



**MOZAMBIQUE**  
**REVOLUTION**

# EDITORIAL

Eduardo Mondlane, first President of FRELIMO, was assassinated in Dar es Salaam on the 3rd of February, 1969. The people of Mozambique understand the meaning of his death as they understood the meaning of his life, as an offer and a dedication to the struggle.

His life was the life of a man who left his country at an early age in order to learn to know the world, and who finally came to know himself more fully as a Mozambican, belonging to that country. Of a man who could understand and absorb the good of other civilisations and still never lose sight of the fact that the main goal was to turn this knowledge to the service of the Mozambican struggle. Of a man who, having travelled widely and seen many towns, having known many men, having won their admiration and respect, and having achieved success in their society, still could leave all this and return to lead the struggle for the liberation of his country. Of a man who helped to shape the struggle in the many ways that we now recall in this moment of meditation, recall as a tribute to him and a memento for us.

We remember him, and that memory comforts us in our grief, because he helped us reach the unity that we all longed for. Out of many groups he led one united front; out of many tribes he was able to foresee one nation. Never did he identify himself with one group or one tribe; never did he fail to perform his duty as a man of the nation, a Mozambican. From him we learned to judge a man on the basis of his abilities and not his origin. And this proved right. All the different groups came to be represented, but in such a way that each was able to contribute best where it was most capable. From him we learned to accept all the tribal heritages and merge them into a common wealth, to form a new culture belonging to all Mozambicans. His firm belief in the possibility of reaching such a goal, in the very necessity of it, was shown by the efforts he made and inspired us to make to create a

new system of education for ourselves and for our people. But it shone through for all to see - and this was no minor thing - even in his daily attitude, his bearing. In his open smile, there spoke the certainty of one who had overcome the myth of alleged inferiority, there spoke the triumph of having proved the contrary. In his bold laughter spoke the pride of asserting himself as a new man of a new country, as a Mozambican. In his straightforward friendliness spoke the reliance on a reality which we were creating together. We remember him for having helped us in so many ways to recognise ourselves as Mozambicans.

And we praise him because he constantly inspired confidence by his own example - confidence in ourselves and in our people. In his way of leading discussion, we could see how he respected the thoughts and trusted the will of others. If we differed, he would fight to the end, always trying to convince, never to impose, and if his arguments were defeated, then without hesitation he would accept the decision of the majority. In his many activities, in his travels and engagements, his calm confidence showed the inner peace of a man who had had to struggle against enormous obstacles, but not with his own conscience, because he knew he was right in following the will of the people, always trying to understand it and to interpret in the correct way. In his dealing with the outside world, we saw in practice his concept of non-alignment, based on a firm faith that it is not necessary to bend to any external power, that it is possible to work steadily toward the goal of reaching a political identity of our own. We praise him for having shown us the strength of relying on ourselves and trusting ourselves.

And we honour him because he taught us to hate, for he taught us whom to hate and why to hate. Son of a freedom-fighter, descendant of freedom-fighters and leader of freedom-fighters, he knew the importance of the right target for hatred, what a formidable weapon it could be if directed correctly: "Yes,

our men must kill...but not fight against the colour of the enemy, fight against the things he fights for, systems of economic and social control..." All his efforts to provide all possible support to the armed struggle reflected a bitter and serious understanding of the power of the enemy, a clear understanding of who the enemy is. We now add to all this our knowledge of the brutal way in which he was murdered.

This murder will be avenged and the enemies of the Mozambican people must expect our revenge to fall on them and their sons with inflexible justice. It was a vain hope that they nourished if they thought to discourage us by this barbarous elimination of one man, even if a great man. In this they showed their weakness, their ignorance of the Revolution which has taught us through the toughest experience how to make of every apparent setback a new point of attack, how to use every momentary retreat as an opportunity for a run and leap forward, how to find in defeat the means for victory. We grow stronger from our calamities, and this case is no different from the other battles. It is a test for us, perhaps one of the harshest, but we shall face it with the kind of determination that the man we lost symbolised to us. We honour him for having given us the example of courage.

And we thank him because he was able to speak for us the language of other men - the language of the diplomats, the language of the universities, the language of power. Among all these voices, he gave a voice to Mozambique, and, imposing silence on others, he made that voice heard, commanding respect for our grievances and for our struggle. So we gave him the task of representing us before the world and of expressing us to the world. We thank him for having performed this task with intelligence and ability.

Thus, we commemorate his life and we mourn his death. We knew, as he knew, that this could happen, even if it seemed

impossible that all that energy, all that strength and vitality could be crushed. How full of life was his body, how free and at ease his way of moving and doing things, how sure his voice. We mourn the death of these physical things which cannot survive as other aspects of him can. We mourn him as a man. And as a man, we know that he was not free of fault or error, or of shortcomings. The Revolution will build better men, but he worked to build the Revolution. And he fought - as we continue to do - in this hope: that our descendants can be better men than we were even given the chance to be. But they will carry with them the memory of our first leader. By his death, they will understand that for us the principle INDEPENDENCE OR DEATH was not devoid of meaning. But to it we add that it has been a physical death; it will be another step toward independence. We will make it so. Because we will be more determined, more stubborn and implacable than we ever were. We will proceed with obstinate perseverance along the path of the Revolution and we will multiply our efforts now that we have to fill that place made empty by murder. Our enemies must not forget that the guerrilla fighter returns to battle with increased rage when he has seen a comrade fall.

INDEPENDENCIA OU MORTE

VENCEREMOS!

## COMMUNIQUE' OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee of FRELIMO met in Dar es Salaam on 11th February, 1969, following the assassination of the President of FRELIMO, Comrade Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane.

The Executive Committee paid homage to their late President. These homages included a Statement denouncing the criminal assassination and extolling the leadership of Comrade Mondlane and reaffirming their decision to continue the struggle until final victory.

The Executive Committee sent a message of condolence to the wife of Comrade Mondlane and their children, encouraging her to continue in her post as a FRELIMO militant together with all the other militants of FRELIMO.

The Executive Committee declared that in conformity with the statutes of FRELIMO, the Vice-President, Comrade Uria Simango will assume the functions of President until the next meeting of the Central Committee.

## STATEMENT

Comrade President of FRELIMO, Doctor Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, was killed, assassinated, on the 3rd day of February, 1969, in a barbarous attack by a bomb in Dar es Salaam.

Mozambique, FRELIMO and the Mozambican people have lost one of their dearest sons, a man of greatest prestige and dignity.

Comrade President Mondlane was a founding member of FRELIMO. He was the builder of the unity of the Mozambican people. He was the moving force of nationalism in Mozambique. Around Comrade Mondlane the nationalist militants regrouped themselves and under his orientation our nationalist movement, FRELIMO, developed and consolidated, overcoming extremely difficult odds, until it became a solid organisation established in the whole national territory.

It was under his wise leadership that the work of mobilisation and organisation was carried on and culminated in the launching of the armed struggle and afterwards permitted the constant development of political and military activities. Our dear Comrade Eduardo Mondlane was therefore our President, the President of FRELIMO and of the Mozambican people. He was the leader, the uncontested guide of the armed revolutionary struggle for national liberation, incarnating the revolutionary nationalism of the Mozambican people.

The loss of Comrade President Mondlane constitutes a great loss for our country, for our people, for our Revolution.

Our enemy, the Portuguese colonialists, allied with the imperialist forces of the world, knew well the revolutionary valour of our Comrade Mondlane and the extraordinary political importance of his action as leader of the Mozambican Revolution.

During the course of these years of struggle we inflicted immense defeats on the Portuguese colonialists. We won great victories permitting our people to exercise their sovereignty over vast regions of our country. Incapable of stopping the advance of our struggle, incapable of confronting us in the battlefield, the enemy took recourse to criminal and barbaric means and assassinated our dear Comrade, President Mondlane.

The Executive Committee of FRELIMO indignantly condemns this criminal and cruel act of Portuguese colonialism and imperialism which deprives FRELIMO and the Mozambican Revolution of their most valiant warrior and which aims at the liquidation of the just struggle for the liberty of the Mozambican people.

But our struggle will not stop. The crime now committed by the Portuguese colonialists allied with world imperialism will be a new yeast which will increase our hatred against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism, the hatred against oppression in all its forms, the hatred against all regimes that are oppressive - colonial, fascist or racist, the hatred against the exploitation of man by man.

The Executive Committee reaffirms the profound dedication of FRELIMO to proceed until the end with the armed revolutionary struggle for national liberation against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism, for the achievement of complete national independence for Mozambique and the construction of a popular social order, free from the exploitation of man by man. The Executive Committee will continue its activities within the framework of the principles, orientation and programme clearly defined by the Second Congress of FRELIMO. FRELIMO and the Mozambican people will continue their efforts in order to extend the armed struggle to the whole country, always mobilising and organising the people in a Mozambique united from the Ruvuma to the Maputo.

It is by following this way, by repeating once again and forever our total dedication to the continuation of the armed revolutionary struggle for national liberation until the end that we, the Mozambican people, united around FRELIMO, shall honour the memory of our dear leader and guide, Comrade President Eduardo C. Mondlane. We shall extol his example and shall be the true inheritors of his work and his legitimate continuators.

INDEPENDENCIA OU MORTE,  
VENCEREMOS!

Executive Committee of FRELIMO

11 February, 1969.

## MESSAGE OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO COMRADE JANET MONDLANE

Comrade Janet Rae Mondlane,  
Dar es Salaam.

11th February, 1969

Dear Comrade,

The Executive Committee of FRELIMO which met in Dar es Salaam on 11th February, 1969, wishes to express to you and to your children its sorrowful condolences and those of all FRELIMO militants and of the whole Mozambican people for the death of your husband - our leader - Comrade President Eduardo C. Mondlane.

The Executive Committee condemns with greatest indignation this barbarous assassination perpetrated by the forces of Portuguese colonialism and imperialism. FRELIMO and the whole Mozambican people will honour the memory of Comrade President Mondlane and, respecting his example, will follow until the end and without flagging, the armed struggle for national liberation. In this moment of sorrow we extend to you all the warmth of sympathy and friendship being sure that you, Comrade Janet, together with all the other FRELIMO militants, will continue with courage and vigour to occupy your post as a militant of FRELIMO and of the Mozambican Revolution.

Please accept, Comrade, for you and your children, our deep feeling of sympathy and friendship.

For the Executive Committee.  
Uria T. Simango. Acting President.

# CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE DEATH OF THE PRESIDENT OF FRELIMO

The great successes of our liberation struggle created fear and despair among the enemy. They know that our people are ready to fight until the end, until final victory. They know that the leaders of FRELIMO are determined to lead the struggle to the real independence of Mozambique.

Unable to defeat us in the battlefield, the Portuguese colonialists, with their agents and imperialist allies decided to resort to another method: the killing of the leaders of FRELIMO.

It was in accordance with this line of action that they organised the murder of our Comrade JAIME RIVAZ SIGAUKE, whilst in Zambia on a party mission; of Comrade MATHEUS SANSÃO MUTEEMBA, in Dar es Salaam; of Comrade SAMUEL KANKHOMBA, in Tanzania, near the border of Mozambique. The last assassination perpetrated by the colonialists was of our beloved President, Comrade EDUARDO CHIVAMBO MONDLANE, on the 3rd February, 1969.

On that day, early in the morning, our President went to the office and worked with several comrades. At about 10 a.m. he collected all his mail from the office and went to the home of a friend, a quiet place, to be able to work undisturbed. Among the mail he took with him was a book, wrapped and addressed to him.

Once at the house he started opening his mail. He took the book and tore off the paper wrapping. When he opened the book, there was a great explosion, killing our President.

In the course of the investigations, the C.I.D. of Tanzania found that inside the book was a bomb, inserted in such a way that it exploded when the book was opened.

The book was sent from a European country, addressed to the President of FRELIMO.

It is easy to see that we are faced with an international imperialist conspiracy aimed aimed at destroying FRELIMO through the assassination of its leaders.

As additional proof, some days later our Comrade MARCELINO DOS SANTOS, member of the Central Committee and Secretary of the Political Department, also received a book. As we knew the circumstances of the death of our President, we sent the book to the C.I.D. before opening it. And, using appropriate techniques, the police found that in fact, there was a similar bomb in that book.

By these assassinations the enemy are trying trying to demoralise us and make us abandon the struggle. But they are wrong, NOTHING can make the Mozambican people retreat in the struggle for the Liberation of Mozambique.

## SOLIDARITY MESSAGES

The President of FRELIMO, Comrade EDUARDO CHIVAMBO MONDLANE, was well-known and respected the world over. The news of his assassination caused great grief and indignation. Hundreds of messages were sent to FRELIMO expressing sorrow at the death of our President, extolling his spirit as a Revolutionary fighter and expressing confidence that our struggle will go on, vigourously, until Mozambique is free. We quote some of the messages :

From President Julius K. Nyerere of the United Republic of Tanzania.

"Those who carried out this ghastly act are enemies of African freedom. On behalf of the Government and people of Tanzania, I send my condolences to FRELIMO and the people of Mozambique.

"To the people of Tanzania and Mozambique, I wish to state that Dr. Mondlane died for the freedom of his country. The best way to mourn him is to intensify the struggle to free Africa".

(President Nyerere attended the funeral of the President of FRELIMO, as well as the two Vice-Presidents of Tanzania, H.E. A. Karume and H.E. R.S. Kawawa, many ministers, other members of the Government, of TANU and the Afro-Shirazi Party. Comrade President Mondlane was buried with full military honours due to a Head of State and National Hero. A 19 gun salute was fired in his honour.)

From President Kenneth Kaunda of the Republic of Zambia.

"The assassination of Dr. Mondlane comes as a shock to my Government and people of Zambia. FRELIMO has lost a dedicated leader and Africa has lost a Statesman. Dr. Mondlane has brought to FRELIMO not only stature, integrity and respect, above all, effectiveness in the struggle for the independence of Mozambique. Through his leadership, FRELIMO had become a force which the Portuguese Administration could not but recognise as a determining factor in the future of that territory.

"This dastardly act must be condemned as cowardly and savage in the extreme. It is the work of the agents of colonialism and imperialism working ruthlessly to defeat the liberation struggle in Southern Africa. His disappearance from the political scene in Mozambique is a setback to the independence movement and it will be very difficult to recover this loss both in time and effectiveness.

"This assassination must be a warning to all liberation movements. The physical elimination of their leader does not benefit them but the minority oppressors whom they are fighting against. Their protection is necessary but the squabbles which have been in evidence of late only open the door for the enemies to bring the whole liberation struggle to a grinding halt. Freedom fighters will be the sufferers.

"It is my sincere hope that OAU Liberation Committee will do everything to prevent the repetition of such incidents, the cost of which is without parallel."

From President Ahmed Sekou Toure' of the Republic of Guinea.

"We have learnt with sorrow of the dastardly assassination of the leader of the Mozambique Liberation Movement, Dr. Mondlane, President of FRELIMO. We condemn the manipulations of certain Africans against the African Liberation Movements and we ask you to present our condolences to his family and to all his fellow freedom-fighters. The Democratic Party of Guinea, the people, the Government and myself assure you of our total solidarity, for the complete liberation of Mozambique and of the African motherland. Hold high your flag".

From Gamal Abdul Nasser, President of the United Arab Republic,  
sent through H.E. Elbidewy, U.A.R. Ambassador to Tanzania.

"President Gamal Abdul Nasser being deeply shocked by the untimely demise of Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, President of the FRELIMO Movement. Has instructed me to convey on his behalf and people of United Arab Republic his profound condolence to the Movement of FRELIMO and the family of the departed soul for the great loss of this heroic leader. May the almighty rest his soul in eternal peace. Undoubtedly the cause for which Dr. Mondlane died will inspire other leaders to rise and to intensify the struggle against imperialism and colonialism."

Joint Message from the Ministers of External Affairs of East and Central Africa meeting in Dar es Salaam.

"The Ministers of Foreign Affairs of East and Central Africa meeting here in Dar es Salaam have learnt with great shock and consternation of the tragic and untimely death of the leader of the people of Mozambique and the President of FRELIMO, Dr. Mondlane. In this hour of grief, the Foreign Ministers herein assembled, wish to express their profound sense of this loss to Africa and Mozambique, and at the same time their deeply felt condolences to the Central Committee of FRELIMO, to the people of Mozambique as a whole, and in particular to his family.

The Ministers also deplore this brutal and senseless act of the enemies of Africa, and affirm their unflinching solidarity with the people of Mozambique in their just struggle against the vicious forces of Portuguese colonialism. They hope, therefore that his death will not be in vain and that the People of Mozambique will now intensify the struggle, relentlessly up to final victory".

From Comrade Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

"We are deeply moved by the assassination of the President of FRELIMO, Dr. Eduardo Mondlane. On behalf of the Central Committee of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, and in my own name, I express to you our heart-felt condolences."

The Government and the Destour Socialist Party of Tunisia sent a delegation to Dar es Salaam especially to pay homage to the late President of FRELIMO. The delegation was headed by a member of the Central Committee of the Party, Mr. Abdelhamid Amar. In the message they said:

"It is with deep emotion that we transmit to FRELIMO and the Mozambican people, on behalf of President BOURGUIBA, of the Destour Socialist Party and of the people of Tunisia, our grief and our homage to the memory of the fighter Comrade Eduardo Mondlane, dastardly assassinated by the forces of obscurantism and reaction. His tragic disappearance will - we are sure - reinforce the unity of the people of Mozambique and their determination in the struggle for final victory. Tunisia will always be on the side of the people of Mozambique in their struggle for development, justice, progress and dignity".

From  
brother Kaid Ahmed, Head of the F.L.N. of Algeria.

"I have just received the news of the assassination of brother President of FRELIMO, Dr. Eduardo Mondlane. Mozambique has lost one of her most valiant sons, one of those who dared to face the dangers which threaten all freedom fighters in Africa and everywhere.

The physical disappearance of the President Eduardo Mondlane, however, does not mean the death of the Movement he led with courage and wisdom, and we are certain that the Revolution, far from extinguishing, will find in this painful proof the indispensable force which will allow it to overcome all blows directed against an African people to whom we have always expressed our sympathy and our solidarity.

The National Liberation Front expresses to FRELIMO and to the brother people of Mozambique all its active solidarity, which is proof of the engagement of the Algerian people for the cause of freedom in the world.

From the Secretary-General of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cap-Vert (PAIGC), comrade Amilcar Cabral.

"Deeply moved with tragic news of the murder of Comrade Eduardo Mondlane, we send, in the name of our people, the expression of our deep sorrow and our condolences to the fighting people of Mozambique. We are certain that, in response to this miserable crime, the people of Mozambique, under the leadership of FRELIMO, will close ranks and reinforce their heroic struggle until the total liberation of Africa's Fatherland."

From the President of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (M.P.L.A.), Comrade Agostinho Neto :

"We learned with indignation, surprise and grief of the assassination of comrade Dr EDUARDO MONDLANE, President of your Organisation. This treacherous act shows the nature of the enemies of our common struggle against Portuguese colonialism. We wish to express our solidarity with FRELIMO and our sorrow for this ignoble act.

Also, we wish to offer you our full cooperation. On behalf of the militants and of the leaders of our Movement, and on my own behalf, I wish you courage in the trial period you are in. Our sincere condolences. "