

= FRENTE UNIDA ANTI-IMPERIALISTA POPULAR AFRICANA DE MOCAMBIQUE =
(F U N I P A M O .)
(MOZAMBIQUE AFRICAN PEOPLES' ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITED FRONT.)

MEMORANDA SUPPORTING DECLARATION OF DISSOLUTION OF FRELIMO.

Your Excellency,

1. INTRODUCTION:

In connection with para two of declaration made and signed by leaders of MANU, UDENAMO and MANCO dated in Kampala, Uganda on 21st, May 1963, we wish to draw your attention or to remind you to the facts of the formation of Frelimo in the middle of 1962 and its failure to function for the peoples interest.

FRELIMO was made after several months of communications between the two Mozambique major political parties MANU and UDENAMO operating in exile with their provisional headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanganyika. Combined with the aspirations of Hon.Mr.Oscar Kambona, Secretary General of TANU and Minister of External and Defence, Hon.Mr.Mbiyu Koinange, Secretary General of PAFMECSA, and the President of the Republic of Ghana Osagyefo Dr.Kwame Nkrumah.

FRELIMO was formed with one major aim to unite all political parties of Mozambique, sports associations, all tribes and Chiefs and their powers elements to a solid single spearhead for liberating and completely free our motherland Mozambique, from foreign domination and Colonial Yoke before the end of 1963 by which means deemed fit to win the aims and objects established by the Front's programme as desired by the Mozambique Africans.

It is extremely regretted by Mozambique Africans after learning that the elected president of Frelimo Dr.Mondlane has no guts and ability to command and expand the nationalists' forces to a militant and aggressive state as planned by the Front at its formation for the following reasons:-

2. DISUNITY AND ABUSE:

- (a) Instead of uniting the forces under better possible relations, just a month after the formation of the Frelimo, Dr.Mondlane had desired to expel all the elected Front Officials without consultations with the actual Supreme Council nor giving specific reasons to the members and the public of such expulsions that means the Frelimo remained vacant under the control of illegal and inexperienced officials who did not know the entire aims and objects and the legal procedure the Front bound to follow whilst in operation. He appointed those officials without the consent of Executive Committee nor the Supreme Council and he used to be bitter when asked by the Executive Committee to state why he had appointed the people to run the office without the knowledge of the Executive Committee and for these reasons he expelled many elected Executive Committee and replaced by those solely appointed by him.
- (b) He created enemies between himself and the leaders of UDENAMO and MANU including their Executive Committee Members by calling them Communists and Nkrumah hench-boys.
- (c) Frelimo under these illegal officials it had recommended to the Government of Tanganyika to expel all genuine leaders of MANU and UDENAMO including a number of Supporters merely because they had different ideas of running the office and for reasons of their frankness in pointing out the office mistakes done by these illegal officials. As a result these recommendations the following were involved in:-
 1. Mr.Hlomulo Chitofu Gwambe, president of UDENAMO was arrested 2-days after elections and few weeks later was re-expelled from Tanganyika during his absence.

2. Messrs David M. Kabunda and Paul Gumane, Secretary General and Deputy Secretary General of Frelimo respectively and Executives of UDEHANO and six other members were expelled from Tanganyika in one day.
3. Mr. Alli Makaba - genuine Youth movement organiser and MANU administrative Secretary was expelled from Tanganyika, and having no funds to go elsewhere he went back to Mozambique where he is now in the Portuguese unknown concentration Camp and on the other hand he is feared to have been shot dead by PIDE.
4. In many occasions many police stations in Southern Region of Tanganyika received instructions by telegrams signed by the Publicity Secretary of Frelimo Leo Millas that the President of MANU Mr. Mmole and his vice-president Mr. S.A. Kalomba be arrested and kept under Police custody. Owing to the reasons given by Frelimo not satisfying the Police Authorities Messrs. Mmole and Kalomba were released and left free.
5. On 15th April, 1963 Frelimo repeated the same to Dar-es-Salaam Police and Mr. Mmole with other 12 members were arrested and taken to Buguruni police station but were released after Police authorities were not satisfied with the reasons given by Frelimo.

3. WASTAGE OF FUNDS:

- (a) It is 100% undeniable fact that the Frelimo has wasted the Front's Funds on unprofitable ways; the money the Front received as aid for liberation of Mozambique from various sources. Most of the Frelimo leaders, the president and his lieutenants are permanently living in the highest class Hotels in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanganyika.
- (b) Much money had been used in buying members to support the president and his lieutenants when they faced strong opposition from the genuine Executive Committee Members, who are now expelled as stated in item No. 2(a) of this memoranda.

4. SPY LINK WITH PORTUGUESE AUTHORITY:

Most of the Mozambique Africans in and outside Mozambique are suspicious with activities of the present illegal Frelimo officials for the following reasons:-

- (a) It is discovered that some among those so called officials are engaged in writing letters to Mozambique inviting people who are well known by Mozambique African people to be first class members of PIDE. For example, Mr. Antonio Hassani Said who arrived in Dar-es-Salaam on 15th March 1963 is well known to have been commanding one of the Squadrons of Colonialist troops which committed the Mueda, Mozambique mass killing of June, 1960 and two recent Portuguese Military fliers who landed in Dar-es-Salaam Airport on 12th March 1963. According to unconfirmed yet report reached us from Mozambique it is alleged that the fliers were engaged in spying the Mozambique, Nyasaland and Tanganyika boundaries to see whether nationalist forces (as per information reached the Portuguese Government) trained in Cairo, Ghana and Algeria have established their Front target camps alongside the boundaries. Their trip of 12th March, 1963 which landed them in Dar-es-Salaam was not the first one as about 1st and 2nd March, 1963 a similar plane flew across Rovuma river over Newala District Office in Tanganyika and returned to Mozambique.
- (b) That for the certain period the Frelimo Office had "camera" for photographing the members of the Front and according to the report reached us the photos of those members are now demonstrated at Government Offices for identifications and should any one try to go back to Mozambique they are subject to be arrested immediately.

- (c) From first hand information we have learned that daily activities of all genuine nationalists leaders and their members and supporters in Dar-es-Salaam are recorded from time to time reaches Portuguese Govt. in Mozambique. Because of this spy link the party is now operated under three postal addresses (Nos. 15274 for general, 15293 and 14689 private) the two of these postal addresses are not known by anyone of the members other than the six the so called top leaders.

5. DELAY OF STRUGGLE:

We have noted with dismay the deterred progress of Frelimo and on the other hand we extremely regret having given chance to the so called leaders who have now caused unnecessary delay to our National struggle for the following reasons:-

- (a) Owing to their inability to lead forces, in particular, Mondlane has completely stirred up the best relations among Mozambique Africans which was established by the leaders of the two major political parties MANU and UDEKAMO.
- (b) He has promoted tribalism elements among the members by abusing some tribes of Mozambique as he is reported by some committee members of UDEKAMO and MANU that at certain meeting when he was asked many questions he became annoyed and said that the people of the Northern part of Mozambique were born with unintelligent brains thus they were in condition of not to understand things easily. This abuse now inflicted very big gap between the people from Northern and Southern Mozambique.
- (c) His lieutenants time to time have repeated same mistake as they have been telling the members that the people from Northern Mozambique were not fit to be sent to take up studies in general education, technical and academic, but they are fit only to be trained as ordinary gunmen.
- (d) Dr. Mondlane has wronged the members as he never told them the truth thus the members are unable to judge the stand their leader; e.g. on 27th March 1963, when Dr. Mondlane and his lieutenants were leaving Dar-es-Salaam for America, he told some members of his Executive Committee that they were going to visit Frelimo branch office in Moshi, Tanganyika, but after few days the members had learned from certain intelligencia source that instead of going to Moshi, he flew to Cairo and then to America where they were to have meetings with the American Committee on Africa while the topic of these meetings were not known even by a single Executive Committee Members.
- (e) As a leader Dr. Mondlane has failed to end fights between official and official; Official and ordinary Members. The two fight of which Dr. Mondlane took no pain to know the cause of the fight and see that nothing of the sort should occur among his ranks and file, the two fights are: Leo Milas viz a group of members who later were expelled from Tanganyika, and Silverio Nunga Administrative Secretary viz James Msadala vice-treasurer;
- (f) There is a big gap between the president himself, his lieutenants and the ordinary members and supporters as no contact between them has established since the elected officials and committee members were expelled from Frelimo.
- (g) The president Dr. Mondlane has made it clear to the public the points which are contrary to the Frelimo "programme and standing orders" and the desire of the Mozambique Africans:-
- (i) that education should come first before self-determination and total independence.
 - (ii) He believes that without the support of U.S.A., British and France Mozambique will never be freed despite of African peoples' struggle.
 - (iii) that Africans of Mozambique had not yet determined to free themselves from Colonial Yoke, but they will do so after he will educate them for 12 months from March, 1963 to March, 1964.
(NB. Mondlane speech in Paris, France on 3rd March, 1963.)

- (iv) that he had now changed his mind from taking full time activities in politics as political parties are oftenly poor that may cause his white American wife and her children standard of living to be lowered. Proof to this Dr.Mondlane has applied for a post of lectureship at the University College of Dar-es-Salaam to which he expects to start to work by June or July, 1963. Another evidence, he has failed to step down from American way of living and co-operate with the African masses as other African leaders do such as the fathers of Africa Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, Osagyefo Dr.Kwame Nkrumah Ngwazi, Dr.Kamuzu Banda and many others.

6 FRELIMO IS UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IMPERIALISTS CONTROLLED AND MANIPULATED FRONT.

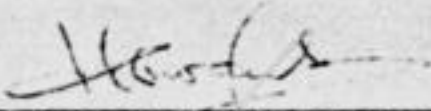
The reasons of calling Frelimo USA imperialists controlled and manipulated front are as follows:

- (a) During the February, 1963 Moshi Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference, it was proved by many nationalists present at the said meeting that Frelimo had duplication of speeches one drafted by American Embassy and another by the Frelimo delegation. Firstly, Leo Milas read the American drafted speech, and vice-president Uria Simango read the other. Messrs. Batson Manyara, L.M.Millinga, Lucas Fundi (of Mombasa) a delegate of UNIP and one gentleman an employee of certain Embassy in Dar-es-Salaam while standing at short distance saw Mr. A.Andregg of Dar-es-Salaam American Embassy handing over the speech to Leo Milas when standing at one of the toilet doors. For security on their positions we reserve the names of the UNIP official and the employee of the Embassy but in case the nationalist leaders and heads of the African States need to prove on this allegations we are prepared to produce the names.
- (b) That only Americans among the whites are allowed to be members of the Front which is contrary to the policy of the Front which does not allow membership to non-Mozambicans. We have seen a number of young Americans who are in Tanganyika working under the Cloak of Peace Corps.
- (c) The Vice-President Uria Simango has on many occasions told the members that the President does not want to see any Mozambican to visit and take studies in any country other than USA.
- (d) Dr.Mondlane strongly warned Mr.L.M.Milinga when he wrote an open letter to Mr.Menon Williams in connection with the USA chief delegate to UNO voting against a resolution called upon Portugal to free Mozambique. In his warning Dr.Mondlane stated that he will never agree with anyone who attacks Americans or their Government because they will assist the Front in everything.
- (e) Almost all whites welcomed to Frelimo headquarters besides the journalists are Americans.
- (f) In any case, a representative from the American Embassy had been invited to be present at most of the Frelimo public and Executive Committee meetings. In one occasion a representative of American Consulate in Mozambique came to Dar-es-Salaam and participated in one of the Executive Committee meetings of Frelimo.
- (g) As a matter of fact, as we have many American activities functioning within the interior intestines of Frelimo we can not be able to list them all in this memoranda as it can pile up hundreds of pages.


7. SUMMED UP :

- (a) As far as copies of this memoranda are to be sent to Dr.Mondlane and his lieutenants, we must throw a challenge that they have failed to fulfil the requirements contained in a declaration drafted by Dr. Mondlane himself and signed by MANU and UDENAMO Presidents and their Secretaries Generals made in Dar-es-Salaam on 25th June, 1962.
- (b) Dr.Mondlane must confess his defeat in uniting all small parties originated by Mozambicans as it is outlined in Frelimo programme and standing orders sub-section (a) of section 4 approved by ad-hoc committee on 25th June, 1962.
- (c) Dr.Mondlane must accept his mistake of acting contrary to the sub-section (d) of section 4 of the Frelimo programme and standing orders.
- (d) By allowing Americans to become members of the Front, Dr.Mondlane has committed crime under sub-section (e) of section 4 of the Front Programme and Standing Orders.
- (e) Having stirred up the best possible relations we have no hesitation of accusing Dr.Mondlane to have committed treason an offence under sub-section (b) of Section 7 of the Programme and Standing Orders, we call upon Dr.Mondlane to accept the decision taken by us under being delegated by the Majority of the members and supporters of the two parties which formed the Frelimo and must handover the office and properties of the Front to Mr.Mathew Mmole, Joint President responsible for Security and Defence, and Mr.Hlomulo Gwambe Joint President for Public Relations and Administration, of the newly formed FRONT - FRENTE UNIDA ANTI-IMPERIALISTA POPULAR AFRICANA DE MOCAMBIQUE (FUNIPAMO) as soon as possible.

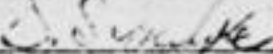
In conclusion we wish to make it clear to the public that by forming a new Front should not be taken as we have been defeated to outvote Dr.Mondlane and his lieutenants should election be called on but we have done so because doing away with the name of Frelimo which by many nations in Africa and abroad have completely connected it with negative American propeganda and nasty substances have been smeared on the name "FRELIMO".



(HLOMULO, C. GWAMBE) National President,
UNIAO DEMOCRATICA NACIONAL DE MONGOTAPA - (UDENAMO).



(MATHEW, M. MMOLE) National President,
MOZAMBIQUE AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION - (M.A.N.U.)



(SABASTENE SIGAUKE) Provisional Represent-
MOZAMBIQUE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS - (MANCO.) -tative.

FOR THE VIGILANCE AND SECURITY COUNCIL OF (F U N I P A M O .)

27th, May 1963.

K A M P A L A .
(Uganda.)

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