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M E M O R A N D U M:

To: Mr. A.C. Mwingira,  
Chairman,  
Commission on the Mozambique Institute  
Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

2nd April 1968

From: Dr. Eduardo C. Mondlane,  
President of FRELIMO

Subject: Some considerations on the Causes of the Difficulties at  
the Mozambique Institute.

Mr. Chairman,  
Distinguished Members of the Commission.

I wish to express my personal thanks to you for inviting me to appear before this Commission to give some clarifications which might help to illumine the issue involved in the very unfortunate situation in which the Mozambique Institute is found.

In order to give you a bird's eye view of the issues involved, I should like to present some basic points relating to the Mozambique Institute.

Purpose and Development of the Institute since its Inception

- a) From the time the Institute was first established in 1963 until two years ago the main emphasis of the programme of the school involved the preparation of our students to i) fill the gap which exists between the Mozambique colonial primary school system and the then Tanganyika or East African primary school programme, in order to enable our students to qualify for entering the Kurasini International School for Refugees directed by the African-American Institute; ii) teach our students enough English so that they may have a sufficient language base to follow courses at the secondary school level; and iii) provide a healthy Mozambican revolutionary environment for our youth in which to study.
- b) However, since the end of the year 1966, the educational programme of the Mozambique Institute began to take a new turn. At the October session of the Central Committee of that year, after considering that the Institute was fundamentally a center of education from which there ought to come young Mozambican militants with an adequate intellectual qualification which will enable them to be directly given the responsibilities of carrying specific tasks of the REVOLUTION or qualify them for specific training periods abroad or to pursue medium or higher studies within the general perspective of FRELIMO, it was urged

- b) to raise its academic level, as soon as possible, to at least 5th year of the Portuguese Secondary School System. This was correctly interpreted by the director and staff of the Mozambique Institute as meaning that the school should as soon as possible develop into an independent institution, with its own curriculum, teaching in Portuguese, the official language of Mozambique today, but maintaining sufficiently high standards to enable the students to acquire equivalence with other secondary school programmes elsewhere in the world.

But in order to achieve this the Mozambique Institute had to undertake to carry out an ambitious programme of appeals for aid from friendly governments, humanitarian organizations, and church institutions for funds, equipment and qualified personnel. Until the end of 1966 the Institute depended for most of its teaching staff on the better educated Africans who from time to time came over as refugees, but none of whom had any training whatsoever for secondary school teaching. From the end of 1966 on it was necessary to acquire qualified teachers in order to fulfill the new programme.

Fortunately the first year of the campaign for funds, equipment and personnel was successful, far beyond our best hopes. Firstly, the Swedish programme for foreign aid, SIDA, decided to increase its annual grants for the running costs of the Mozambique Institute, including some extra funds for covering part of the expenses for the preparation of upper primary school children at Bagamoyo and Tunduru. In 1967 the Danish Government gave a special grant to the Mozambique Institute to enable it to pay for the construction of a new block of building, thus expanding classroom and dormitory space and providing adequate quarters for the residence of the teaching staff. During the same year funds were pledged by some religious and humanitarian organisations to meet the cost of the building of two new structures: a student refectory and a science laboratory. The Government of the German Democratic Republic offered to equip the new laboratory building with modern science furnishings and equipment.

Concerning the staff we have been equally fortunate in having had positive responses from various sympathetic sources, including the following: 1) From the Government of Czechoslovakia we received a teacher, Dr. Zdanek Kirschner, who helps both the director of the Mozambique Institute and the secretary of education of FRELIMO with educational planning and programming; 2) the Government of India gave us Dr. Fernandes, a physician who teaches biological sciences; 3) the Government of the German Democratic Republic gave us Mr. Joaquim Kindler who is a specialist in the teaching of the physical sciences, and who, since his arrival late last year, has been working on the reorganization of our science programme. 4) About two years ago we received two teachers from the Presbyterian Church of the United States, Mr. & Mrs. William Winter, who have since been teaching mathematics and geography. The rest of our teachers are either Mozambican refugees or temporary volunteers. Our hope is that finally all our teachers will be Mozambicans.

## 2. Sources of the Present Difficulties

It is our considered opinion that the present difficulties at the Mozambique Institute result from the steady and definite direction which our educational programme has been following since the end of 1966. Until the end of that year the purpose and direction of the education of a young Mozambican at the Institute was vague and unclear. An impression was therefore given that the education acquired by our students was for their own private use and unrelated to the total struggle of the people of Mozambique. The present programme of the Mozambique Institute is clearly directed towards preparing the students for fulfilling the basic responsibilities of the liberation struggle. In order to achieve this purpose we have insisted that our students 1) be Mozambicans who are dedicated to the complete liberation of their country and are ready to, at any time, do everything they can, including even suspending their studies, to achieve this single purpose; 2) every school vacation during the year is used for engaging the students in short term training programmes and in working in practical tasks such as teaching adults to read; 3) finally those few who have already finished their Form IV have had to be sent to our main training centers at Nachingwea where they are given a basic three months training in politics and military action. According to this policy, therefore, no Mozambican graduate is allowed to work in anything before undertaking a training period of three months. It is only after a graduate has had this basic training and has served in some capacity in the liberation struggle that he can be considered for further studies abroad.

This general programme was being implemented more or less smoothly until the students began to note some practical applications of it. The first application of the new policy of involving our graduates directly into the struggle was in the end of 1966 and 1967. In 1966 we had two Mozambicans graduating from the KIEC Form IV class. One of them disappeared in Tanzania and the other is still with us. The one who stayed with us after graduation was sent to Nachingwea for a period of training. After that he joined a guerrilla detachment and served a period of fighting in Mozambique after spending a few months teaching at our Primary School in Tunduru. He is now working in the Radio Tanzania, doing the FRELIMO Programmes in Portuguese and some of the Mozambican African languages. The second group of Mozambican graduates of KIEC was in 1967, and it was composed of 7 students. Of these 3 disappeared in Tanzania, but four stayed with FRELIMO and they are now at Nachingwea undergoing their basic training. After that they will serve in the liberation struggle in some function or other. The best of them will be selected for further studies abroad, in academic or technical studies.

It was after the students had seen that our stated purpose of engaging all our graduates in all phases of the liberation struggle was finally being implemented that we began to sense a certain amount of uneasiness amongst them. The most clear indication of this uneasiness was the steady increase in the number of senior students disappearing from the school. For example, between November 1967 and February 1968 no less than 25 students disappeared from the Mozambique Institute most of whom were studying at the Kurasini International Educational Centre. When we tried to investigate as to where they might have gone we were told that most of them were in Nairobi, where we understand some religious organizations are offering them shelter and scholarships in Kenyan Secondary Schools.

This situation was aggravated by the attitude of Father Mateus P. Gwenjere, a Mozambican refugee priest, who since his arrival has openly opposed our central policy concerning the future of the students. Before I enter into the discussion of what we believe to

be the motivation of Father Gwenjere in instigating the students to a rebellious attitude towards the policies of FRELIMO, I would like to outline the steps which were taken by the Central Committee of FRELIMO to try and alleviate the situation at the Institute.

### 3. Reaction of the leaders of FRELIMO to the students' uneasiness

As I indicated before, the first signs of the existence of a general discontent amongst the students of the Mozambique Institute was brought to my attention in late November 1967. It was then presented to me as a problem resulting from the lack of a clear direction or policy in the purpose of FRELIMO leaders concerning the future of Mozambique Institute students. On returning from a mission in the South I called a general meeting of all students for the 14th December 1967. In the meeting I outlined the main ideas which guided the educational programme of FRELIMO and indicated the policy presented above. At the end of the meeting I announced that they were all going to be spending their end-of-the-year vacations at Tunduru, where we have our largest primary school programme in Tanzania, and some students would be sent to the border to help with some para-military operations, and other chores related to the liberation struggle. At the end of speech I asked the students if they had any questions concerning what I had said or any other matters which were of interest to them. Only one student stood up to ask a question, and it was the following; "was it right for a teacher to call his student 'stupid' when the latter did not know the answer to a problem?" My answer was that it was not correct for any teacher to insult his students; and I there and then instructed Mr. Guebuza, the secretary of Education of FRELIMO to see the student later and investigate the matter further and call attention to the teacher who did that. I found out later that the incident to which the student was referring had taken place in the nurses' training program of the Mozambique Institute and not in the school itself. The same week-end all the students left for Tunduru and the border.

On coming back from Christmas/New Year vacation the students showed a little more understanding and acceptance of the stated policy for awhile, and many amongst the members of the Central Committee of FRELIMO asked ourselves if the problem had been resolved. However, this positive spirit did not last long, for soon afterwards Father Gwenjere returned from his mission to the United Nations in New York, where he had participated in petitioning against the Portuguese colonialism. We began to hear that some of the students were beginning to disobey some of the most elementary rules of the school and that discourtesies toward the teachers in the classes and sheer rudeness and insolence in general were becoming the order of the day. The number of students breaking punishable rules began to increase from week to week. Finally I received a letter from one of the students, Tiago Olesse, asking me to come to the Institute to hear the complaints of the students. In answer I asked the student union to help me with some ideas as to what was involved, so that before appearing to them I might prepare myself. On receiving my letter Tiago Olesse called a meeting of the whole students body and appraised them of my answer. I understand that they failed to find a specific issue to present to me in writing; therefore, they agreed to again invite me to come to a meeting with them without an agenda and depend on what each student would say in public. In answer to my letter, Tiago Olesse told me that he had been unable to get the students to say anything in writing; so he insisted that when and if I can find time I should just drop in (sic) and ask the students to meet and hear them. At that time I was unfortunately preparing to leave for a long trip to visit some of the liberated areas of Mozambique, so I could not satisfy the students' request. However, I asked my colleague,

Mr. Uria Simango, Vice-President of FRELIMO, to go and listen to their complaints and see if he could find some solution to them. On the 15th February, 1968, Mr. Simango called a meeting of all students at the Mozambique Institute and asked them to tell him all that bothered them. With Mr. Simango was Mr. Marcelino dos Santos, FRELIMO's secretary for political affairs, who served as rapporteur of the meeting. The Meeting lasted more than three hours, during which more than 20 students levelled accusation after accusation against the Mozambique Institute and FRELIMO leadership. The most important charges made during that meeting were summarized in a document which has been filed with this Commission. Some of the points made by the students were incorporated in a Petition to the African Liberation Committee signed by two students of the Mozambique Institute, who at that time had already been expelled for long non-attendance of classes and it is also filed with this Commission.

Later on in this presentation I shall comment on those points which are relevant to the work of the Central Committee of FRELIMO. Meanwhile, I must continue describing my role in meeting the demands of the students.

On returning from Mozambique I found that the situation at the Institute was worsening. So I decided to visit the students that same night. I called them to a public informal meeting in which I spoke of the exciting developments of the liberation struggle within Mozambique and of the desperate need for trained personnel which the liberated areas were in very much need of. I told them of the work of the masses in not only fighting the Portuguese troops effectively, but also of the economic and social efforts of the people: the expanses of cultivated lands full of lush and tall maize, of the vast rice and peanut fields; of the many thousands of young children who were crowding the few and poorly equipped and staffed bush schools, of the very badly supplied clinics full of many sick, etc. In this way I had hoped to turn their minds from local preoccupations to the more pressing problem of the liberation struggle within Mozambique. Although some of the students showed some interest in what I had to say, the discussion which followed quickly turned into the questions which were uppermost in their minds - their complaints about having to study under white and black Portuguese teachers, about why FRELIMO leaders were preparing to have the students killed instead of preparing to send them abroad for higher education, about why they should have to continue to learn Portuguese, that horrible language of the imperialists, etc. etc. They further questioned me about what they alleged to be my tribal bias, which showed itself according to them, in my loading the Central Committee and the leadership of the Army of FRELIMO with people of my own tribe; and as to why I hired only white people for teaching positions at the Mozambique Institute and as my personal secretaries, avoiding as much as possible any black people who may be available for the same positions.

Even though I felt that these were not their real reasons for their foul mood, I decided I should attempt to give them answers they seemed to want from me. But since it was already quite late at night, I dismissed them for the evening and promised to have another meeting with them the next day. As promised, on the very next day, 24th of February, I called a public meeting of the students. In this meeting I tried to answer point by point their queries on all the issues raised the night before. I also took advantage of the occasion to discuss some of the points which they had raised with Mr. Uria Simango a few weeks before, which my colleague had not yet been able to discuss with them because he had to leave the very next day for the OAU Foreign Ministers' Conference at Addis Ababa.

The day after I met with the students I had to leave for the United Kingdom to appear at a number of speaking programmes which I had accepted more than 6 months before. Fortunately my colleague Uria Simango arrived that same day; so he took over from where I had stopped. Yet I was not long in London before I received a call from Dar-es-Salaam to return without delay, which I did forthwith. On arriving in Dar-es-Salaam I found that the situation was worse than I had ever thought it might be. Aside from the activities of the students, I found that Father Mateus Gwenjere had added his little bit of dramatics to the tragic comedy. He had continued to incite the students to rebel against not only the Mozambique Institute but also the Party itself. He had tried to organize a demonstration against all FRELIMO leaders as part of his fight against the Institute and he had made himself the chief counsellor of the students against all of us.

After studying the situation as carefully as I could I decided to prepare a special note to the Second Vice-President to add to whatever my colleagues had done in my absence. In that note, which I titled "Father Mateus P. Gwenjere vs. FRELIMO and the Mozambique Institute," I stressed the role of Father Gwenjere in the worsening of the situation at the Mozambique Institute as well as discussing some political adventures undertaken by him during the same period aimed at destroying the present structure of the Central Committee of FRELIMO. Even though in this note I will avoid entering into a detailed discussion of Father Gwenjere's political activities against FRELIMO here in Dar es Salaam, I cannot avoid referring to his direct involvement in the creation and fanning of the present sad situation at the Mozambique Institute. Even now, after Father Gwenjere has been given written and oral advice by the officials of the Mozambique Institute, FRELIMO, some official of the Government of Tanzania, by the Executive Secretariat of the African Liberation Committee and by the Archbishop of the Diocese of Dar es Salaam, not to interfere in the Mozambique Institute he continues to do so.

This Commission might be interested in knowing who is Father Gwenjere. In my memorandum to the Second Vice-President's Office, I tried to give some background concerning him. After rereading my notes, however, in preparation for my presentation in this Commission I felt some further remarks concerning Father Gwenjere's background are called for. These comments however, being only supplementary to what I have already said about him, will have to be limited to what I conceive to be his theoretical premisses and presuppositions and motivations in acting the way he is against FRELIMO's educational policies, especially as they affect the students at the Mozambique Institute.

I - General Background: A false conception of the educational policy of FRELIMO in Mozambique.

Within the non-liberated areas of Mozambique most Africans have a common conception of the Education in FRELIMO. For some reason, since the formation of FRELIMO most people within Mozambique have developed the idea that any African student who runs away from Mozambique will automatically find in FRELIMO better educational facilities for developing his intellectual level. This belief is common in all levels of the African population: amongst the parents as well as the children. It is many times said that FRELIMO has many scholarships for further studies in Africa and abroad, but that the lack of qualified students makes it impossible for the leaders to accept these. The fact that since the establishment of FRELIMO more than 150 Mozambican students have been placed in schools of higher learning in Europe, America, and Asia and these students sometimes manage to communicate with folks and friends at home has increased and intensified this belief. It is also clear

to us that part of the belief is intensified by the tendency of many of FRELIMO's local organizers to encourage young students, especially those attending secondary schools, or any youth who aspire for education, to leave Mozambique and come out and join FRELIMO. This is done even against official policy to the contrary.

It is obvious that the level of education which many Mozambicans expect of FRELIMO is not the secondary school education which some of them, even though very few, are able to acquire within the country; what really attracts many students to abandon their studies in Mozambique and leave the country is the much advertised prospect of pursuing university studies abroad which they cannot even dream to acquire at home.

There is no doubt in my mind that it was partly due to these false conceptions of the prospects of higher education that induced Father Gwanzure to tirelessly strive to encourage many of his own students to leave the country and come to Tanzania and join FRELIMO. In so doing he assured them that they would find greater opportunities of improving their education outside of their country. Many of those young people who were sent out by him are now studying at the Mozambique Institute.

II - Father Gwanzure's Conception of FRELIMO's Education Policy

When Father Gwanzure arrived in Hastingswe late last year he found about 50 of his former students which he had sent out only a few months before with the conviction that they would be immediately taken into the Mozambique Institute to further their education. It must be pointed out here that these same students entered Tanzania long after last year's school year was already far advanced; therefore, even those who were within the school-age could not be immediately taken into the Mozambique Institute's programme. Also at the Hastingswe camp Father Gwanzure found one of the former teachers of his mission whom he had sent out to FRELIMO for further studies; instead the teacher was already being incorporated in FRELIMO's political/military programme. Here Father Gwanzure must have experienced his first shock.

On arriving in Mor-a-Salomo Father Gwanzure learnt that the only graduates of the Mozambique Institute in the last two years have either run away or have been sent to Hastingswe for the military political programme. Father Gwanzure, being a new arrival to the scene, is not in a position to appreciate the fact that the Mozambique Institute was created less than 5 years ago, therefore it has not yet produced a sufficient number of Mozambicans whose future could serve as a pattern upon which to make a correct judgment of Frelimo's educational policy. Thus, as it was pointed out before, in accordance with FRELIMO's policy, all those who graduated from the Institute during the last two years were incorporated into the total programme of national liberation before being considered for further studies.

Mozambique, Father Gwanzure, now established in Mor-a-Salomo as a parish priest and a teacher of a Portuguese course at the Frelimo Training Programme, continues to talk a great deal about the educational policy of FRELIMO, either through the students themselves or through some of the political leaders and he does not like what he hears and sees. He finds himself confronted with the two contradictory conceptions of FRELIMO's educational policy: the one he heard about and believed in while still in Mozambique and the road one he sees in practice. He then suffers his second shock. It is then that one can begin to understand Father Gwanzure's outrageous conclusion, namely, that FRELIMO established the Mozambique Institute in order to invade and not to advance the educational progress of the Mozambique child. This Father Gwanzure has openly said to me and to everyone who could stand him

his ears. It also appears in the list of the charges presented by the students against the Mozambique Institute.

In further trying to understand the Reverend Father, I can see how in analysing all that he had done in Mozambique for FRELIMO and what he thought was its educational policy he must have been deeply disillusioned with the leadership of the movement. He must have noted that he had sent so many young people to FRELIMO, promising to them that they would be automatically taken into the secondary school programme and even be sent abroad to continue their studies in the universities. But now considering the present educational policy and programme of FRELIMO, it seems to him that his objectives may never be attained, at least by his young protégées. It is here where one can observe, in a dedicated religious man, the effect of violent conflict between his conscience and his reason. He must have come to the unsettling conclusion that in front of these young people whom he has encouraged and sent to FRELIMO in order to continue their studies to the very highest level possible, but who are now envisaging total involvement in the immediate task of liberating their country, Father Gwenjere has to consider himself a liar - the worst thing that an honest churchman can allow himself to be. How otherwise can he save himself from this predicament?

It is in this way that we can understand Father Gwenjere's actions against the Institute and the leaders of FRELIMO. He must have felt compelled to make every effort within his means to undermine the moral prestige and power of the leaders of FRELIMO and the teachers and administrators of the school to see if a new structure could be built on the old, both political and educational, in order to assure his protégées the promised goal: unlimited educational facilities ahead, unhampered by any political or military activities. Failing this Father Gwenjere is ready to send these young people to other schools in Tanzania or abroad. This Father Gwenjere has shouted to me in private and in public, often in the presence of the students. This is part of the drama in which we are found today.

#### 4. Accusations levelled against the Institute and FRELIMO.

I shall now turn to the charges made by the students against FRELIMO leaders and the Mozambique Institute, commenting briefly on only those which have direct relationship with the work and responsibilities of the Central Committee. Before dealing with specific questions raised on the list presented to me I would like to say that of the four names of the signatories of the Petition to the Executive Secretary of the Liberation Committee only two had been registered students at the Mozambique Institute, and these are Daniel Baulene Chatama and Nunes Antonio Nunes. Of the other two, one was a student at University in the Soviet Union until the middle of 1967, when he was asked to leave the Soviet Union due to emotional difficulties which impeded the continuation of his studies. The university authorities had advised us to put him under psychiatric observation for some time before deciding as to whether he could return to his studies. We placed him under the care of Dr. Swift of the Muhimbili Hospital in Dar es Salaam, and we were awaiting his final decision when Antonio Chade began to get involved in the internal affairs of the Mozambique Institute to the point where he joined the two former students on the Institute in signing the petition. The other signer of the petition, Floriano S. Unango is an unknown person.

Of the 11 charges or allegations made against FRELIMO leaders and the Mozambique Institute I shall comment on numbers 1; 3; 4; 5; 7; 8; and 11.



1. "There is discrimination in the choice of schools for the children of FRELIMO Party leaders and ordinary members. Whereas the children of ordinary FRELIMO members are sent to the Mozambique Institute, the children of Party officials and the Institute staff are educated at English medium schools in Tanzania."

It is necessary to add that in the actual document from which the above allegation was taken it is further specified that the children of the President and Vice-President of FRELIMO, as well as those of the medical officer in charge of the nursing programme of the Institute and one other member of FRELIMO, are not attending the Mozambique Institute or any of the primary schools FRELIMO maintained in Tanzania for the children of refugees from Mozambique. To start with, I must state the policy of FRELIMO concerning education of members. The children of FRELIMO members must attend the school where they can find a place, preferably nearest to the residence of their parents. That is to say, FRELIMO does not encourage any parents to take away their children from schools where they are studying in order to place them in FRELIMO schools. Even those who are studying within the area of MOZAMBIQUE still occupied by the enemy, we believe that our children must take advantage of whatever educational facilities available until such a point or time when it is impossible for them to continue. Those children whose parents live in Tanzanian or Zambian refugee camps where educational facilities are available must send their children to those schools within the refugee settlements. It was because of the rule established by the Tanzanian Government limiting the number of children who could be given education by the humanitarian organization responsible for the refugees that FRELIMO decided to open a lower primary school at Rutamba. The other two FRELIMO primary schools at Bagamoyo and Tunduru are for children whose parents are either directly involved in the operational programme of FRELIMO and have no definite place of abode or whose area has no schools for their children. As we increase the number of bush schools within Mozambique we will systematically diminish and finally eliminate the necessity to establish schools outside our country.

Finally, I have to point out that none of the children of the FRELIMO and Institute officers mentioned in the Petition is old enough to attend the Mozambique Institute, and the children of the driver whose name was included in the list are students at the Mozambique Institute. It is our policy that the children of all members of the Central Committee of FRELIMO who live in Tanzania and who qualify must study at the Mozambique Institute. Already some children of members of the Central Committee are now students at the Institute.

3. "Medical facilities are poor and there is lack of such facilities at Tunduru and Nachingwea."

This is unfortunately true. But it is also true of medical services in general in all of Eastern Africa. At Tunduru we have done everything we can to alleviate the situation with the best means at our disposal. In fact the main problems are two: Scarcity of medical officers and lack of drugs and medicines. Aside from two nurses at Tunduru our medical officer makes occasional visits to add to the services available locally. At Nachingwea the situation is somewhat different. Although the camp is in fact under the direct responsibility of the Tanzanian Government, therefore it partakes of all the medical services and facilities available to the Tanzanian army in that area, we have established our own small clinic, staffed by our own nurses who work in close cooperation with the Tanzanian medical officer at Nachingwea.

4. "There is some misconduct on the part of some officials of the Party and Institute."

I do not know what is exactly meant by "misconduct" here. If by misconduct is meant that the Petitioners described as giving pregnancies to girls, and for which one specific charge was made against one member of the Central Committee, I also should like to say that the case is still under investigation. The girl who made the accusation is still abroad. Before leaving for practical training that girl was already working within the struggle of FRELIMO and had already had another baby from another man. It is not correct therefore for the Petitioners to give the impression that the girl was a student at the Mozambique Institute during the time she became pregnant.

5. "The Mozambique Institute impedes more than it increases the education of the Mozambican children."

This we believe to be the direct result of Father Gwenjere's analysis, and since we have already commented upon it earlier we do not feel as if we should repeat our comments here.

7. "The students also demand that English replace Portuguese as the official language and medium of instruction."

This question goes directly to the core of the very existence of the Institute. In order to shorten my remarks in this connection I shall limit myself to quoting what I wrote in my Memorandum to the Second Vice-President. The very idea of having the Mozambique Institute was originally to help Mozambican refugee students who had some beginning in secondary education in Mozambique to bridge the gap, both academic and linguistic, which exists between secondary education in Portugal and elsewhere in the world. Later on, we discovered that teaching the secondary school subjects in Portuguese while the student is learning English expedites the learning process and the preparation of the student for higher education. It takes more than one year to teach a child English before he can be able to understand the language sufficiently to follow courses taught in it. Besides, we are preparing our children to fit into life back in Mozambique during and after the liberation struggle, and so far the official language of Mozambique is Portuguese, in the same way that the official language of many independent African states today is French or English, except where the local language is accepted by all. Unfortunately Mozambique does not have the happy advantage of an African language such as Swahili in Tanzania. I believe that aside from continuing to teach all subjects in Portuguese, the Institute ought to increase its teaching of English, in accordance with its own stated programme. In view of the value of Swahili in East Africa and French in many parts of Africa I would suggest that later on the Institute hire teachers to add these two important languages to the curriculum.

8. "Resent the idea of being taught by white Portuguese teachers and other non-Africans."

This again is an attitude which is diametrically opposed to our official policy and practice on racial matters. FRELIMO does not judge people by the pigmentation of their skins. Rather it is our policy that anybody who agrees with our position concerning colonialism, imperialism and racism as practised in Southern Africa is our ally and anybody who is against our position concerning these same things is our enemy, regardless of his color, race or religion. In the specific case of the Institute it is not by preference that we have so many white teachers including some Mozambicans of Portuguese origin. As we stated it before, lack of Mozambican teachers is the main reason why we have so many foreign and national white teachers at the Mozambique Institute. We hope that as more of our students abroad complete their studies they will return to

East Africa to take up positions in the various programmes of Frelimo, including teaching. Until then, however, we have to do with what is available.

11. "Allege that there is lack of dialogue between students and FRELIMO Party leaders"

This allegation is certainly not true. For aside from what we have stated above, showing how I personally and Mr. Simango as Vice-President of FRELIMO have always tried to resolve their problems, they have the constant attention of Mr. Guebuza, FRELIMO's Secretary of Education and Mr. Eduardo Coloma, the Dean of the Institute.

It would, of course, be ideal if we could establish a system whereby as many members of the Central Committee as possible could be visiting the students at the Institute, talking to them on an individual basis as well as in public, giving them some of the more interesting and exciting elements of our experience in the liberation struggle. But, any one who knows our work both here in Dar es Salaam and within Mozambique must understand that it is not possible to do much more than we are doing. It is for instance not allowed by the Government that FRELIMO keep more than five officers in Dar es Salaam city. The five officers, including the president of the movement, must handle all the myriads of details of work which must be done in order to feed the whole political and military operation being carried out in Mozambique.

I personally believe that the students are very lucky indeed to have so many people constantly ready to cater to their educational and social interests here in Dar es Salaam. I am also convinced that, if it were not due to their objection to FRELIMO's policy concerning their future, the same students would not raise a single voice against the present programme of the Institute or find so many things to criticize in the persons of their political leaders.

CONCLUSION:

In conclusion, I should like to thank you, Mr. Chairman, and all the members of this Commission for the patience with which you heard what I had to say. I hope that what I have said will add to the general clarification of the issues involved in the total situation in which the Mozambique Institute is found. I can only hope that the work of the Commission will soon result in the speedy normalization of the life of the students and teachers in such a way as to continue the preparation of young militants who are ready and determined to give their best to the immediate and long-range task of liberating our COUNTRY.

EDUARDO C. MONDLANE  
PRESIDENT OF FRELIMO