

# The Story of Mozambique

THE Y-shaped Colony of Mozambique, popularly styled Portuguese East Africa is the most populous and second largest of the five African Portuguese colonies. The largest of the rest is Angola and the remaining three are Portuguese Guinea, Cape Verde Islands and the tropical islands of Sao Tome and Principe.

Mozambique is bounded on the East by the Indian Ocean, on the West by Southern Rhodesia and the Transvaal, on the South by Natal and on the North by Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Tanganyika.

Its area is 297,731 square miles. From Cape Delgado in the North to Belagoa Bay in the South is a distance of almost 1,300 miles.

The Mozambique frontier is irregular varying from 56 miles in the South to 480 towards the North.

The colony of Mozambique derives its name from the town of Mozambique a former capital of the territory and a way station on the voyage of India.

## BACKGROUND TO THE STRUGGLE

The trading civilization of Sofala, Quelimane, Mozambique and other seaboard towns and cities of East Africa was a very old one. It penetrated much deeper into the interior than has been supposed.

"These merchant cities and trading kingdoms of the coast of Zanj (the blackman), says Basil Davidson, "were neither Arab nor Persian, nor Indian: they were African and predominantly negro African."

Between the eight and the eleventh centuries these towns and cities became politically and commercially oriented towards Arabia, Persia and India.

Vasco da Gama, the Portuguese navigator, "discovered" the colony of Mozambique after rounding the Cape. He touched Quelimane in February and the port of Mozambique in March, 1918 before sailing North for Malindi, Mombasa and India.

"Devil take thee", said a Tunisian when he met these Europeans in the Indian Ocean of all places, "What brings you here"? And that greeting proved ominously prophetic.

When in 1505 the Portuguese dispatched 23 ships of their fleet under Francisco d'Almeida they instructed them to capture the commercial monopoly in the Indian Ocean. D'Almeida was to build a factory at Sofala to manage the flow of gold from the "mines of Ophir".

## NEVER UNITED

Kilwa and Mombasa further North were to be captured and all Arab shipping, save that from Malindi, expelled from the seas. D'Almeida attacked Kilwa, built the fortress of Santiago and bombarded, burnt and pillaged Mombasa.

The Portuguese waged a war of aggression that created hostilities which were to plague them for the next 200 years.

Through most of the 16th century the merchant cities and kingdoms were never sufficiently strong or united to face the Portuguese.

Antonio Fernandes, a convict left on the coast by D'Almeida in 1505, explored much of the hinterlands of Sofala, seeking information on the gold fields of Monomotapa, an African potentate in the interior. On two trips he explored the modern districts of Manics and Sofala and Mashonaland (Southern Rhodesia).

Fernandes recommended that the Portuguese go up the Save and Lundi rivers. Here they were to put up a factory which would tap the gold fields directly.

The explorations of Fernandes were unrelated to any consistent programme of discovery or development. They only served centuries later to bolster Portuguese claims of priority in their attempts to link Angola and Mozambique.

## CONSISTENT PROGRAMME

In 1544 the Portuguese founded a settlement near Quelimane to enable them to penetrate the interior. Lourenco Marques explored Delagoa Bay in the same year although the town that now bears his name took it much later.

The main route into the interior became affected through the Zambesi river as a result of the explorations of Fernandes. In an effort to speed up the export of gold the captain at Mozambique founded Sena, 160 miles from the Coast, and Teje 321 miles upstream, soon after.

Driven by messianic intensity Father Gonzalo da Silveira, a Roman Catholic missionary, imperialist vanguard, reached the royal residence of Monomotapa near Mount Darwin in 1560. He found a compatriot, Antonio Caiado, Captain of the Gates, living with the King.

## ROLE OF MISSIONARIES

After twenty-five days of training Father Silveira baptized the Monomotapa his favourite wife and his sister and 300 relatives and tribal elders.

Swahili traders, sensible of the role of missionaries as the vanguard of imperialist interests, fully explained this to the newly converted African potentate. And that proved the undoing of the zealous missionary.

Warned by Caiado, among others, of the hostility that his activities had aroused among the people, Silveira convinced that the tree of colonialism thrives upon the blood of martyrs, calmly awaited his fate.

### ULTIMATUM

In 1861 Silveira was strangled to death and his body fed to the crocodiles of the Zambesi river.

The assassination had the desired effect. It made a terrific impact upon the ruling circles in Lisbon and Rome. But for another seven years nothing came of it.

In 1868 the 14-year-old Sebastiao ascended the Portuguese throne. He had imperialist visions of Southern Africa, the creation of vast domain stretching inland hundreds of miles from Indian Ocean.

Sebastiao O. Africano, whose sobriquet derived from his ill-fated Moroccan campaign, organised an expeditionary force to serve his aggressive ends. It was presented as a punitive expedition designed to avenge the Silveira assassination.

The Monomotapa received an ultimatum. Recent robberies and "murders" of Portuguese subjects including Gonzalo da Silveira impelled the Government of Portugal to demand of the Monomotapa to give free access to all Portuguese traders and missionaries, to yield reparations for past injuries and to expel the Arabs from within his Kingdom.

A "punitive" expedition was organised and duly set out. The leader of the expedition, Francisco Barreto, after losses from diseases, and after ordering and executing a savage massacre of the Arabs at Sena, turned back and himself died.

### NAIVE EXPECTATIONS

Vasco Fernandes Homem, military adviser to Barreto, travelled in 1574 from Sofala Manica and negotiated with the Monomotapa near Umtali concluding an agreement for the free passage of Portuguese and African traders.

Homem's investigations revealed that the gold-producing possibili-

ties of the area could not be effectively exploited without machinery and skilled labour. The silver mines at Chicoa also did not come up to the usual naive expectations of the Portuguese.

### HEROIC ENCOUNTER

His 200 men garrison left at Chicoa was destroyed by the African tribesmen.

The fate of the two expeditions convinced the Portuguese crown of the futility of trying to occupy the interior of Africa. In view of the limited possibilities of mining and trade, the idea of conquering this area for the Portuguese crown was abandoned.

The valuable information gathered by Homem and his predecessors about the interior of Southern Africa was used by Joao do Santos in his *Ethiopia Oriental* (1609).

The *Oriental* has touches of the heroic deeds of the Zimba in their attempts to expel the Portuguese. In 1592 they routed the Portuguese forces from Sena and Tete in a heroic encounter and the next year a Portuguese "punitive" expedition from the island of Mozambique, was also routed.

In the last years of the sixteenth century Portuguese fortunes on the Zambesi were at their lowest ebb.

In the 17th century the monopoly which the Portuguese enjoyed in East Africa and the Indian Ocean was threatened and finally broken by Arab, Dutch and English power.

The Arabs reasserted much of their former influence north of Cape Delgado.

The Dutch wrested the control of the Eastern seas from the Portuguese, although they had thrice attempted to seize the port of Mozambique and had each time been beaten off.

By 1650 the Portuguese began to export "black ivory" as African slaves were called, from Mozambique.

They resorted to Mozambique as a source of the slave trade after the Dutch had seized for a time Angola, their main source of slaves.

## COLLAPSE OF COLONIALISM

They developed the slave-trade with Brazil until slavery became the principal commerce of South-East Africa. The slave-trade continued until the middle of the 19th century. Slavery was to contribute the colony in 1878.

This slavery was to contribute not only to the scandalous conditions of the nineteenth century and the final anarchic collapse of the whole Zambezi basin but also to its new forms of forced labour of the Portuguese colonies and of the indentured labour of the Rand gold mines supplied by Mozambique authorities. Today it threatens the final collapse of Portuguese colonialism in Africa.

In 1752 Portuguese East Africa, after being subordinated to the Portuguese administration at Goa, was separated and given an independent governor. This change did not check the colony's drift into stagnation and chaos.

Pereira do Lago, Governor of the Colony from 1765 to 1779 reorganised the local militia with India troops and waged a war of aggression against the Africans who were determined to overthrow their oppressors.

### HUMAN FLOTSAM AND JETSAM

In 1781 Martinho de Melo Castro, Minister for Naval and Colonial Affairs admitted that Mozambique had reached the last stage of moral and commercial decadence. The next year 1782 thirteen prostitutes were shipped to Mozambique.

Until the 20th century, a large portion of white settlers in Portuguese Africa were, in the words of Mabel Jackson, made up of "transported criminals and political exiles known as degradedos. Each year a shipload of human flotsam and jetsam arrived (in Mozambique) from Portugal. Beggars embittered by hardship, thieves, assassins, incorrigible soldiers and sailors, together with a sprinkling of men suffering for their political offences, were dumped into the colony. Sometimes

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these men were accompanied by their wives, girls from orphanages or reformatory schools whom they married at the moment of embarkation from Europe. These unfortunate people who had already been degraded in mind and body by imprisonment at home and the rigours of the voyage, merely added to the misery and inefficiency of the colony."

## DIET CHEAP

By 1800 slaves formed the bulk of Mozambique's exports. Slavery as a domestic institution was more important here than in Angola.

Many a prazero (the plantations owner) had an army of captive Africans in addition to the usual large number of house and field workers.

There was the slave and the colono. The colono, allegedly a free man, was the tribesman living on the prazo. He paid a poll-tax, was obliged to work without pay, and was subject to the whims and caprices of his landlord. Both the slave and the colono were cheap labour, dirt cheap labour.

The Peninsular War and Brazil's declaration of her independence from the rule of Portugal (1822) upset the domestic economy of both Portugal and her colonies including Mozambique.

The threatened abolition of slavery was a happening that the settlers feared would wreck their means of livelihood.

Mozambique, being an integral part of Africa, was greatly affected by the decisions at the Berlin Conference of the three great Western powers, Britain, France and Germany held from November 1844 to February 1855.

## APPLE CART

Although Portugal was at this time already a decadent colonial power she became, by the grace of the big three an ally and partner

in the execution of the great purpose of providence for the advancement of mankind, as Gladstone euphemistically called the exploitation of the African people.

The new doctrine of effective occupation was advanced as the basis of colonization in Africa. Portugal was allowed to keep Mozambique not because she was in effective occupation there but because she had "discovered" the territory.

Before 1855, Portugal had hoped to preserve a continuous belt of territory from coast to coast uniting modern Angola with Mozambique, but events upset her apple cart.

## AUTONOMY

The British acquired the land south of lake Nyasa and the shire highlands. The Portuguese prepared a counter-expedition. Major A de Serpe Pinto came into conflict with 'peoples under British protection.'

Lord Salisbury, the British Prime Minister sent Portugal an ultimatum. (1890)

This was followed by a treaty defining the frontiers of British and Portuguese possessions and the creation of the Mozambique and Niassa companies for the development of the area.

Under the Portuguese Republic (1910) the colony was granted a measure of autonomy. This was extended in 1920.

After the taking over of power by the Salazar regime (1926) colonial autonomy was swept away. A much more centralised system was adopted.

The building of railways led to the rapid expansion of Mozambique's economy. Conventions were signed with the countries of the hinterland. These governed the questions of transit trade the recruitment of an African labour force and other matters.

The Mozambique convention (1909) concluded with the Transvaal government lapsed in 1923. It was replaced in 1934 by a new treaty which ran until 1939. It remained in force thereafter to 12 months' notice of termination by either party.

The Companhia de Mozambique was wounded up in 1942. In 1951 Mozambique was designated an overseas province of Portugal, a ruse designed to conceal the reality of its colonial status behind a mask of a juridical technicality.

## MOZAMBIQUE TODAY

The population of Mozambique during 1959 was estimated by the United Nations at 6,310,000 compared with the 5,732,317 of the 1950 official Portuguese estimates.

The National Democratic Union of Mozambique estimates the population as 6,530,000 African, 75,000 Europeans and 18,000 Asians.

All the African people of Mozambique are Bantu-speaking. The main tribal groups are: the Yao in Niassa, the Makwa in Niassa and Zambezia, the Bassenga in Zambezia and Sofala, the Baangoni and Basenega in Manica, the Baronga, Batonga and Bachopi in Sul do Save.

## HONEST TRUTH

The most important towns are: Lourenco Marques, the capital where about half of the colony's white settlers live; Beira, the headquarters of the former Companhia de Mozambique; established as a Portuguese port in 1505 and the capital of the territory until 1897; Quelimane, Inhambane and Chiunde.

The governor-general is the head of the colonial government. He is appointed by the council of Ministers in Lisbon for a four year term, subject to reappointment. He is directly responsible to the Minister for Overseas Provinces in Portugal.

Beneath all this facade of technicalities is concealed the honest truth that the governor-general is appointed by the Dictator-President of Portugal, Dr. Antonio Oliveira da Salazar, who boasted way back in 1939 that:

"We are anti-parliamentarians, anti-democrats and anti-liberals and are determined to establish a corporate state."

This self-same fascist dictator, who is Britain's oldest ally ordered the Portuguese flags to be flown at

half-mast in 1945 to mark Herr Hitler's death.

### "ELECTED"

As a man on the spot the Mozambique governor-general exercises very wide powers subject to the Lisbon government. He is assisted by a legislative council which has 24 members; 22 of whom are either Portuguese officials or settlers and two assimilados.

Legislative authority over Mozambique is supposed to vest in the National Assembly of Portugal which is made up of 120 Deputies. The Assembly, however, is a rubber stamp for Toni Salazar who has been in office since 1928.

Mozambique is entitled to three seats on that bogus parliament. Mozambican "elected" deputies are usually agents of the Salazar régime.

### FOUR REGIONS

The administration of the province is carried out through four regions as follows:

- (I) The region of Sul do Save;
- (II) The region of Zambezia;
- (III) The region of Niassa; and
- (IV) The region of Manica-Sofala.

The regional capitals are Lourenço Marques, Quelimane, Namupula and Beira respectively.

The districts are in turn divided into sub-districts each under an administrator, and each sub-district is redivided into one to four administrative posts in which are the post offices, police stations and so forth.

The regions are headed by regional governors who can be overruled by the governor-general.

A judicial system, comprising a court of appeals and courts of preliminary investigation in ten judicial divisions, maintains separate sections for African cases and applies the *Código Civil* (Portuguese).

A royal charter of 1891 authorised Companhia de Mozambique to exploit the resources of the

region of Manica and Sofala, an area of 59,315 square miles for a period of 50 years.

The company had a capital of £1.5 million, most of which was foreign. It exercised, sovereign rights over the regions under its jurisdiction. When the company's charter lapsed in 1941 it was not renewed. The regions were formally restored to direct Portuguese administration on July 19, 1942.

In Manica and Sofala the company had control of agriculture, commerce, industry, mining, communications and transport, taxation and customs. It issued its own currency and postage stamps.

The Companhia do Niassa with its capital at Porto Amelia, received a royal charter in 1894. It exercised jurisdiction in the region north of the Lurio river. The company's main interests were in agriculture and transport.

In 1929 the Portuguese government took over the administration of the area.

Portuguese colonial policy has like all other colonial policy, been directed towards robbing the African of his land, and of his human, natural and mineral resources. It is in this form that the undermining of national integrity and the overthrow of national sovereignty took concrete shape.

In Mozambique colonial land policy derives from the Law of May 9, 1901 laid down that all land, which did not at that date constitute private property in accordance with Portuguese law, was the property of the state.

A 1918 Decree for Mozambique provides for the reservation of certain area for the exclusive use of the African people and provides also that such lands may not be alienated. Africans are not forced to live these reserves. Land actually occupied by Africans may not be granted to Europeans.

Gunther states that 97 per cent of Mozambique belongs to the Africans while Hailey categorically states that "Statistics are not available regarding the Native area in Mozambique."

Large parts of the Zambezi have been turned into settler prazos (plantations) some of which are hundreds of square miles in exchange. These are now held as concessions for 25 years.

A number of these prazos are run by companies such as the Zambezia and these may alienate them subject to approval by the government. The Mozambique Company is reported to have alienated 6 per cent of the lands under his control.

The Limpo River Scheme provides for the eventual settlement of 6,000 Portuguese and 3,000 African families.

75,000 acres out of the total of 50,000 acres set aside for the project will be irrigated.

Hailey remarks that "the scheme will admittedly involve some disturbance of the African population, which is being resettled elsewhere." And this remark makes nonsense of the claim of the 1918 Decree that "such lands may not be alienated."

It is only those Africans who have become *assimilados* who can, in theory, acquire real rights in land or enjoy the benefit of the process of inheritance, legacy or purchase. In positive terms the position stated thus far is that real ownership of land in Mozambique is the prerogative of the Portuguese settler, the Portuguese company and the Portuguese State.

In and outside the so-called reserves the African enjoy the privilege of occupation but no right of ownership. And even that privilege he enjoys at the pleasure of his colonial masters.

The colonization of Mozambique has therefore robbed the 6.5 million Africans of real rights in their own land. Land in Mozambique is, therefore, used to benefit the Portuguese state, company and settler at the expense of the African.

Until recently no adequate mineral survey had been made of the Mozambique mineral resources. As far back as 1510 the Portuguese entertained great expectations concerning the gold and silver output of the land. Small quantities of gold are being mined near Villa de

Manica and Tete and alluvial deposits are known to exist near Villa de Manica and Alto Ligonha.

Coal is mined in the Zambezi Valley near Tete. Surveys have confirmed the existence of a large basin of coal estimated to contain about 1,000,000,000 tons.

A company with Belgian capital, the Companhia Carbonifera de Mozambique supplies the Portuguese railways and the port of Beira with coal. It also exports coal to Nyasaland. It does not however, supply Southern Mozambique with coal which receives its imports from Settler South African Republic.

Another company, the Alto Ligonha Company, has exclusive rights over parts of Zambezia. It mines beryl, colombite, bismuth and mica.

Graphite is mined near Nacala in Angonia. The Mozambique Gulf Oil Company entered into a ten year contract (1948-1958) with the Portuguese government to prospect for petroleum in the region of Sul do Save. There are Radio-active minerals in the Tete area. Prospecting for these is through a concession granted by the Portuguese government only.

## MINERAL RESOURCES

For 450 years now the mineral resources of Mozambique have been exploited not for the benefit of the indigenous African people but for that of the Portuguese, their settlers and other outsiders.

The Mozambique economy is mainly agrarian, and this too is oriented towards colonialist interests.

The greater part of Mozambique is thinly populated bush country. A good part of it, however, consists of densely populated soil of high fertility. The most important areas of high fertility are the Southern lowlands between Catuane and Inhambane. These contain the lower reaches of the Limpopo and other rivers. The valleys of the Save and the Limpopo and of the Quelimane rivers are included in these areas, as also are the Macondes highlands on the Tanganyika frontier.

The agriculture of Mozambique is organised on three basic lines:

for subsistence, for cash crops and for the European-owned plantation. The European-owned plantations produce copra, sisal, sugar-cane, tea, rice, potatoes, maize, tobacco and wheat. These put together, contribute one-third of the colony's exports.

The company estates in the Zambezi, Sul do Save and Manica areas produce sugar. There are 6,000,000 trees of copra-producing coconut palms in the coastal area of Zambezia.

Raw cotton is the most valuable single export of the colony.

Between 1946 and 1950 it accounted for one-quarter of the total exports.

Africans are forced by their Portuguese masters to produce this raw cotton. They are given the seeds and have the dates for sowing harvesting and so forth set for them by their masters. They receive next to nothing for their efforts in the production.

Africans have been forced to produce this even at the expense of their own food crops. In 1949, for example they were so short of maize, which makes up their staple diet, that it had to be imported. Other crops that Africans are forced to produce while their Portuguese masters derive all the benefit are: Copra, peanuts, sesame, maize, tobacco and vegetables.

Having disrupted the African's own subsistence economy the Portuguese have proceeded to force him to produce cash crops not for his own benefit but for their own. Having robbed the African of huge tracts of his own land they are now forcing him to work on their plantations where he cannot even eke an existence.

Small wonder that over 1,000,000 Africans have escaped into Nyasaland and Tanganyika to avoid the abysmal new form of slavery in which they now find themselves entangled.

Mozambique has considerable resources of timber which include a large area of forest behind Beira. During the years of World War II the export of timber and wood-products increased from 10,960 tons in 1939 to 80,596 in 1946.

These forests and its products which once belonged to the Africans

are now being alienated in the form of concessions and the African's task is merely to drudge a slave in their preparation and production. The benefits go to the Portuguese.

Since the metropolitan country, Portugal, is herself an under-developed country it would be too much to expect high industrial development in Mozambique.

## ECONOMY

Government policy in Mozambique is to encourage first metropolitan then colonial production by the use of protective tariffs and the grant of monopolies for certain products.

Villa Pery has a textile factory and Beira a cement factory producing 50,000 tons a year.

Among local industrial projects were 6 tobacco and 32 oil and soap producing factories in 1955.

For a long time now the colony of Mozambique has been paying her way, largely as a result of steady income derived from the supply services and African labour used in the neighbouring territories to the West. At the end of 1951 the exchange reserves were £3.3 million in foreign currencies and £4.5 million in gold. Since 1937 there has been a surplus of income over expenditure. About £7 million were devoted to extraordinary public works between 1946 and 1950.

In 1947 the Salazar regime made a loan of 1,000,000,000 escudos (£12.5 million sterling) to Mozambique. The Chief sources of revenue are customs duties and the sale of African contract labours and income tax. The monetary unit is the Mozambique escudo of 100 centavos equal in value to the Portuguese escudo. The exchange value is about 80 escudos to £1 sterling. The foreign trade of Mozambique colony shows an excess of imports over exports.

In 1950 imports were valued at 1,654 million escudos and exports at 944 million escudos.

Re-exports, largely consisting of mineral from South Africa were valued at 604 million escudos and transit traffic at 7,963 million escudos.

The finance and trade of Mozambique are organised to serve non-African at the expense of African interests. This colonialist orientation can only be eliminated by the transfer of power to the Africans.

## FORCED LABOUR

Forced labour is the cog around which the fly-wheel of Mozambique economy revolves. And as is the case in Settler South Africa the operation of the pass-laws is indispensable to such forced labour.

Once a man is made to carry on his person a document to show where he is employed failing which the wrath of the law descends upon him, that constitutes the essence of forced labour. Such a man is bound to look for any kind of work no matter how he will be exploited in the process if only it will save him from jail.

Every African adult in Mozambique must carry a *cadernets* to show not only where he is working and where he had been working but also where he has paid his poll-tax and other dues.

The Portuguese boasted that their system of pass-laws was fool-proof and even the government of settler South Africa took a leaf out of their statute books by introducing the *reference book* along the lines of the Portuguese *cadernets*.

The various Geneva conventions have their book definitions of forced labour: the 1930 International Forced Labour Convention, for example, defined forced labour as: 'work or service exacted from any person under the threat of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily.'

The first part of this definition constitutes the essence of forced labour. The Portuguese *cadernets* or the South African *reference book* exact work or service from the holders under the threat of penalty.

To force someone to accept any kind of job rather than to go to jail and to argue that he has therefore offered himself 'voluntarily' is to indulge in calculated colonialist cynicism.

As long as the pass system exists therefore there can be no such thing

as voluntary labour, for anyone is subject to its rigorous provisions.

The Portuguese, of course do not deny the existence of forced labour in their vast colonial concentration camps such as Mozambique. What they do deny is the actual extent of the practice for they still sell the big lie that some Africans under them are voluntary labourers.

Whatever observations are made about labour in Mozambique must be viewed against the background of this analysis of the nature of forced labour.

In 1906 the Portuguese government passed laws prohibiting, in general terms, the use of forced labour. Of recent years labour for the cocoa fields of Sao Tome and Principe have been obtained from Mozambique rather than Angola.

Contracts signed in Mozambique were at first for four years. This period had now been reduced to one year, and repatriation is insisted upon.

In 1903 British cocoa firms boycotted all cocoa from the islands of Sao Tome and Principe because of the forced labour used there. It was following this that the 1906 law was passed.

Much criticism has of late been levelled against forced labour for public works and private employment in Mozambique.

Portugal signed the Anti-Slavery Convention (1926) which limited the use of forced labour to public purposes. She has, however, refused to sign the 1930 Forced Labour Convention, and the 1936 Recruitment of Indigenous Workers Convention.

By her own 1928 Labour Code Portugal restricts the use of forced labour to public purposes and by the Order of April 11, 1930 all such labour must be paid for.

The Portuguese argue that labour is an essential part of the "Civilizing process", a formula they evolved to justify the use of forced labour. Portuguese colonial subjects are compelled to work in public and to produce marketable crops. More often than not they work for nothing.

In spite of official orders to the contrary district officers get ten times what the labourer will earn in six months whenever they supply

labour to private employers.

The Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (W.N.L.A.) has recruiting depots for the Rand and Free State gold fields. More than 100,000 indentured labourers are recruited annually from Mozambique to these gold fields.

In 1896 these labourers were earning 3/- per day. Today they earn 3/4 per day, 4d. rise in 68 years. The Portuguese government sells each of these labourers for £2 to the South Africa mines. It also abuses their deferred pay which is forwarded to it.

## ASSIMILADOS

In Mozambique, as in other Portuguese colonies, Portugal has developed the racket of *assimilado*, according to which certain Africans by reason of having assimilated the Catholic faith, Portuguese language and culture and by reason of their high standard of living are accepted as full Portuguese citizens with all rights and privileges attached thereto.

Out of 6.5 million Africans there are, after 450 years of Portuguese rule, only a little over 4,000 Africans who have qualified as *assimilados*, a sure proof of the failure of the "civilising mission" of the Portuguese.

The product of any African woman and a Portuguese male automatically becomes an "assimilado."

The *assimilado* system was designed to rob the African masses of their leaders by incorporating them into the body politic of the ruling class in the vain hope that Portuguese colonial rule would continue for ever.

Another measure that was designed to ensure that Portuguese colonial rule would continue forever is the law that declared Portuguese colonial integral parts of metropolitan Portugal.

Since the United Nations charter prohibits interference in the domestic affairs of member-states, by this ruse, Portugal, in her incredibly naive expectation, attempted to arm herself against the attacks of anti-colonialists and anti-imperialists.

The changing of a territory from a colony into an overseas province

without changing its colonial structure is a fraudulent manoeuvre. It robs the indigenous peoples of their basic right of self-determination, prostitutes the function of the legislature and makes a hollow mockery of the laws themselves. The Portuguese manoeuvre is a classic example of the colonialist technique at its worst.

## AFRICA FOR AFRICANS

Mozambique, is an integral part of Africa which is not an extension of Europe or of any part of it. This juridical device designed to turn Portugal into an "Eurafican" power cannot change the attitude of African nationalists that Mozambique is for the Africans and Portugal for the Portuguese.

Portugal is Britain's "oldest ally". Britain has vested strategic interests in Portuguese colonies especially in Beira in Mozambique. Portugal is a member of NATO—the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. Her colonies are therefore at the disposal of NATO.

NATO is today building a military base in Beira and several others in centres such as Tete, Nacala and Nampula.

However anti-democratic, anti-liberal, anti-parliamentarian and anti-African freedom Salazar may be he knows he can always count upon the support of the NATO imperialist powers. And who therefore, can call her power to account?

What has been the people's reaction to all these onslaughts on the basic rights and fundamental freedoms?

"Nationalism on an organised basis does not exist as yet in Portuguese Africa" wrote John Gunther during his 1953 tour of Mozambique.

"The people are taught that they are Portuguese, so that a revolt would be a revolt against themselves."

In the hope of perpetuating Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique the Portuguese deliberately starve the African people of all education.

As far back as 1953 Mozambique Africans smuggled a petition out of

Mozambique. The petition which was signed by 594 Africans complained, inter alia, about the wanton brutal flogging of men imprisoned into the labour gangs.

Immediately after Sir Roy Welensky had in 1959 imposed a state of emergency over the Central African Federation of Nyasaland, Southern and Northern Rhodesia, Dr. Salazar posted over 5,000 troops along the 1,800 mile long frontier to patrol it and shoot at sight any African political refugee found in Mozambique. The Salazar thugs shot many innocent Africans with impunity.

Early in 1960 Salazar increased his armed thugs to 9,000 excluding the local militia and his Gestapo known as the "PIDE-Policia Internacional de Defesa do Estado." The PIDE spread the network of its activities and clamped down on the frontier villages and towns.

On the June 16, 1960 Kibiriti Diwani, Faustino Banomba and Madesta Yosuf (a 21 year old African woman) handed the Administrator of the Niassa region a letter protesting against the savage thuggery of the Salazar storm troopers. The three had been eye-witnesses to the unprovoked massacre of the villagers of Mueda-Makondes.

The protest was directed against the massacre of 36 Africans and the wounding of 150, all of whom had been engaged in peaceful demonstrations when the trigger—happy blood-thirsty Salazar thugs swooped upon them.

Salazar's mock courts of justice sentenced 250 demonstrators to terms of imprisonment raging from 2 to 7 years.

For their pains in presenting the letter of protest Diwani, Banomba, and Yosuf were jailed for life.

A typical Portuguese colonialist fashion the three were all sent to an undisclosed destination. And that was that.

Chief Zintambira Chicuse and his followers had been detained since 1955. The Portuguese shot them dead in cold blood at Lourenço Marques in May, 1961.

During the same month fifteen forced labourers were shot dead at Milange for the crime of demanding increased pay.

In April 1961, Commandant Pedro Corria de Barros, told a crowd of 100,000 Portuguese settlers who had marched on the American Embassy in Lourenço Marques that he condemned the American vote in the United Nations favouring an inquiry into conditions in Portuguese Angola. Mozambique had to ward off the anti-colonialist blow even before it was directly aimed at her.

In May 1961, as the Angolan nationalist struggle gained momentum Portuguese settlers poured into Umtali in Southern Rhodesia to buy firearms and ammunition. Within four days 140 permits had already been issued to these settlers and long queues waited for their permits. As a result of new "arrangements" Portuguese settlers can now buy their guns and ammunition in settler Central Africa without any permits.

## ATROCITIES

The 2,037 ton Portuguese liner *Shil Save* went aground in July at the mouth of the river Tindé. The 550 passengers on board were 500 Africans troops with 50 Portuguese officers making for the Tanganyika frontier.

In July 1961, Jacobus Fouché, War Minister of settlers South African Republic visited the senile Salazar in Portugal to form a secret pact for the launching of a counter-revolutionary offensive against the African peoples of Mozambique and South Africa.

Terence Daly, South African settler parachutist arrived in Lourenço Marques in August 1961 to give lessons and training to Asians, Mulattos and Assimilated Africans.

The Portuguese have also entered into a secret military pact with the racist "government" of Rhodesia.

Portuguese militia in Mozambique is made up of settlers, Mulattos. These make up the shock troops deployed against the African masses employed in the mines, on the farms and on the cotton, sugar and sisal plantations.

According to Portuguese official records 428,000 Mozambicans have migrated from the territory. African

nationalist leaders estimate actual number of such Africans as well over 1,000,000.

In April 1961 the "Democratic Union of Mozambique" a settler-liberal organisation, issued a manifesto over the signature of 70 people calling upon Salazar to grant Mozambique colonial autonomy, end forced labour and set-up a multi-racial state in a Portuguese Commonwealth.

## POLITICAL PARTIES

These liberals believe that autonomy can only come from a change in Portugal. They assert that such a change cannot come about without the help of the Portuguese army.

Dom Sabastiao Soares de Resende, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Beira, is a recognised leader of unorganised settler opposition to Salazar policies.

The bishop, who owns the Beira Diario, Mozambique's only liberal daily newspaper, is also the author of a book exposing the exploitation of Africans in the cotton and rice plantations.

"Of course, nationalism will come in time, people will hear about what is happening on their borders, in Tanganyika and Nyasaland. You cannot seal a country off for ever. People grow, even here and they will sooner or later demand change." A young Portuguese frankly told Gunther this in 1953.

And now African nationalism has come. The Angolan Freedom War is costing Salazar one-third of the national income of his underdeveloped country. He must now sorely be regretting the fact that his predecessors did not accept the British offer of £3,000,000 in the 1900s for the purchase of that colony.

Within Mozambique itself there are reported to be such African political organisations as the Socialist Catholic Party (Inhambane), the Progressive Union (Manica and Sofala region), the Democratic African Movement (Zambesia) and the Mukana Union of Mozambique (Porto Amelia).

The most important Mozambican African political organisation is the Union Democratica Nacional de Mozambique — Udenamo — which represents the interest of the 6,500,000 Africans in Mozambique and is actively supported by the over 1,000,000 Mozambicans in Tanganyika, Kenya, Malawi, Zambia and Rhodesia, and the Union of South Africa.

In a 2,000-word statement submitted to the President of the Sixteenth Session (1961) of the United Nations General Assembly the Central Committee of UDENAMO states, inter alia, that it: **CATEGORICALLY REJECTS**: The view that the colony of Mozambique is an overseas province of Portugal, a decision to which the 6,500,000 were never at any stage, a party; **OPENLY DENOUNCES** as a diabolical fabrication and deliberate falsehood the widely circulated claim of the Government of Portugal that the African people enjoy the same basic rights as any Portuguese citizen;

## THEIR DEMANDS

**STRONGLY CONDEMNS** the economic exploitation, political oppression and social degradation to which the African people have been ruthlessly subjected under Portuguese colonial rule;

**VEHEMENTLY DEPLORES** the dark record of Portuguese savage colonialism which has been marked by naked fascist repression, savage colonialist brutality and a stark organized terrorism.

**THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC UNION OF MOZAMBIQUE** demands: — The immediate withdrawal of all Portuguese armed forces and civil militia and Portuguese Gestapo from the Mozambique territory.

The forthwith dismantling of all military and communication bases inimical to the interests of the African people from Mozambique territory;

The immediate overthrow of Portuguese colonialism and the granting of complete independence to Mozambique on the basis of one

man, one vote. In the event of Portugal to accede to the foregoing demands.

**THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC UNION MOZAMBIQUE** urges: The member-states of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) to expel the Government of Portugal from membership of the said organisation; The United Nations to expel the Government of Portugal from membership of all its organs and sub-organs;

The United Nations to set up a committee to enquire with or without the co-operation of Government of Portugal into the situation in Mozambique, and to make recommendations which will, with the co-operation of the National Democratic Union of Mozambique, lead to the implementation of its demands.

In their articles of constitution referred to as "statutes" the National Democratic Union of Mozambique (UDENAMO) is defined as a political organisation constituted by Mozambicans, without any discrimination of sex, ethnical origin, religious belief or place of residence.

The fourth article declares the aims and objects of UDENAMO to be:

- \* Total liquidation of Portuguese colonial domination in Mozambique and of all traces of any colonialist or imperialist relation.
- \* Gain of immediate and total independence for Mozambique.
- \* Defence and realisation of the claims set up by all the people of Mozambique coming from any racial layers enduring oppression or exploitation from any part of the Portuguese colonial regime, particularly claims set up by peasant and working masses.

UDENAMO, states the fifth article, mobilizes, organises and unites all patriots of Mozambique and proclaims the necessity of the union of all patriotic forces in Mozambique.

The structure of the UDENAMO is based upon the nation, province, district, locality and circle. The circle is the basic unit of organisation and may be at work or home.



The structure of UDENAMO is based on the principle of democratic centralism of which democratic and collective spirit, unity of action, sense of responsibility criticism and autocriticism and mutual help are the basic ingredients.

The entire "statutes" consist of twenty-six articles.

In the manifesto styled the "Programme" UDENAMO states its readiness to co-operate with African and Asian freedom fighters particularly with those of the Portuguese colonies.

UDENAMO also stands for the defence of the interests of the worker classes such as:

\* Abolition of the regime of forced labour.

\* Abolition of the agreements that rule the emigration of the workers of Mozambique to South Africa and other countries.

\* Abolition of the sending of prisoners to SAO TOME and other countries.

\* Forbidding of the use of Mozambican soldiers for colonial wars waged against peoples of other countries.

\* Suppression of all discrimination based on race or sex concerning remuneration in work, and the basing of such upon the principle of 'equal pay for equal work'.

\* Fixing of a minimum waged necessary to a decent life.

\* Promotion of a progressive

raising of the economic standards of living.

On the international level UDENAMO is against the establishment of foreign military bases upon Mozambican national soil and against adherence to any military bloc, a presumable reference to the NATO or Warsaw blocs.

UDENAMO also declares its respect for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and for the principles of the United Nations Charter.

Salazar would do well to give in to the demands of UDENAMO as that would avoid deeper miseries, deeper crisis and a holocaust. All that Mozambicans want is their freedom.

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