

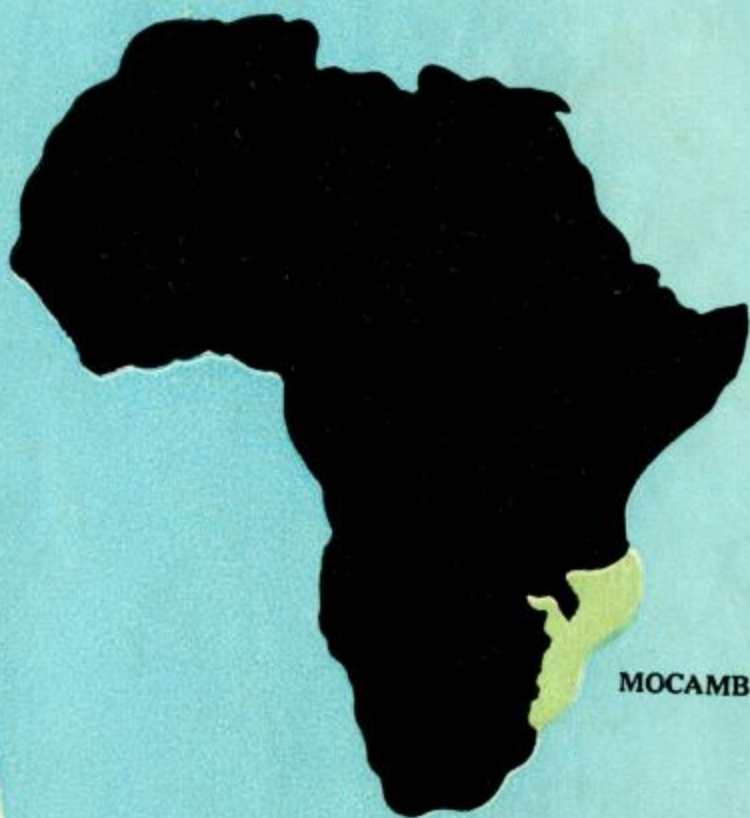


PATRIOTA

FIRST YEAR

No. 2

MOZAMBIQUE
IS PART
AND PARCEL
OF
AFRICA



MOCAMBIQUE

MEET OUR PEOPLE



Dr. EDUARDO C. MONDLANE
PRESIDENT

FRENTE DE LIBERTACAO DE
MOCAMBIQUE (FRELIIMO)



Mozambique Marches Forward To Independence With Much More Determination FRELIMO Is The Pilot

By DAVID J. M. MABUNDA
Secretary General

Mozambique has an area of 302,000 square miles and an African population of over 6,500,000. Though the white settler population is slightly over 100,000, the indigenous African population, is still subject to Portuguese colonial oppression in all fields: Political, economical, social and cultural and the policies of the Portuguese government are still characterised by the suppression of fundamental liberties. The fascist government of dictator Salazar, has since held complete power in this part of Africa. She has continuously claimed that Mozambique is not a colony but a province of Portugal where there is complete racial harmony and the equality of all its present inhabitants.

The question alone that Mozambique is a province of Portugal is at this moment too absurd to merit any serious consideration. The peoples of Mozambique, have from the very onset denied this through their political organisations and have repeatedly made it clear that Mozambique is part and parcel of Africa. Since the people of Mozambique opened their eyes, they started waging a struggle against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism through their own political organisations which because of the oppressive and diabolical policies of the Portuguese colonial administration, were forced to operate from outside the borders of Mozambique.

Only as late as 1960, the birth of the first political movement of Mozambican origin, the Mozambique African National Union "MANU" was announced in Tanganyika. A new page was opened in the history of the struggle of



the peoples of this part of Africa. "MOZAMBIQUE". Since that time the Africans in our country began to re-organise themselves to bring an end to this reign of terror.

In the following year, yet another organisation was born in Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia, in 1961 and was known as the Uniao Democratica Nacional De Mocambique "UDENAMO". Immediately after its formation, it was realised by its leadership that because of the existing secret pacts between the governments of Salazar/Verwoed and the now dying Wellensky, "To crush all /nationalist movements, keep the black man in a position of inferiority for ever and military collaboration in case of an uprising in any of the territories where these three mongrels are holding power and determined to keep that part of Africa "Southern Africa" as a whites paradise" the movement could not have any progress and thus moved its headquarters to Tanganyika.

Ever since these two organisations were stationed in Tanganyika, the Portuguese government, with the use of its agents, started to divide these two nationalist movements and set them against one another. However, this was soon realised by the leadership of these organisations and it became clear and vivid that if any progress was to be achieved, if Mozambique was to be liberated, the people of Mozambique, had to be united as one body ever determined to liberate Mozambique from the hands of the Portuguese thugs.

On the 25th of June 1962, both movements came together and elected the leadership of the Front now known as the FRENTE DE LIBERTACAO DE MOCAMBIQUE "FRELIMO".

Presently, the only African liberation movement in Mozambique, is the "FRELIMO" which was born on the 25th June 1962. With only 6 months in existence, the FRELIMO has attracted the largest following both at home and abroad in the history of

Mozambican political movements. It must be born in mind that the FRELIMO is also operating from outside the borders of Mozambique and also that in a police state like Mozambique where Africans who support the freedom struggle are subject to torture and imprisonment and even death, organising the masses becomes the most difficult part of the struggle.

In spite of shootings, arrests and imprisonments, the African sees his victory inevitable. He sees clearly that time for him to be treated as a slave or subhuman being is that of the bygone past, now he is determined to liberate himself at all costs, he is no longer prepared to be ruled by a foreigner without his consent in his own land.

In the interior of Mozambique, the situation is rapidly becoming explosive but one commandable significance in the liberation struggle since FRELIMO was born is the unity that the African people have demonstrated up to this day.

On the 17th of November, 1962, in a village near VILLA Cabral, a Portuguese military patrol was ambushed. The soldiers were killed and the vehicle burned. On the following day, the savage Portuguese soldiers, arrested and shot twenty people. In the same month near MUEDA, several people were shot to death by a platoon of Portuguese soldiers after an unsuccessful attempt to blow a bridge. Many incidents of the very same nature occur in Mozambique and in spite of the force of international opinion both on national and international levels, the Portuguese colonial administration continues to embark upon an open campaign of terrorism, intimidating and murdering the indigenous African population whose crime is said to be that of demanding their freedom".

The FRELIMO, which is a political organisation consisting of Mozambicans with no discrimination of sex, ethnic origin, re-

ligious creed or of locality of domicile, is ever more determined to defend and realise the aspirations of the Mozambican people which have been exploited and oppressed by the Portuguese regime. Some extracts of its programme are :

- 1 — To work for the general liquidation of Portuguese colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.
- 2 — To unite and mobilize Mozambicans of all social classes residing in Mozambique and outside, without discrimination of tribe, religion, ideology or sex.
- 3 — To fight by all means for the liquidation in Mozambique of Portuguese colonial domination and of all vestiges of colonialism and imperialism.
- 4 — To fight together with all Mozambican patriotic forces.
- 5 — To collaborate with all African peoples who are struggling for their complete independence, particularly with the people and organisations of Portuguese colonies.
- 6 — To collaborate with all progressive forces and peace loving countries in the whole world, to obtain the sympathy and support of all peoples for the cause of the liberation of Mozambican people.
- 7 — To achieve the immediate and complete National Independence of Mozambique.
- 8 — To establish a democratic government based on total independence, in which all Mozambicans will be equal before the law and have the same rights and duties.
- 9 — The formation of a government of the people, by the people and for the people in which the sovereignty of the Nation will reside in the will of the people.
- 10 — To promote peace, order and prosperity in Mozambique.
- 11 — To affirm the inalienable right of the Mozambican Nation to act for itself on the political, diplomatic, economic, social, cultural or on any other plan.
- 12 — To maintain the unity and territorial integrity of Mozambique.
- 13 — To liquidate all economic aspects of a colonialist or imperialist type.
- 14 — To reconstruct the economy and development of production in order to transform Mozambique, from a colonial and under developed country to an independent, industrial, developed, modern, prosperous and strong country. To defend the interests of all Mozambican people through:
 - The abolition of forced labour system;
 - The abolition of agreements which govern the emigration of Mozambican workers to South Africa and other colonised countries;
 - The abolition of the practise of the transportation of prisoners to the plantations of S. Tome and other countries;
 - The abolition of the use of Mozambican soldiers in colonial wars against the peoples of other Portuguese colonies as well as the peoples of other countries;
 - The establishment of equal pay for equal work, without discrimination of race or sex.
 - The raising of the standard of living of the people.

- 16 — To honour the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
- 17 — To end colonialist and imperialist education and culture : To reform the educational system now in force and energetically and rapidly combat illiteracy.
- 18 — To develop education and culture to serve the liberty and peaceful progress of the Mozambican people.
- 19 — To create forces for national defence : an army, navy and air force composed of the indigenous people.
- 20 — To eliminate foreign military bases in the national territory.
- 21 — To refrain from adhering to military blocs.
- 22 — To collaborate in the building of the unity of all the peoples in the African continent, based upon the respect of liberty, dignity and the right of political, economic and social progress of these peoples.
- 23 — To collaborate with all the people of the world on the basis of mutual respect of National Sovereignty and territorial integrity, no aggression, non-interference in internal affairs, equality and reciprocity of advantages and peaceful co-existence.
- 24 — To respect the principles of the United Nations Charter.
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PATRIOTA

On the occasion of the Third Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference to be held in Dar-Es-Salaam, Republic of Tanganyika, the leadership of the Frente de Libertacao de Mocambique "FRELIMO" on behalf of its members and the peoples of Mozambique, wishes to welcome this conference and to reaffirm its

total support and solidarity in this great Afro-Asian cause.

At this instant, we also wish to greet and welcome our Latin-American brothers with the hope that they will soon join this great family of solidarity.

We wish the participants of this Conference good luck and success in their deliberations.

The Struggle Of Mozambique

By LEO MILAS

Secretary of Information and Culture

The people of Mozambique after centuries of suffering under the yoke of Portuguese colonial oppression are demanding their freedom. The Portuguese Colonial regime in Mozambique, Angola and other areas blighted by the Portuguese presence, is the most oppressive in Modern Colonial history. It is characterized by extreme racism, the exclusion of African children from access to education and a system of forced labor, which dominates the entire economy of the nation and which is, in effect, a very thinly disguised form of slavery.

The peoples of Mozambique are determined to free themselves from Portuguese domination. We have attempted and exhausted all peaceful means to acquire the universally recognized right of self-determination. We have asked that Portugal fulfill her duty as a Member of the United Nations, to permit the exercise of the right of self-determination in the colonies under her control. We have asked the United Nations Organization to enforce its Charter and its resolutions concerning this problem and guarantee us the right to freely determine our own destiny.

As is well known, Portugal has not complied in any respect with the requirements of the United Nations Charter and the United Nations resolutions concerning the right of self-determination of peoples. The Portuguese Fascist regime has constantly refused to permit the People of Mozambique any semblance or degree of self-determination. Quite to the contrary, the Portuguese reply to our demands for self-determination has been increased repression and persecution of the people of Mozambique.

The Portuguese Dictatorship continues to defy the legitimate aspirations of the peoples

of Mozambique and Angola, as well as the resolutions of the United Nations. With the assistance of her NATO allies, Portugal is increasing the numbers and armament of her Armed Forces in Mozambique at the same time that she is carrying on a war of colonial repression against the people of Angola.

There are at present more than 40,000 Portuguese troops in Mozambique. In addition, there are large number of political police (PIDE) and armed Portuguese militia. This enormous force is well equipped and financed far beyond the capabilities of Portugal. It is more than obvious that Portugal could neither arm nor finance such a force without the military and financial assistance of her NATO allies. In this respect, it is notable that in the year 1962 alone, Portugal has received dollar loans from American sources amounting to US \$100 million.

Confronted with this oppressive situation, the people of Mozambique and their national representatives who compose FRELIMO (FRENTE DA LIBERTACAO DE MOCAMBIQUE). The Mozambique Liberation Front, have reached the inevitable conclusion that we can no longer hope to gain our freedom through non-violent means. It has become entirely obvious that the self-determination of the peoples of Mozambique can be attained only through joining our Angolan brothers in armed revolution against the tyranny of the Salazar Dictatorship.

FRELIMO, the MOZAMBIQUE LIBERATION FRONT, was formed on 25th June 1962 by the union of all of the nationalist elements of the People of Mozambique.

The purpose of FRELIMO is to achieve the liberation of the People of Mozambique.

through whatever means that might be required, and at the earliest possible date. While FRELIMO would prefer to achieve the liberation of Mozambique through pacific means, we realize that the obstinate nature of the Portuguese Dictatorship makes this impossible. FRELIMO realizes that the Peoples of Mozambique can attain their freedom from Portuguese domination only through the methods used by our Algerian and Angolan brothers, with whom we re-affirm our complete and unreserved solidarity.

We have achieved the first essential step in our struggle: unity of the people. The people of Mozambique are solidly united in support of FRELIMO.

We now need to obtain the support of our African brothers, as well as the support of all these nations that believe in the right of self-determination and the other fundamental rights of humanity. We are confident that our brothers in Africa and beyond Africa give us their moral support. We must hope,

however, that they will also give us their material support.

We hope that all those states that sympathise with our cause will adopt a similar attitude.

The struggle for liberation in Mozambique as in Angola and the other areas of Southern Africa, will not be easy. The struggle will be long and difficult. It will, of necessity, come to bear more and more resemblance to the Algerian war.

We must therefore ask material aid from our brothers and all those who sympathise with our cause. Moral support is very much needed, of course, but moral support alone cannot balance the enormous quantities of armament and financial aid supplied to the Portuguese colonialists by their NATO allies.

The people of Mozambique thank you for the aid that you have done to aid them in the future to hasten their liberation, without which, Africa cannot be really free.

BIRTHDAY CELEBRATIONS ARE DANGEROUS IN MOZAMBIQUE

News has been received from Quelimane, Mozambique that 52 persons were arrested when the PIDE (Portuguese political police) found them engaged in a birthday party.

Among the prisoners were 20 women and girls, who were violated by the officials of the PIDE. Two girls of 14 and 15 years of age respectively, were violated in the presence of their mothers.

Forty of the prisoners were released on 14 December. The other twelve are still in the hands of the PIDE, charged with being

responsible for organizing the celebration. The PIDE alleges that the birthday celebration was in fact a celebration of Tanganyika's Republic. Refugees from Quelimane have affirmed however, that it was indeed the birthday of the girl of 15 years of age who was repeatedly violated by responsible officials of the PIDE. One of them, a chief official of the PIDE in the Quelimane area, told the child that he would "really give her a present for her birthday".

The girl's father was severely beaten with gun butts by the PIDE officials at the time of his arrest. He is presumed to have died in the hands of the PIDE, as is indicated by reports received from reliable sources in Quelimane.

Press Statement By Edward Ndlovu – Cairo
Representative Of The "Zimbabwe African Peoples'
Union" (ZAPU) Of Southern Rhodesia
18th December, 1962

Sir Edgar Whitehead has lost power in Southern Rhodesia and a new Government has been formed by another reactionist of the Rhodesian Front — Mr. Winston Field.

However, any Government formed on the basis of the new Constitution is unacceptable and will not be recognized by the African people because the primary aim of the new Constitution is to have a Parliament in which the Colonial settlers will be in absolute majority with a few black stooges chosen at the pleasure of the White man to nod their heads whenever their Masters speak. In addition, the Franchise system in the new Constitution does not set the goal for Universal Suffrage and has no basis for justice, equality and freedom of the majority of the people of Southern Rhodesia. Another dangerous aspect of the present constitutional set-up in Southern Rhodesia is that the British Government can now urge this pseudo-multi-racial Parliament to pass a motion of independence excusing themselves that the motion was supported by people of all races when in actual fact the few black stooges are hand-picked into those positions and are forced to sing the melody favourable to their white Masters. Basically, the new Constitution is a plan to increase Imperialist oppression and exploitation and thus intensify the robbery of our Country's resources. A plan to enrich the big monopolists who every year drain millions of pounds and dollars in profits from Zimbabwe to London and New York. It is the draining of these profits that has impoverished and pauperized the African people whose standard of living is deplorably and lamentably low.

For these reasons and many others, the Zimbabwe African peoples' Union (ZAPU) objected to the new Constitution and we urged the African people to boycott elections under this Constitution and as you are aware the call by ZAPU on the African people to boycott the recent elections was very affective and this demonstrated the tremendous degree of solidarity of the African people and their unflinching mass support for ZAPU.

The Rhodesian Front like Whitehead's United Federal Party is a Party that represents the oligarchies, the exploiters; it stands for white supremacy and for the domination of the African people and for unleashing terror; the Party believes in the principle of one-European one-vote; the Rhodesian Front stands for privilege and monopoly of a minority; it stands for political oppression and economic exploitation of the African people. Although this Party advocates broad industrialisation of the Country, it does not believe in broad and mass education of the African people. Like Whitehead's United Federal Party, it does not have the support of the African people. The leaders of the Rhodesian Front have made it clear that they will not encourage people of different racial groups to mix and mingle and on the one hand, the United Federal Party, led by Whitehead masquerades as an apostle of the African masses by preaching the smokescreened policy of racial partnership through which they have shamelessly wooed the British Government into believing these cheap sermons on racial partnership.

The victory of the Rhodesian Front with its intolerable policy and its formation of a Government under a fraudulent Constitution, creates a conglomeration of insanity which ZAPU must rectify before Southern Rhodesia is turned into a lunatic-asylum.

Until a Constitution which recognises the principle of "One-man One-vote" and acceptable to the majority of the people of Southern Rhodesia is founded, the African people of Southern Rhodesia are once again called upon to demonstrate and direct everything in our power to prevent the operation and the functioning of a Government founded under the new Constitution. In addition, the formation of a Government under the new Constitution can only be regarded as a Declaration of War against the African people and should the British Government recognise the new Government in Salisbury, they will only be endorsing this Declaration of War against the African people and against the United Nations Organisation which voted for the abrogation of this Constitution.

It would be the height of unwisdom and sheer hypocrisy for the British Government to regret the outcome of the recent elections in Southern Rhodesia because in the first place ZAPU warned the British Government of the evil intrigues of the settlers and our

warnings were ignored. Secondly, the British Government ignored the decisions of the United Nations on Southern Rhodesia and thirdly, historical records prove that British intentions in the Southern part of Africa have been those of a sell-out Colonial Power. This is qualified by the fact that in 1910, exactly 52 years ago, Britain sold-out the fate of the 12 million Africans of South Africa to the whims and caprices of a reactionary settler minority clique who have designed a policy of Apartheid through which they are trying to stop the African people from breathing and to-day in 1962, the British Government has sold-out the fate of the 4½ million Africans of Southern Rhodesia to yet another reactionary settler minority scum.

Perhaps, there could be a special cause for British regret over the outcome of the recent elections in Southern Rhodesia and this could be the down fall of Sir Roy Welensky and Sir Edgar Whitehead whose Party, has been the only one in Central Africa holding and looking after British interests as was recently revealed by Sir Roy Welensky on the 11th December, 1962 when he said that if the Federation broke-up there could be no British Military Bases anywhere in East and Central as those in Kenya would be forced to dismantle within 18 months.

FRELIMO Salutes African Political Movements, Peace Loving Countries and Organisations The World Over

By FANNEL G. MAHLUZA
Chief Representative of Mozambique Office — Cairo.

On behalf of the 6,500,000 African people of Mozambique and in the name of FRELIMO, we salute African political movements and peace loving peoples and organisations elsewhere who are engaged in the fight for the realisation of the freedom of all men and for world peace.

FRELIMO was formed six months ago by the amalgamation of the two main political movements of Mozambique, União Democrática Nacional de Mozambique (UDENAMO) and the Mozambique African National Union (MANU), the leadership of these two movements, realising the critical situation in the country resulting from the criminal content of Portuguese administration, decided to come together and to unite their forces against the common enemy — Portuguese colonialism and world imperialism.

We are facing one of the most difficult and dangerous tasks in our determination to liberate from the agony of Portuguese repression and persecution as it will be noted from the fact that unlike other movements we have had to organise ourselves in exile because of difficulties within the country which we are sure you will all appreciate which we intend to overcome.

The Portuguese Government brought untold misery to our people and turned our country into a centre of slavery, exploitation, torture, dotted all over with military bases. Our legacy is illiteracy, disease and poverty. This is our lot, these are our experience for the last 500 years.

You are all aware of Portuguese colonial policies — the criminal repression in the so-called Portuguese Guinea, the war of extermination conducted against the people of Angola

and the refusal of the fascist regime of Salazar to comply with world opinion at the United Nations and other world forums — hence the question of liberating our people from the yoke of Portuguese colonialism, as part of the African revolution towards continental unity has become first priority.

FRELIMO was formed for this express purpose — to deliver our people from foreign rule. Action is to be our motto for the word negotiation does not exist in the minds of the Portuguese administrators. Our aim is to rest power from the Portuguese colonialists. At this very moment our people are being exterminated in their hundreds, the country has been turned into a perpetual blood-bath; hence we say "not words but actions" is our answer.

In the name of FRELIMO, we appeal to our African brothers for co-operation with us in the name of mother Africa. We appeal to peace and democracy loving peoples and States for solidarity in the name of World Peace.

FORMATION OF THE FRONT

The question of strategy in the liberation struggle of Mozambique has been in the minds of our people for a long time specially among the leadership. Having analysed the whole situation we came to the conclusion that our answer lay in unifying all the forces of our people. After all, our aim is one and we are all agreed on it. Further, division at this stage is dangerous as the intransigence of the policies of the Portuguese in our country and other colonies; their increasing brutality against the people seems to suggest that there can be no question of a peaceful solution of our problems.

UDEMANO and MANU, had been in existence for two years before the formation of FRELIMO. In all that time the two organisations indulged in petty quarels among themselves, involved in misunderstandings and futile differences which were neither of benefit nor relevant to the active struggle for liberation. Each tried to built itself at the expense of the other, accused each other of being Portuguese stooger; each claimed to be the national organisation and MANU was broadly attacked as being a tribal organisation. All this only succeed in increasing the dursion among our people. One declared that the problems of Mozambique would be never solved peacefully while the other was convinced that peaceful struggle would finally bring independence. This played into the hands of the oppressors — delaying and putting further and further the day of reckoning with the oppressor.

Our people who trough all this period kept their determination high did not lose heart. Instead in discussions with the leadership they showed their yearning for united action and their desire for the ending of differences between the two organisations — hence the formation of the "FRENTE DE LIBERTACAO DE BOCAMBIQUE" which we are now developing as the shield and the sword of the people of Mozambique against Portuguese colonialism and world imperialism.

It was on June 25th, 1962 FRELIMO was formed — its policy based on Pan Africanism and thus supporting the continental struggle against colonialism and imperialism and calling for the free development of the African Independent States working toward African Unity.

The African Struggle In Mozambique

We would like to mention something about the African struggle in Mozambique and its difficulties to all comrades, freedom fighters. Our struggle for freedom is one of the world's most difficult ones.

First of all, people must understand that the struggle in Europe and America were of brothers against brothers; there was no apartheid, racial discrimination and a host of humiliations that we endure today in our beloved continent. We must understand that then this brother against brother fight was being waged all of them were equally well-armed, and that even when one country was conquered and colonized its torture and humiliation did not last as long as it does in Africa because the white settlers have built in their minds the falacy that we are inferior beings.

Fellow freedom fighters, we must get it clear in our minds that every thing changes with the time, and that every sufferer has his day of emancipation. We believe that all of us know that the primitive man used, for tilling the soil, a sharp-pointed stick, but with the change of time the stick got its freedom when the hoe appeared on the scene... the hoe got freedom when the ox-plough came; then the ox-plough got its freedom when the tractor appeared. Even the oppressors themselves have many difficulties of movement when they first entered Africa — they did not have much freedom of movement on account of the limited methods of transport — but today they have freedom of movement (which incidentally, they deny us).

Fellow freedom fighters, look, the oppressor's foot has freedom today, but the poor American in his God-given continent has been colonized for centuries, and when he claims his rights the colonizers shut his mouth with the gun. We must not be led to believe that they are interested only in exploitation and enjoyment on the African soil, for they

are unbelievable delighted to see African suffering in their own country.

As we all of us sincerely believe that any amount of suffering has got to come to an end, and that end comes as a result of human plans and activity, it is time we realised that our freedom from oppression is at our doorstep and that it is now up to us to make concrete plans for immediate action.

We have spoken about freedom difficulties in general; here we would like to give you a picture of the Mozambique political situation in particular. You all know what sort of Portuguese administration is, and you have at least heard about the brutality and unparalleled cruelty of their Government in the so-called "overseas provinces".

When the Portuguese entered Mozambique they shed the blood of the indogenous inhabitants with inconceivable callousness.

They then began forcing us to think the way they want — indoctrinating us into accepting that we are inferiors to them; we are incapable of doing anything without their guidance; we were not created to rule, even among ourselves, but to be slaves to the white man and (they say) that is why God has sent them to come and rule us. They began implementing their Vatican God's laws, teaching Africans about the existence of sin. The thing, my dear freedom fighters, which supprises me is that we are taught that the first and biggest sin is to talk about politics. We are not allowed to form even social organisation or trade unions. We are not allowed to play our African dances or follow our own customs. We are not allowed to work for ourselves; we are contracted by force to work in the mines of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. We are forced to work in their cotton plantations and in all the public works; and we are allowed to go to their churches to

help them call upon their Vatican God to come and aid them in oppressing us. Even the few poor Africans' societies for killing mice are controlled by them.

Many African freedom fighters blamed us Mozambicans for not demanding our rights or joining in the liberation struggle, not knowing that Mozambique is the centre of agonies. Most of us are burning with the urge to struggle for Africa's liberation, but in Mozambique blood has been split and perhaps the worst and most inhuman torture in the history of African suffering has been meted out long before the African liberation movement began to gather momentum.

Fellow freedom fighters and all peace loving countries, would like to put this clear to you that Portugal is NATO'S "PANGA", because thousands of Mozambicans who were arrested in South Africa and in Southern Rhodesia by Verwoerd and his friend Roy Welensky were handed to the Portuguese Government, and none of them is still alive. Others were arrested in South West Africa and handed to the Portuguese authorities in Angola, and I believe all of you know what to expect has happened to them, more so with the situation as it is in Angola today.

Comrades, we all know that Portugal is an economical poor country. Is it not striking then to see that Mozambique today has five big and wonderfully equipped army bases which in Portugal herself there are not? For what purpose does NATO give all these arms to Portugal? Because when NATO was formed Portugal was a poor country as she is now; she had no money for contribution, and for this reason she offered herself to be NATO'S 'colony' so that if NATO would defend her interest she would let NATO rule all her colonies indirectly, and an agreement was signed. In Mozambique there are many British, American and Belgian companies, and American bombs are being used for killing our brothers in Angola. So comrades you must understand that we of Portuguese colonies

are not fighting against Portuguese only, but against all NATO powers as well.

THE POWER BELONGS TO THE AFRICAN PEOPLE

The saying that "Power rightly belongs to the people" is last being widely accepted in African circles today. Thus automatically, the fact is accepted that the liberation of the peoples of Africa must come through determined and resolute struggle. And each year has become Africa year.

Like the two previous years — 1960 and 1961 — this year has seen more flags of independence flying over Africa — Ruanda, Burundi, Uganda and the greatest victory ever against colonialism and imperialism in Africa was won by the fighting forces of Algeria, who, for over seven years, fortified by their conviction in the right of man to freedom and independence have taken to arms against the might of France and the entire NATO block.

Indeed the year 1962 saw a growing consciousness and political understanding in the entire continent — a process that cannot be interrupted. Equally we saw in the course of this year the growing machinations of imperialism — contradictions appeared in the open with British and Belgian imperialism on the one hand against American imperialism in Katanga.

The intrigues of British colonialism in Kenya Zanzibar, Northern and Southern Rhodesia and in the High Commission Territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland were unmarked by the determined struggle of the liberation movements in these countries.

The people of South Africa, after decades of peaceful but militant struggle against racial oppression are hitting back at the monster of Verwoerdian Nazist Apartheid.

The tottering regime of fascist Portugal

(Continued on page 17)

"If You Are Black, You Should Know Your Place"

America is a land of paradoxes. On the one hand, fabulous wealth that stuns the imagination; on the other, no less surprising poverty. On the one hand, the lofty words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence on fraternity, equality and liberty; on the other, unbridled racialism, unemployment, and the lack of the most elementary democratic rights for many millions of Americans.

The automation of production intensifies the process of the differentiation of the workers, and gives rise to the so-called middle class — skilled workers, and the poor — the unskilled and semi-skilled labour power which industry throws out on the street.

The substance of the American paradox consists in the fact that poverty in the country is not absolute. An indifferent, blind attitude has appeared amidst the middle class towards one-third of the Americans, about 50-60 million people (according to the most modest estimates), who are in a state of poverty and moral depression. Precisely at the time when America obtained a real chance to do away with poverty, it has no such intention at all. One-third of the population has been thrown out, beyond the threshold of the "prosperity state" and they are simply forgotten in the "affluent society".

The American Negroes find themselves in an especially dire state. This is the problem of problems for present-day America. Laundry workers, hotel employees, dish washers, maids, stevedores and elevator operators — all this economic "depth" of the modern American cities consists of Negroes; all the dirty work has been left for the Negro. The coloured people holding these jobs receive such low pay that it cannot cover even their pri-

mary necessities. And no progress in this sphere is envisaged. Their poverty has become a normal state of affairs it is invisible, and therefore viable. This section of the population is not embraced by the trade union movement. Negroes have no political power because they are in the minority.

It is believed in America that a Negro cannot but be poor. The mind of the "average" American having an income is imbued with racialism to such an extent, that he is not shocked on hearing about the poverty of the Negroes. Whereas, for instance, in the thirties unemployment was a general problem in the United States concerning everybody, now it touches only the semi-skilled and unskilled labour. In the main, these people are Negroes.

Herbert Hill, Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of the Coloured People for labour affairs, recently stated that Negroes form a very big portion of permanent unemployment in American society. "On losing his job", he said, "an unskilled Negro worker over 45 years of age will never find a good place for himself".

Even George Meany, President of the A.F.L.-C.I.O., whom it is hard to suspect of any sympathies towards Negroes, admitted that in general, a considerable number of Negroes, irrespective of their education and skill, are deprived of a real opportunity of receiving work.

In comparison with 1929, when the workers in the United States made up 59 per cent, in 1957 the number of workers dropped to 47 per cent. Thus, one-fifth of the workers passed into the category of declassified elements that found themselves in the economic "depths". All this was a result of the reduction in the number of jobs. There are from

2.5 to 3 times more Negroes among the unemployed than whites, according to official statistics. In 1960 the Armour Meat Packing Plant in Oklahoma closed shop. It was mostly Negroes that worked at this plant, just as in general in such kind of factories. Their qualifications deprived them of the chance of getting a job at other plants, where the staffs were also cut. Moreover, 76 per cent of the workers of this plant were over 40. Whereas they were among the middle class when they had a job, now they dropped into the category of people of whom it is said: "They are too old to work and too young for a pension". To find work in other states is an unrealistic venture for such people.

The Negroes in the rural areas of the South suffer not only from poverty. They are being terrorised : they have no political support, and they are isolated on their own farms. White racialsists have subjected them to terror. It had gone so far that, for instance, the White Citizens' Council of New Orleans, Louisiana, placed an ad in the **New York Times** offering every Negro a free ticket from the South to any northern area. But the North issued a warning and a threat to any possible resettlers. The head of the social welfare department in Detroit, for instance, warned that as it was they already had 122,000 unemployed Negroes.

This already shows sufficiently clearly that the Negroes in big cities are no better off than in the South.

There is no official segregation in New York's Harlem, that Negro ghetto. But here is what one of the authors, whose book has recently been published in the U.S.A., tells about the Negroes of the New York ghetto : to live in Harlem means to be a Negro ; to be a Negro means to live in poverty and fear, which proves to be stronger than any law in favour or against discrimination... Harlem spells a discriminatory economy, a discriminatory psychology, a discriminatory society.

It is generally recognised that Harlem is

America's bastion of poverty. To be born into a Negro family is already a curse for an American citizen. The parents of a Negro child cannot give him the necessary education. In case a Negro does happen to receive an education, his life turns into a chain of painful humiliations. Negro lawyers and doctors can practice their profession only in Negro districts. But what can a beggarly Negro pay? This is one of the forms of discrimination.

In present-day America it is precisely those forms of unskilled manual labour in which Negroes are employed — jobs requiring unskilled or semi-skilled manpower — that are being eliminated. The fact that few in America think about retraining these people for other jobs is due to the racialist character of the American economy, which only revives racial prejudices and liquidates those achievements in the field of desegregation which the labour unions uniting Negroes in some branches of industry have managed to gain.

The solution of the unemployment problem in the United States means to solve in the main also the racial problem. But the Negroes by themselves cannot achieve any improvements. There isn't a single Negro senator in America. In the House of Representatives there are merely four Negroes out of 437 members of this chamber. And this despite the fact that the Negroes make up no less than 10 per cent of the population in the United States. "Whites cannot imagine what it means to be a Negro : danger, limited prospects, the need for being always careful and wary. Due to this the Negro problem is actually a problem for the whites. It is not the Negro that considers a dark skin and curly hair something terrible, but the white. And the solution of the problem of the racial agony in America requires deep self-analysis on the part of whites. They must analyse themselves even more than the Negroes, wrote the American journalist James Baldwin.

In his election programme President

Kennedy was quite generous with promises to improve the life of millions of Americans. Much has also been said about desegregation, the retraining of workers of low skills, medical care for the population, etc.

However, no improvements at all can be seen in the second year that Kennedy occupies the presidential chair. The number of unemployed is increasing, the racialists continue their outrages, the retraining has embraced an insignificant number of low-skilled workers while, for instance, the bill for medical care for the aged was turned down by the Senate, which consists mainly of representatives of the Democratic Party the very same party in whose name Kennedy promised in his election speeches to show solicitude for the forgotten men by whose hands today's wealth of America was created.

The President of the United States ex-

pressed his sympathies to the Americans living in poverty, especially Negroes, at a recent press conference. Refuting his own former statements Kennedy asserted that the economic recession puts the heaviest burden on the Negroes who, of course, are the first to lose their jobs and the last to receive them.

Such is America today, such is its democracy.

The myth of the American "prosperity state" is exposed by reality. The trans-oceanic propagandists and their obedient chorus of European "socialists" of different hues aver that all that every country has to do is introduce American laws and system and then the entire world will turn into a society of "democratic socialism". But do the peoples of the world need "socialism for the rich and private enterprise for the poor", do they need laws that humiliate a man only because he is black, and only because he is black to deprive him of work and subject him to terror?

(Continued from page 14)

has received a great setback. The people of Angola have withstood the first phase of Salazar's war of extermination and with the liberation of Dr. Neto, they are now working towards unity of the liberation forces in Angola. The Portuguese in the so-called Portuguese Guinea are under a barrage from the African Independence Party of Guinea and Cape Verde under the leadership of Amilcar Cabral. Mozambique, following in the same spirit has won what must eventually lead to final victory. In June this year, the Mozambique United Front — FRE-

of LIMO — composed of the leading nationalist organisations in that colony was formed.

The African people as a whole have won small but significant victories and this has not been confined to dependent states alone. The African Independent States have made history in their agreed decision to hold a continental conference at head of states level.

The year 1963 should see greater struggles in the battle for final emancipation of the remaining territories under colonialism and consolidation in the anti-imperialist struggle — indeed "Victory is ours".

Qual Foi A Razao da Minha Adesao A Frelimo

Aderi à FRENTE DE LIBERTACAO DE MOCAMBIQUE "FRELIMO" porque o homem neste mundo de hoje, assim como um barco precisa duma bússola para orientá-lo ao seu destino, também necessita dum guia para a sua orientacao à vida futura. Como o mundo está a mover-se cada vez mais rápido, e'e. sem o tal guia perder-se-ia.

Nao é facil a um pedreiro construir uma casa sem que tenha o fio de prumo.

Irmaos o tempo do neutralismo e o de "Nao me intereça" está findo; decidamos porque e para que estamos vivendo neste mundo.

Vejamos entao resumidamente as causas que me levaram à FRELIMO e nao a outra organizacao qualquer :

a) A FRELIMO é uma organizacao revolucionaria;

b) Nela, a livre opiniao, é respeitada;

c) A critica aberta, contanto que seja construtiva, nao constitui nenhum crime;

d) A Frente nao luta, de maneira nenhuma, pelo bem dos exploradores do povo Moçambicano, mas sim, pala completa e radical liquidacao do colo-



nialismo e imperialism nas suas diferentes formas;

e) Por ser um movimento que nao impoe as suas decisoes às massas, mas sim, um interprete fiel dos desejos e necessidades das populaçoes de Moçambique;

f) Ele ensima às suas massas que a independencia de Moçambique será o fruto de uniao e do trabalho da sua oprimida populacao;

g) A Frente deve a sua existencia à uniao das massas populares;

h) Organizar e unir o povo Moçambicano num sò Movimento Nacional destinado à luta pela independencia, é um dos principios básicos da FRELIMO.

FRELIMO E A LIBERDADE

Esta é a mais complicada e

importante questao; porque "liberdade" é percebida diferentemente nas diversas partes do mundo. Na maior parte dos casos, toma-se "liberdade" como sendo o direito inalienável de certos estados ou individuos de explorar outros, especialmente quando estes sao de etnia diferente da dos primeiros. Infelizmente, casos, em que a liberdade do individuo nao consegue ir além das Assembleias Legislativas e dos arquivos, nao sao menos frequentes; e pode-se mesmo afirmar que estes casos é que constituem a regra geral.

Mas, a liberdade existente dentro da FRELIMO, por exemplo, nao é uma simples teoria; encontramos-la nao sòmente nos livros, mas, principalmente nos individuos, isto é, ela é largamente praticada pelos seus membros. Bem entendido que esta liberdade nao consiste em os individuos fazerem o que querem mas o que devem.

De acordo com os principios da Frente de Libertacao de Moçambique (FRELIMO) nao existem e nem existirao privilegiados.

Os membros aprendem e praticam isto na organizacao, para, mais tarde farezem o mesmo dentro do Pais.

Published By
Mozambique Office, 5 Ahmed Hishmat St.
Zamalek - Cairo - M.A.R.

DAR EL-HANA Press — Cairo.

P.R.29-02