

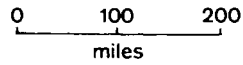
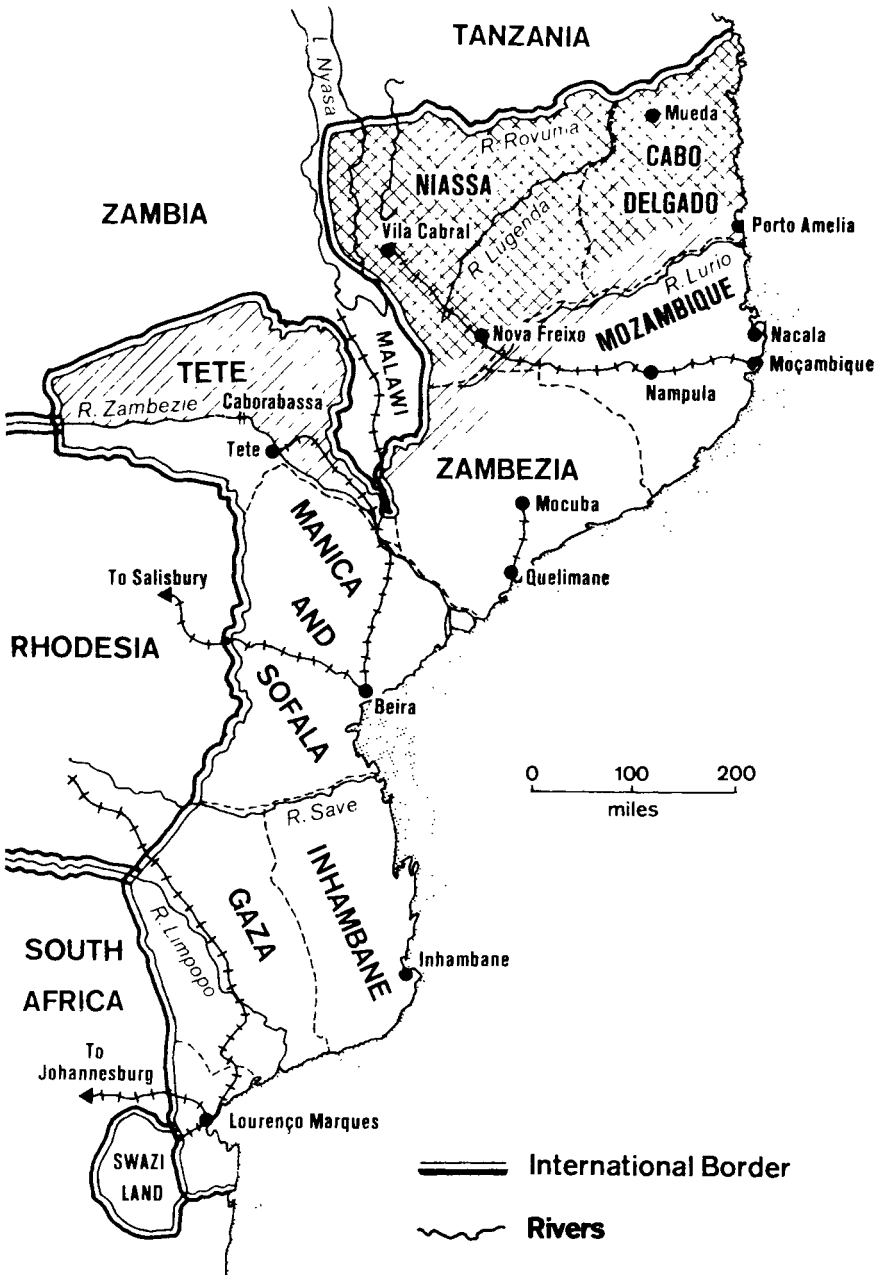
III - III medical assistance


The need to provide our guerrillas and the people with the minimum medical assistance has forced us to expand our medical programmes which must always follow the development of our armed struggle. New clinics, therefore, have been established in zones covered by the war, and these are the areas that in the past had always been neglected by the Portuguese. In fact there were no public health centres, no medical staff, no health campaigns at the time when our war of national liberation began in September, 1964.

The clinics established in the liberated zones are of various kinds, depending on the kind of diseases prevalent in the area, the equipment and personnel available. They can be a first aid post where first aid is administered to any emergency case and where medicines prescribed by other more important centres are distributed; or they can be regional hospitals, where a great number of diseases are treated, especially those which are contagious or those caused by parasites, where sutures and small surgical interventions can be made. One of these hospitals in Cabo Delgado, treated 3,485 patients in a period of one year - from 1968 - 1969. In this Province for example, apart from the Central Hospital, we have 11 district hospitals and 56 first aid centres with a medical staff of 315 people.

Besides treating people, campaigns for sanitary education and the use of prophylactic medicines are being organized.

In the southern part of Tanzania, we have a Central Hospital, Dr. Americo Boavida, at Mtwara. All hospitals and first aid centres inside Mozambique depend on this hospital for medical supplies. Serious cases that cannot be treated in any of the hospitals in the liberated areas are brought to the Central Hospital at Mtwara. The hospital is equipped with 67 beds, and almost everything is done there; medical consultations, laboratory analyses, preparation of some medicines, small and big surgical operations. At present, the X-Ray facilities are provided by the Tanzanian Government Hospital. Two foreign doc-



-  International Border
-  Rivers
-  Railways
-  Areas of Guerrilla Fighting
-  Liberated Areas

Map of Mozambique

MOZAMBIQUE

1. Area 784,000 Sq. Kms.
2. Population 8 million
3. Capital Lourenço Marques
4. Principal Towns Beira, Nampula, Quelimane,
Porto Amelia, Inhambane, Tete,
Vila Cabral, Joao Belo.
5. White Population About 200,000
6. Main Natural Resources . . . Cotton, Cashew-nuts, copra,
rice, maize, sisal, sugar,
natural gas, oil (not yet
exploited)
7. Liberated areas One quarter of Mozambique
(about 200,000 Sq. Kms.) has
been liberated in Cabo Delga-
do, Niassa and Tete Provinces.
8. Population of the liber-
ated areas 1 million
9. Portuguese troops in
Mozambique 70,000
10. Founding of FRELIMO 25th June, 1962.
11. FRELIMO's first Congress . . 23 - 28 September, 1962, in
Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.
12. Outbreak of the armed
struggle 25th September, 1964
13. FRELIMO's second Congress. . 20 - 25th July, 1968, in Niassa
Province, Mozambique.
14. FRELIMO's leaders President Samora Moisés Machel
Vice President Marcelino dos
Santos.

tors are working in this Hospital. During the first year (1970) almost 700 patients were interned in the Hospital and out-patients consultations averaged 31.5 persons per day.

Last November a group of 22 young Mozambicans enrolled themselves in a Nurses Training Course being run at the Dr. Americo Boavida Hospital. This course is aimed at improving the medical assistance conditions of our people and guerrillas. In fact, the lack of qualified nurses is one of the main obstacles our health programmes are faced with!

IV - MILITARY SITUATION

The military situation in Mozambique is characterised by intensification of our actions in vast areas which are still occupied by the Portuguese colonialists, towards our goal of achieving the complete and total liberation of our country.

IV - I tete province

In Tete Province, where they are trying as a desperate manoeuvre to build the huge imperialist project of Cabora Bassa Dam, the Portuguese colonialists are suffering ever more losses both in personnel and materials. At the beginning of the year, 1971, the flames of our war had already reached the southern bank of the Zambezi River.

The Portuguese colonialists have been using two basic methods to try to prevent the expansion of our military actions south of the Zambezi.

- psychological action characterised by the intensification of massacres against the population both in the northern and southern zones of the Zambezi River, terrorising them in order to stop them supporting the FRELIMO guerrillas;
- reinforcement of patrol actions over the Zambezi River with gunboats and helicopters in a desperate attempt to ensure the construction of the Cabora Bassa Dam.

FRELIMO is using considerable measures to counter the actions of the Portuguese colonialists by strengthening the local units of self-defence, to step up attacks on military posts so as to dislodge the enemy, to increase the political mobilisation of the masses. Along the Zambezi River FRELIMO has deployed forces to attack the boats on the water and the helicopters in the air.

The results achieved by our fighters in Tete Province are very encouraging and concrete. We have succeeded in crossing the Zambezi River and spreading the war over the entire province, isolating Cabora Bassa from the rest of the country by cutting the means of communications. From July to September, 1971, our fighters sunk 8 patrol boats on the Zambezi River, and forced the enemy troops to abandon 3 strategic military posts. Meanwhile, constant sabotage operations are being undertaken by our guerrillas on the international road which links Tete with Rhodesia in the South and Malawi in the North. This situation has endangered the safety of this road, through which no vehicle can pass today without a military escort. The railway line between Beira and Moatize is another favorite target of our fighters' sabotage operations.

Along the Rhodesian border, Ian Smith has already started to feel the fire of our armed struggle, as our guerrillas are already fighting in this area successfully.

The state of affairs in the area of the Rhodesian border is being used by the Smith regime as a pretext to increase still more joint actions with Portuguese troops aimed at torturing, terrorising and massacring our people in those areas, in order to prevent our advance to new zones. In some cases, the Rhodesian troops themselves take the initiative. For example, on 31st August, 1971, in the same region, Rhodesian troops killed 8 people by locking them up in their houses and setting fire to them. The Rhodesian soldiers also raped a girl and then killed her.

On the other hand, the Portuguese perpetuate their physical tortures, inhuman deeds and massacres against our people precisely because they are fighting for their human rights. The White Fathers have openly denounced and condemned these barbaric crimes and outrages against the human dignity of the Mozambican people.

IV - II cabo delgado province

In Cabo Delgado Province, the great fire which consumes Portuguese colonialism is spreading south of the Montepuez - Porto Amelia axis. Even in the capital of the Province, the enemy is being attacked on the outskirts of the town. In the countryside the FRELIMO offensive continues, aimed at dislodging the Portuguese troops from the few posts which, although isolated, they still hold, but without forgetting the main goal of expanding the war to new zones, so as to spread it all over the country.

Thus, during the period April - August, 1971, our guerrillas have forced the enemy troops to withdraw from 7 military posts of great strategic importance. The reasons for this withdrawal are mainly twofold: (1) the awareness of the Portuguese of the uselessness of keeping these posts, as well as the costly expenditure in supplying them; (2) the rapid development of our armed struggle in Tete Province, characterised by the intensification of our operations south of the Zambezi River, forcing the enemy to pay more attention to that region.

The 7 posts had been completely encircled by our forces for some time, and the troops there were unable to engage in any offensive action. They had to be supplied by air and this was proving very costly.

Thus, the expansion of our armed struggle to new fronts, in Cabo Delgado, forced Kaulza de Arriaga, Commander-in-Chief of the Portuguese Army in Mozambique to put his soldiers in retreat in an attempt to establish a new line of defence.

IV - III niassa province

Our military and political control over Niassa Province remains almost uncontested by the enemy. Our guerrillas have intensified their military actions in the zones of Catur and Mecanhelas, in the extreme south of this Province. In Vila Cabral, capital of the Province, our sabotage actions against the military headquarters and against moving vehicles are frequent inside the town itself. In the eastern sector, we have succeeded in joining our forces from Niassa with those from Cabo Delgado, who continue, parallel with each other, to extend the war to the south.

IV - IV statistical data

To sum up, in the military field the development of our armed struggle is characterised by the intensification of our actions with a view of spreading the struggle to new regions and, at the same time, consolidating the rear base, the liberated areas.

As a result of our various activities we have scored very important successes. For example, during the period from June 1970 to July 1971, FRELIMO fighters wiped out 1,507 enemy soldiers, destroyed 261 vehicles, shot down 2 airplanes and 1 helicopter, attacked 59 Portuguese military posts and destroyed 17 bridges and 4 trains.

And, during the period from July to November, 1971, our forces have put out of action about 718 enemy soldiers, destroyed 119 vehicles, attacked 6 posts, blown up 5 bridges, shot down 3 helicopters and 1 airplane, sunk 8 patrol boats on the Zambezi River.

Besides this, as a result of the military operations of our guerrillas, the enemy troops have also abandoned about 10 posts of strategical importance in our country.

V - DIFFICULTIES AND NEEDS

Although we have scored many successes in the development of our struggle much more still remains to be done before final victory. But we are faced with many difficulties and our needs too are many.

With regard to military programmes, half of our trained men are not armed due to lack of weapons. Many of our fighters are almost naked. They need military uniforms and boots.

In the field of health, medical programmes are severely limited due to lack of medicines, funds and equipment. More medical centres are needed, while the existing ones need more equipment and more and better drugs; the training programmes need to be expanded, both in the number of people to be trained, and in the breadth and scope of training. To do this, staff and finances are urgently called for. Vaccination campaigns need to be spread all over the liberated areas. But unfortunately there are not enough vaccines.

When the Portuguese administration was forced to abandon the north of Mozambique, they also withdrew all commercial services. As a result, all domestic utensils became unobtainable. Today FRELIMO is the only provider. And it is worth noting that in liberated areas FRELIMO does not yet have its own currency. At present most of these goods have to be imported from outside. Basic agricultural implements, such as hoes, axes, bushknives, etc. are urgently required in the liberated areas for peasants.

As for education, more training facilities are needed. Under the Portuguese colonial regime, the education of the Mozambican people was almost completely neglected and the result of this is that all development programmes are hampered by a desperate shortage of personnel with even the most basic educational qualifications. To overcome this, the primary schools which FRELIMO has opened in the liberated areas must be expanded and

improved so as to provide the personnel of tomorrow. In fact tens of thousands of children in these areas have no schools yet. Besides this, to meet our needs now, extensive literacy campaigns among the adult population are required. These educational programmes demand a lot of school material.

In short, we are badly in need of international support in terms of material and finance so as to meet our difficulties and material demands.

VI - CONCLUSION

This report shows clearly that the Portuguese colonialists are definitely losing in the battlefield and are unable to defeat us; their worries, especially over the huge project of Cabora Bassa Dam, are increasing daily. Our constant successes have created panic amongst them, leaving them confused and without knowing what best to do.

The Mozambican struggle is a just struggle, aimed at conquering, for the Mozambican people, human dignity and equality, justice and freedom, and for the Mozambican nation immediate and complete independence.

Precisely because our struggle is a just one, it enjoys the support of the broad popular masses of Mozambique, who constantly join FRELIMO thus enlarging the ranks of our combatants. Therefore, the Mozambican struggle is a popular struggle. Its main source of power and strength is in the popular masses themselves!

Our struggle, apart from being a just struggle, located in Mozambique, is at the same time an international struggle, because it is part of the struggle of the people of the world against oppression and exploitation of man by man, against colonialism, racism and imperialism. This is why it also enjoys international support from all peace-loving people.

The political consciousness of the Mozambican workers and people added to this double support of our struggle - on the one hand by the broad popular masses and on the other hand by international forces of the peace-loving people - has enabled FRELIMO to organize a strong and mighty army that today challenges the techniques of the most experienced people in military affairs, such as General Kaulza de Arriaga, Commander-in-Chief of the Portuguese Army in Mozambique.

In short, Portugal can receive from her NATO allies as much support as she wishes, but the final victory in the struggle of Mozambique will still be ours, because we have a very vital force of a different nature: the firm determination of the Mozambican people to fight for their human rights and their national liberation until the final victory. This will cannot be defeated by any means - arms or napalm bombs - consequently, the Portuguese colonialists will be defeated and the victory will be ours.

INDEPENDENCIA OU MORTE
VENCEREMOS!

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