

# COMMUNIQUE OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

The Central Committee of FRELIMO met from 9 to 14 May, 1970, to analyse the situation and study the problems deriving from our struggle for national liberation. The Executive Committee presented its report to the Central Committee, covering all sectors of activity of FRELIMO in the political and military field, and in the field of national reconstruction.

Our situation is characterised by the strengthening of the political consciousness of the masses and by the consolidation of our structures; by the expansion of our military actions into zones not previously covered by the armed struggle, and consolidation of the zones under FRELIMO control; and by a great impulse in the programmes of national reconstruction, within the perspective of solving the social and economic problems which are raised today in our country.

In the political plan, the most relevant aspect was the elevation of the consciousness of our people. There is today a deeper understanding of the nature of our struggle and of our goals. It is the populations who more and more actively carry out the transport of war equipment, medicines and school material; who provide food for our bases, our hospitals, our schools; who assist our fighters in the tasks of pushing forward the front lines and in the combats in which they are called to participate; it is they who actively dedicate themselves to production—namely agriculture, artisan work, fishing and animal husbandry. The separatist tendency among the populations, which had been fomented by the enemy, is

gradually disappearing—especially the tribal and religious divisions. Mozambicans of all tribes, regions and religions today fight side by side, united in the common aim. This aim is now understood no longer only as the mere conquest of national independence, but also as the establishment of a system which will make impossible the exploitation of man by man in our country. FRELIMO has become the uncontested spokesman of the masses, and any other intermediary has ceased to exist in the zones where our people used to depend on the feudal authority of the traditional chiefs. Those chiefs are integrating themselves in our structures, and respect them. The populations also speak. The most remarkable aspect of our development in this field is that even the women—traditionally limited to the domestic work and production of children—are now able to speak and express themselves freely and with authority. A new structure was established, the basis of which are Committees, through which the voices of the people are channelled.

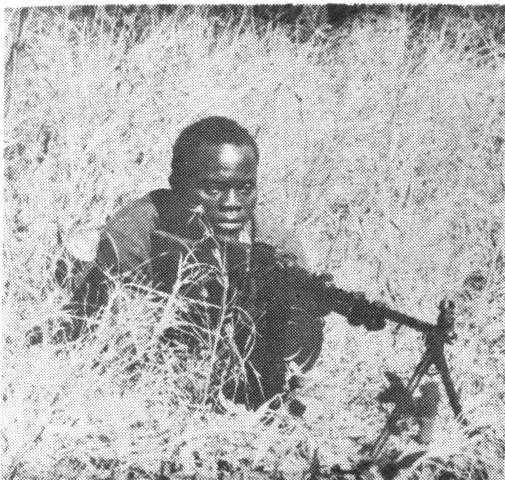
In the military plan, the situation is characterised by the intensification of our actions aimed at spreading the armed struggle to new regions and at the same time consolidating the rear bases, the liberated zones. Thus, in the war zones, the enemy is more and more isolated in his posts, as a result of the sabotage actions of our guerrillas who have cut the land communications of the enemy. Even posts that are very near each other cannot make contact among themselves except by radio and aircraft. These posts are constantly attacked and many

of them have been abandoned by the enemy. Large-scale attacks against some posts have allowed us to launch assaults and capture war material. Hundreds of military vehicles were destroyed and thousands of enemy soldiers were killed in our ambushes and mining actions. Our guerrillas advanced into new zones.

An extremely important aspect to be stressed is that our military victories were due to our successes in political work, which drew more tightly the harmonious relations between the people and the guerrillas and, in the military structure, between the Commanders and the rank and file. We face several problems, such as lack of political commissars—but this omission is made up for by the Detachment Commanders, who act as political workers in their zones. The infractions of our fighters towards the populations are severely punished. But the important fact is that the populations know how to differentiate between individual behaviour and the principles of the Organisation. However, the most important victory we have achieved cannot be measured in numbers—how many soldiers we killed, how many square kilometers we control. It can be evaluated by the new system of life under which the people live. Exploitation no longer exists in the liberated zones; the causes of the evils which characterize the colonial society—thefts, drunkenness, prostitution (in short, corruption), crimes—are being gradually removed. A new society, strong and

healthy, is being born in Mozambique. The people want and are building this society.

The Central Committee analysed the different activities which serve to integrate our ideological and material NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION, and formulated lines of orientation. The Central Committee noted that great progress is being made in production, namely agricultural production. Our people are fulfilling successfully the recommendations of the II Congress of FRELIMO which stated: "It is necessary for us to produce progressively the material goods we need for the growth of our armed struggle. We should promote the development of agriculture, industry, cottage industries, always directing our activities towards the meeting of the interests of our people's revolution" The extension of fields under cultivation has grown and has reached the advanced zones themselves where the military actions, and especially air-bombings, are more frequent. Our people produce enough for themselves, to help in feeding the guerrillas and in creating a surplus which is exchanged in the trading centres of FRELIMO for necessary articles which cannot yet be produced in Mozambique, such as clothing. This activity of production is carried out jointly by the population and the guerrillas in a spirit of close collaboration. On the other hand, production has become more scientific and diversified: not only the traditional crops are grown, but new products and new methods of cultivation



Waiting in ambush



Peasant speaking at a public meeting

have been introduced.

**Artisan work** is also developing. It is here that the creative and inventive capacity of our people has manifested itself in great strength; for example, with the metal of destroyed cars and undetonated bombs, our people make agricultural tools, domestic utensils, home-made guns, etc. The artistic sense of the people is also being encouraged: cooperatives of sculptors were organised for the production of the world-famous Makonde sculptures.

**Education** is experiencing a great impetus. In Tete, we have already 6 schools, with others in the process of being established. The main problem for the opening of new schools is the lack of teachers, but this problem will be solved by utilizing those comrades who may have only 2nd or 3rd year primary class to teach those who are just starting. It was in this way that our educational programmes started in the other two Provinces of Cabo Delgado and Niassa. In Niassa, we stressed specifically the opening of a boarding-school with 100 students, with 1st and 2nd year primary classes, and where at the same time a programme of uplifting the cultural and political level of the teachers is being taught. In Cabo Delgado, 4 more boarding schools were opened; special rapid courses of adult education were introduced for FRELIMO militants; pedagogic seminars were organised for the teachers, where they are instructed in the subjects they must teach, methods of teaching, the

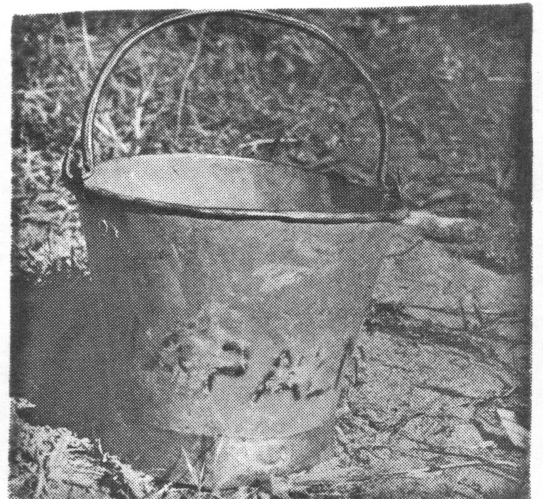
organisation of educational programmes, etc. Our secondary school is in the process of being re-opened in Bagamoyo, Tanzania. In Tunduru, Southern Tanzania, we have a pilot primary school with hundreds of students. The intensification of our educational programmes corresponds to the need for the formation of cadres able to carry out the different tasks which are constantly widening with the development of the struggle. Thus, particular attention is being given to the establishment of special technical courses in our secondary school, and to the adaptation of educational programmes to the concrete realities of the struggle. The women are encouraged to participate. In all provinces there are adult education programmes for the people. In addition, we are studying the means whereby FRELIMO students abroad can be constantly informed about the evolution of the struggle and integrated within the orientation of the revolution.

The activities of **medical assistance** to the people and the guerrillas follow the development of the struggle. New clinic centres were established in the new zones covered by the war. However, we are experiencing great difficulties in this field, due to lack of medicines and qualified cadres.

Analysing the situation of **FRELIMO in the exterior**, the Central Committee noted that the international solidarity with our struggle is broadening. This solidarity was momentarily affected by the confusion caused by the desertion



Villager and guerrilla cultivating



Bucket made from unexploded bomb

of some reactionary elements in the leadership of FRELIMO, like Lazaro Kavandame and Uria Simango. However, the continuation of our work and the development of the struggle, more than any propaganda action from FRELIMO, re-established external confidence and support. The Central Committee noted with satisfaction that the assistance rendered to FRELIMO by the African Countries, both individually and through the OAU, and by the socialist countries is now established on firm bases. The Central Committee appreciated also the activities of the progressive forces from some Western countries in support of our struggle. In three of these countries—Sweden, Great Britain and Italy—the action of the progressive forces, together with the pressure from friendly African Governments, forced those countries to withdraw from participation in the Cahora Bassa Dam which, by its political, economic and military importance, constitute a symbol of the internationalisation of imperialist aggression against the peoples of Southern Africa. The meaning and importance of the International Conference of Solidarity with the Peoples of the Portuguese Colonies, which will be held at the end of June, 1970, in Rome, Italy, was hailed by the Central Committee, which expressed the hope that the Conference will result in a truly stronger material and moral support for our struggle.

The activities of the Mozambique Institute were the object of particular attention by the Committee. The

Central Committee praised the Director of the Mozambique Institute for the important action carried out in the gaining of funds and technical assistance for our work in the fields of Health, Education, Social Welfare, Information, and Aid for Development. The Central Committee noted that the results of this work have contributed on a large scale to the betterment of the living conditions of our people, and encouraged the Mozambique Institute to continue with its work.

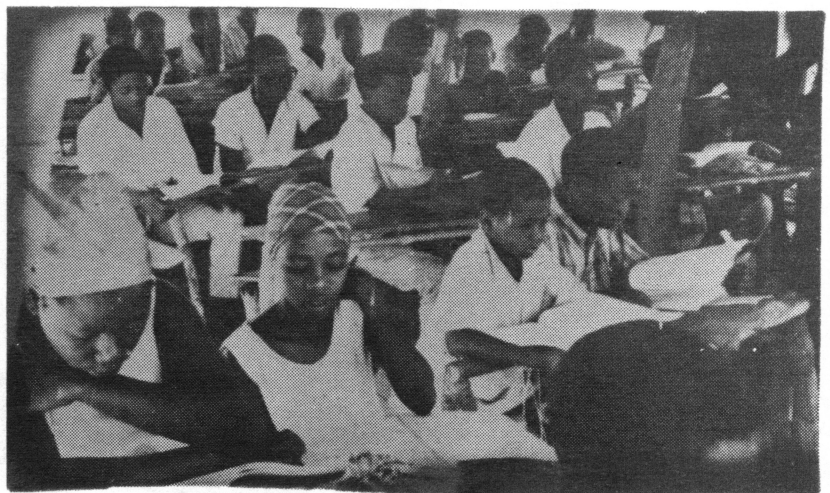
## II

The Central Committee noted that parallel to this development of our liberation struggle, the struggle of two lines in our midst, as old as FRELIMO itself, continued. The Central Committee studied deeply the problem of internal contradictions, which is intimately linked with the development of the struggle for liberation.

The Central Committee, taking up the orientation of its previous meeting of April 1969, analysed the origin of the contradictions in FRELIMO, which go as far back as the time of its creation. At that time the main contradiction was based on the difference of conception concerning the methods to achieve independence: some Mozambicans, looking at the example of other African countries idealised the realisation of independence in the halls of the UN, in talks, negotiations, which would have as their ultimate



At a clinic centre



A primary boarding school

result the handing of independence by the Portuguese Government to FRELIMO in a solemn ceremony, with feasts and celebrations. When it became clear that that method had failed, and the recognition of the necessity of the armed struggle took a more concrete shape, those Mozambicans who were not psychologically prepared for an armed struggle (and who were the majority of the founding members of FRELIMO) deserted the organization.

The preparations for the armed struggle were made, and in September 1964 the armed struggle for liberation started. New contradiction appeared, now based on different conceptions of the strategy to be followed: a group within FRELIMO defended the thesis that we should organize ourselves for a war of conquest, join all our forces in one place, expel the Portuguese from that place and continue advancing, enlarging that army by driving new populations into the advance until the South of Mozambique is reached. The Portuguese colonial army would be defeated in that way. This conception was related with the idea of a rapid war. And in fact it was on that basis that those elements organized the populations: soon after the first shots were heard, many people went to the shops to buy new clothes to celebrate Independence. The comrades who were conscious of the forces ranged against us fought that conception, and defended the need to organise ourselves for a guerilla war which would be necessarily protracted and hard, but which nevertheless was

the only way to lead us to victory. The Mozambicans who did not understand or did not conform to this strategy, with the perspective of the difficulties inherent to a guerilla war, were gradually rejected by the struggle.

At the end of 1965, we started to organize the life of the populations in the liberated zones. Contradictions of a new type appeared, based on different conceptions concerning the goals of our struggle, and about the economic, political and social systems to be established in our country. Some Mozambicans conceived it as a simple change of persons in the colonial structure; after the Portuguese were expelled, Mozambicans would take their place, the colonial politico-administrative machine being kept intact. Exploitation, oppression and all the negative aspects of the colonial system would therefore remain—only now performed by Mozambicans. This tendency was at that time personified by Lazaro Kavandame, allied to other elements in the Organization who, however, did not dare to show themselves openly. With the passing of time, other conceptions related to this one manifested themselves: for example elitism represented by Mateus Gwenjere, who defended the creation of a group of intellectuals who should be exempt from participating in the struggle and surrounded with special privileges—who, after Independence had been won, would be installed as the leaders of free Mozambique. This reactionary tendency also had its own strategic



The Director of the M.I., Mrs. Janet Mondlane



Support for FRELIMO

conception: according to them, we should bring all our forces who were fighting in the different provinces, concentrate them in one Province, and expel all Portuguese from that Province. They proposed that we start with Cabo Delgado, alleging that that was the Province where the war was most developed, but the real reason being that that was the Province where economic activities were under Lazaro's administration. Our forces would then advance to another Province—and thus successively gain our end. Analysing the real intentions of the group that defended that strategy—which is absolutely incorrect given the conditions of our struggle—we see that they did not conform with the perspective of a protracted war, but wanted to reap immediately the fruits of the revolution through full exploitation, without difficulties deriving from the war. The revolutionary line opposed strongly that orientation, clearly defining the aims of our revolution: achievement of national Independence, destruction of the colonial system, and establishment of a regime based on the people, for the people. The principal means of combat used by the revolutionary comrades was the action of mobilisation and explanation of the people. The people learned how to know clearly who their enemy was—the enemy being defined as whoever in a certain moment practises the exploitation of man by man and whatever the methods and forms that exploitation takes.

The reactionary forces organized a campaign in the exterior aimed at discrediting FRELIMO: their purpose was to cause the fall of the revolutionary leadership, represented by Comrade Eduardo Mondlane, and to put into power their elements. Thus, for example, they attacked the FRELIMO office in May 1968, killing a member of the Central Committee, Comrade Mateus Muthemba.

In July 1968, the Second Congress of FRELIMO met. The reactionaries had placed great hopes in this Congress, and attempted manoeuvres so that President Mondlane would be defeated in the elections. However, the work of revolutionary politisation of our comrades had not been in vain: the people re-elected unanimously Comrade Eduardo Mondlane as President of FRELIMO.

Frustrated in their designs, the

reactionary group resorted again to criminal methods, murdering in December 1968 Comrade Samuel Kankhomba, Deputy-Chief of the Section of Operations of the Defence Department.

In February 1969, the President of FRELIMO, Comrade Eduardo Mondlane, was assassinated. The hopes of the ambitious, the corrupt and the opportunist were re-born. The appointment as Acting President of Uria Simango by the Executive Committee satisfied them completely: that appointment meant the realisation of their hopes.

In April 1969, the Central Committee of FRELIMO met. The Central Committee refused to confirm Uria Simango as President, and created a collective organ to assume the functions of the presidency. From that historical meeting of the Central Committee, Uria Simango, the man who in fact had always been the principal leader and organizer of the reactionary group, but keeping himself always camouflaged behind the scenes, started to show openly his true nature, his real character and intentions.

The Central Committee of April 1969 had accused him of being linked with Lazaro Kavandame, Mateus Gwenjere and all the groups who have provoked the periods of confusion in the life of FRELIMO since its formation. The motivation of Simango was political ambition. He was a small man—physically, intellectually, morally—whose dream had always been to ascend to the height of that one who was his President. Not being able to face Comrade Mondlane, he entered into collusion with all forces that could be used against the President's leadership. The goal of Simango, his ultimate dream, has always been to be President, the "top leader". He linked himself with Lazaro because he saw in Lazaro a force able to help him achieve his aims. Simango was led by political ambition. Lazaro Kavandame basically by economic ambition, he wanted to be left free to exploit the people. And so they combined their interests, promising reciprocal assistance.

The defeat of Simango's aspirations for the presidency in the Central Committee of April 1969 did not make him abandon his ambition. But since he had already been denoun-

ced and unmasked, he did not care to camouflage his actions any longer: he started to act openly, trying to project himself as the top leader of FRELIMO, contrary to the decisions of the Central Committee. He took advantage of FRELIMO's activities in the exterior, using the various missions that the Organisation entrusted to him. In the interior, Simango was always unknown to the people. Even in the exterior, his campaign did not give results: the true militants of FRELIMO were careful to neutralize him, by interpreting exactly and correctly the decisions of the Central Committee. Thus, isolated, frustrated in his ambitions, Uria Simango tried in November 1969 a desperate gesture: he published a pamphlet, in the exterior, where he demanded that the other leaders of FRELIMO be dismissed as a condition for him to stay in the Organization. The Executive Committee met in order to consider his "demand", and decided to suspend Uria Simango from membership of the Council of Presidency until the next meeting of the Central Committee, where his case would be brought for final consideration.

The Central Committee, meeting from 9th—14th May 1970, having analysed the political, moral and disciplinary behaviour of Uria Simango, which is characterised by opportunism, corruption and irresponsibility, concluded that he does not possess the qualities even to be a member of FRELIMO, and decided to expel him from the Organization.

The analysis of the nature of the contradictions and of the way they have been solved throughout the life of FRELIMO, always resulting in the victory of the popular and revolutionary forces, allowed the Central Committee to conclude that the orientation of FRELIMO is basically correct, and has been correctly applied.

It was this orientation, whose fundamental principles were formulated by the First and Second Congress of FRELIMO, as well as through the presence of cadres with high political consciousness, that allowed FRELIMO to emerge victorious and stronger from the multiple crises that assailed her, provoked by the action of the internal and external enemy. And it is this

orientation that is the guarantee that the revolution will continue for ever, beyond the persons who in a certain moment are leading her: because unity in FRELIMO is based not upon individuals, but founded on common objective — National Independence and end of exploitation of man by man.



1. The Central Committee approved various resolutions, formulating directives for political and military activities, and for the work of national reconstruction.

2. A special resolution on sanctions was passed. The Central Committee took disciplinary measures against Uria Timoteo Simango, Lourenco Mutaca and Judas Honwana, respectively former member of the Council of the Presidency, and former FRELIMO representatives in Sweden and the United Arab Republic.

a) Concerning Uria Simango, it was recognised that he had already been suspended from membership of the Council of the Presidency by the Executive Committee following a pamphlet he published against FRELIMO in November, 1969. The Executive Committee based its decision primarily on the fact that the action of Uria Simango, that of presenting his problems through the external press instead of doing it through the proper structures of FRELIMO, was an extremely irresponsible act which violated the principles and the rules of FRELIMO and constituted a grave act of indiscipline; that the contents of the pamphlet were a body of calumnious accusations, of insults and of falsities, aimed at denigrating the leaders of FRELIMO who are truly nationalists, patriots and revolutionaries, and that the pamphlet constituted an insult to the Mozambican people, to FRELIMO and to the revolutionary armed struggle for national liberation being waged in our country. The Central Committee ratified the decision of the Executive Committee, and removed Uria Simango from the Council of Presidency. Furthermore, the Central Committee noted that in that very pamphlet, as well as in some others he wrote later, Simango

clearly **admitted** his connections with counter-revolutionary groups such as those of **Lazaro Kavandame** and **Mateus Gwenjere**, thus confirming what for a long time we already suspected: that he had always been the leader of the counter-revolutionary groups who provoked the periods of crisis in the life of FRELIMO since its formation, he being led by ambition and opportunism. The Central Committee therefore decided to remove him from membership of the Central Committee, and expel him from our Organisation. The Central Committee decided further that Simango should be submitted to the people's justice in Mozambique.

b) Concerning **Lourenco Mutaca**, and **Judas Honwana** they launched destructive campaigns from outside, aimed at the disintegration of our Organisation and destruction of its international prestige. Thus they betrayed the confidence entrusted in them by the Mozambican people, who had appointed them as their representatives. The Central Committee qualified their attitude as high treason, and expelled both of them from FRELIMO. The Central Committee also decided that they should be brought to Mozambique, to be tried by the people.

## IV

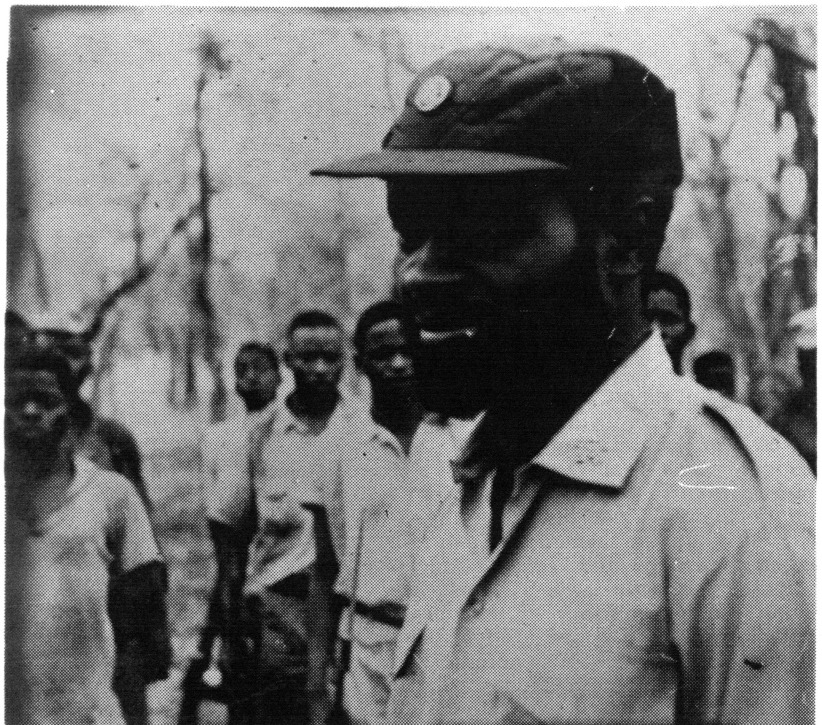
The Central Committee approved a special resolution on the structures of our Organisation. In April, 1969, the Central Committee attributed the functions of the Presidency to a collective body, the Council of the Presidency. This decision corresponded to a period of crisis in the Organisation, or more concretely, to the need to ensure the continuity of the political line of FRELIMO in the period of confusion that followed the death of President Mondlane. The Central Committee noted that the reasons which had called for that solution ceased to exist, and that it was now possible and desirable to centralise the direction more strongly.

Thus, the Central Committee elected Comrade **SAMORA MOISES MACHEL** as acting President of FRELIMO, and Comrade **MARCELINO DOS SANTOS** as acting Vice-President, until the next Congress.

22 May, 1970



Comrade Marcelino dos Santos, Vice-President



Comrade Samora Moises Machel, President