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A PROFILE

OF

DR. EDUARDO MONDLANE

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DR. EDUARDO Chivambo Mondlane has betrayed the African Revolution. Three years ago he was at the Mozambican Liberation Front but as a vociferous and dubious character. Now he has deserted his compatriots when the fiercest battle is being fought with victory in sight.

Colonial struggles for freedom have invariably been side-lighted by incidents of opportunism and treachery. Mondlane's deflection can in no way undermine the *es-pirit de corps* of African valiants. His case is, however, of both political and anthropological interest.

The boyhood vistas of Mondlane are rather dim and obscure. He was born on June 20, 1924, at Chibuto, into the Shangaan Community in Mozambique. He grew up to achieve the *assimilado* status and had the rare advantage of attending a series of schools of higher learning outside Mozambique as a preparatory step towards a professional career and apparently towards becoming an important and vital "citizen" of the Republic of Portugal.

He attended the University of Lisbon in Portugal, the University of Witwatersrand in the Union of South Africa and most recently the North-Western University in the United States. As B.A., M.A., Ph.D., and with a flair for sociology and psychology, he is said to be keen in socio-cultural problems and political science.

According to the 1963 edition of the UNESCO secretariat directory on "Social Scientists specialising in African Studies", Mondlane once had a career as a University Seminar Assistant at the Columbia University, United States. Between 1957 and 1961, he was an Associate Social Research Officer at the United Nations. He was a member of the American Sociological Society.

a Fellow of the American Political and Social Science Academy and Assistant Professor of Anthropology, Syracuse University, United States.

His publications include "Mozambique", "Africa in the Modern World", printed by the University of Chicago Press in 1955, "Ancestral Spirits of South-East Bantu", "Tomorrow" (a magazine), "New York 1957", "Anti-colonialism in United States" and "L'Enquete sur L'anticolonialisme", Lisbon 1957.

Mondlane has lived at least for ten years in the United States, has been married to an American woman and has a permanent postal address: P.O. Box 20, Grand Central Station, New York. To all intents and purposes, he has gone native in the United States.

It is needless to point out that Mondlane, having been born in a Portuguese territory, having attained the assimilado status, having the command of the Portuguese language and having lived as a white man with a recognised and distinguished profession, is wholly accepted into the Portuguese community. In 1961, for instance, after the early organisation of the Mozambican Nationalist Movement, Mondlane visited Mozambique and was received as a Portuguese hero by the Governor-General and other Portuguese colonialists because of his loyalty to them.

Is Mondlane then a "Portuguese-American" citizen in a Mozambican cloak? Did he make a genuine claim that he had declined an offer of professorship in Lisbon after "seeing the revolutionary temper of the people? How does Mondlane's life compare with his contemporary Mozambican?

Forty years ago he was a child. Education for his people was negligible. His playmates who went to school got mixed up in Portuguese politics at an early age. They had to give the fascist salute and answer such questions as: "Who shall live" and "Who gives orders?" Of course, the respective answers have always been: "Portugal, Portugal, Portugal" and "Salazar, Salazar, Salazar."

As Mondlane entered institutions of higher learning abroad, the educational standards of the schools for the native Africans in Mozambique were being systema-

tically kept below those of the neighbouring countries. University education for most of the brilliant Mozambican youth has been a far-distant hope for, up till now there is not a single university in Mozambique.

Neither in Lourenco Marques, the Mozambican capital, nor in the hinterland have there been any spectacular changes of progress since some 500 years of Portuguese rule.

The rural areas have remained backward, squalid and poverty-stricken. Mondlane's countrymen are mostly farmers who have not been aided in developing their technical skills, but have rather been frequently exported as human labour to the South African mines.

Mondlane is aware of the Portuguese government's scheme of bringing illiterate Portuguese peasants to settle in Mozambique. Poor, miserable and lacking the skills needed in Africa, the disillusioned emigrants merely add an insult to the injury of the indigenous population. Nothing has been done to develop Mozambique's economy or social services in the interest of the people of African origin.

Mondlane then as an anthropologist, a sociologist or an international intellectual, has been uniquely privileged to admit and assert these basic facts about his Mozambican countrymen and Africans as a whole, namely:

Africans—whether they are farmers, mining labourers or assimiladoes or not—have cultural values, and they feel so strongly about those values that they will not allow anything to stand in the way of their cultural development.

The Mozambican labour immigration to the Union of South Africa is a great gain to the Union but a menacing source of economic, social and spiritual impoverishment for Mozambique.

The need to provide social security for Africans who have exhausted a large part of their most productive years in the Portuguese feudal plantations or in the mines of South Africa cannot be overemphasised.

The case of Mondlane is indeed of anthropological interest. He is an anthropologist. He has chosen to be the anthropological ape of the white man.

You may say he has been the political puppet of the capitalist and imperialist powers of the United States and Portugal. He has played this role most adeptly and effectively—but as it were, outsiders more often than not see the game more clearly than those taking part in it.

Quoted here are some of the characteristic utterances of Mondlane as a “political leader and liberator” of his people.

At one time he declared: “For the first time, I am really free to lead my country to independence. The fight for independence will involve a direct action.”

On another occasion he said: “Ways of achieving independence will include diplomatic pressure, education as a preparation for independence and a revolutionary organisation outside Mozambique.”

Giving evidence at the United Nations of the complicity of the U.S. and other NATO powers in the Nazi policy of South Africa and Portugal, Mondlane said: “The arms used by the Portuguese army in our country are made in the U.S., West Germany, Britain and France.”

Again in another U.N. speech Mondlane said: “Some kind of U.N. control of the Portuguese African territory is necessary to achieve independence for its indigenous population.”

Petitioning to the U.N. Special Committee on Colonialism that unless there was a change of heart by the government of Dr. Antonio Salazar towards recognizing the demands of the indigenous population for political and social improvements Portugal could face “another Angola”, Mondlane at the same breath declared: “We don’t wish for another war. But Portugal seems to enjoy having wars in her territories.”

But let no one associate the cliding and shilly-shallying policy of Mondlane with the Mozambican Liberation Movement whose leadership he was able to capture for a short while.

UDENAMO (Uniao Democratica Nacional de Mo-nomotapa) was formed in Mozambique in October, 1960, and had members throughout the territory and amongst migrant workers from Mozambique in Nya-

saland (now Malawi), the Rhodesias and Tanganyika.

The movement under the presidency of Hlomulo Chitfo Gwambe, had clear-cut aims: immediate self-determination and independence for the people of Mozambique, immediate abolition of forced labour systems; removal of all discrimination by establishing the principle of equal pay for equal work and by an intensified programme of popular education and co-operation with other territories and organizations in Africa to promote peace and freedom throughout the continent. It was in February, 1961, that the leaders moved to Dar-es-Salaam and maintained an office through their supporters in Mozambique.

MANU (the Mozambique African National Union) was also formed in November, 1960, to unite the Mozambique Makarde Union with other nationalist groups which had been active in Mozambique since 1955.

In May, 1962, UDENAMO and MANU representatives submitted memoranda to a U.N. Special Committee on Portuguese rule and the need for speeding up the independence of Mozambique, while discussing among themselves the possibility of unity.

Early in June, 1962, UDENAMO’S H. C. Gwambe and MANU’S S. Makaba visited Osagyefo Dr. Nkrumah in Accra. Inspired by Osagyefo’s advice, the leaders later in the month, at a conference in Dar-es-Salaam, agreed to form a joint organization known as FRELIMO (Frente de Liberacao de Mocambique).

Thus the stage was set for Mondlane’s clandestine and Jesuitical activities. First, he visited Mozambique in 1961 shortly after the nationalist movement had been organised and was received as a Portuguese hero by the Governor-General and other Portuguese colonialists.

In 1962, he went to Dar-es-Salaam with sufficient money to bribe and influence some key men among the Mozambican exile community who attended the joint UDENAMO-MANU conference which resulted in the formation of FRELIMO. He managed to oust the leaders of UDENAMO and MANU from the executive committee and immediately after cap-

turing the presidency of FRELIMO, he returned to America.

In his conspiratorial den in the U.S., Mondlane, in conjunction with American and Portuguese agents, worked out an elaborate programme to split the unity of FRELIMO and to checkmate its progress towards self-determination and independence of Mozambique.

Broadly speaking, the plan was that the leadership of FRELIMO, facaded by the personality of Mondlane, should comprise a coterie of U.S. hired stooges and traitors whose activities should:

- (a) Further the interests of the capitalist and colonialist powers in Mozambique and,
- (b) Perpetuate the suppression and enslavement of the toiling Mozambicans. Mondlane planned to exercise his leadership of FRELIMO from Syracuse University until such time that he could conveniently and permanently return to Dar-es-Salaam in Tanganyika.

Take stock then of Mondlane's leadership of FRELIMO.

From the start, he ousted UDENAMO's Gwambe and MANU's Makaba from the Executive Committee of FRELIMO and captured its presidency by bribery and corruption. He violated FRELIMO's constitution in appointing three of his personal followers to the Executive Committee—Marcelino Dos Santos, Secretary for External Affairs; Silverio Nungu, Secretary for Administration and Joao Mungwambe, Secretary for Organisation—by a letter instead of their being elected by the ANNUAL CONGRESS of FRELIMO.

He created not only dissension, opposition and conflict in the FRELIMO camp by his dubious and unconstitutional methods, he also slandered his opponents to save his position as president.

For example he transferred from New York to Dar-es-Salaam, the Secretary of Information (Seifalaziz Leo Milas) after "propagandising" Milas by showing him

documents "proving" a connection between General Secretary David Mabunda, Deputy General Secretary Paulo Gumane and Hlumulo Gwambe and the Portuguese Consulate in Nairobi. These documents were later discovered to be false. How did Mondlane obtain these technically perfect documents which could only be made by a perfectly well off organisation or by an Intelligence Agency? The ultimate expulsion of Mabunda and Gumane was the result of the false information supplied by Mondlane.

Mondlane, after his return to Dar-es-Salaam, maintained a close contact with the U.S. Embassy, especially with a certain political intelligence agent, a Mr. Hennemeyer, and was supplied with intelligence reports on the travels and activities of Mabunda and Gumane in Leopoldville, Kampala, Khartoum and Cairo.

Mondlane, according to him, received from the U.S., supposedly from the Ford Foundation, a grant of £20,000. However, under the U.S. laws governing tax-exempt foundations, no such foundation is permitted to give any funds to any political organisation. To do so would be to lose their tax-exempt basis and hundreds of millions of dollars. Therefore it became obvious that the fund given to Mondlane under the directorship of his American wife was actually from the U.S. Government.

Mondlane has been notoriously noted for a luxurious and ostentatious living and no one could understand how a nationalist leader without other employment could afford a level of life equal or superior to that of many Tanganyikan Ministers.

It was impossible to ignore his expensive house in the fashionable Oysterbay area, his four paid servants, his expensive entertaining and so on.

He has insisted on spending more funds for travel and similar ends than for work in Mozambique. Since taking control of FRELIMO, he has spent at least two-thirds of his time in the U.S. and Europe.

Mondlane has made repeated but vain efforts to place his American wife in control of formation of

cadres who are expected to play an important part in the future of the Party of Mozambique.

Above all, Mondlane has reacted maniacally towards any opposition to his jejune and puerile leadership.

He transferred his opponents to other areas, expelled militants, and imprisoned large numbers of persons who had returned from military training in North Africa.

In 1963 FRELIMO's treasurer Mechaambellues and some other leaders left FRELIMO after their posts were given to Mondlane's personal appointees. This year Milas and other leaders who continued to oppose Mondlane, and to demand the Annual Conference and beginning of action in Mozambique, were expelled. Last September Mondlane again refused to hold Congress. Large numbers of military personnel and others who opposed Mondlane were forced to escape from Tanganyika or go into hiding to avoid imprisonment.

Recall what Mondlane said in March, 1963: "The Mozambican Liberation Front intends to obtain independence for Mozambique within 12 months", adding he had resigned his post as Professor of Anthropology at Syracuse University to take over full leadership of the front.

The case of Mondlane is of political interest. His leadership of FRELIMO has helped the infiltration and direct interference of the United States in Mozambique's internal affairs. The leadership no doubt has turned FRELIMO into a den of American, Portuguese, Belgian, French and English imperialist agents possessing FRELIMO membership cards.

But, Mondlane in choosing the role of a political clown, has exposed a sordid and yet undiscernible conspiracy between Portugal and the United States. Does the United States wish to replace Portugal through the back door in Mozambique?

At any rate the emancipation struggle in Africa is at least three-phased—political, economic and anthropological. The last phase means fighting off the Europeanised African such as Dr. Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane.