

The Point of View of the US Government

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Article by the President of FRELIMO, in the New York edition of Mozambique Revolution, I, 3, ca. September 1964.

Last March Admiral Anderson paid an official visit to Angola and Mozambique. Admiral Anderson is the Ambassador of the United States of America in Lisbon. As Ambassador he officially represents the American Government in whatever he does and says. That is to say, the political line followed by him, his declarations and actions reflect the position of the Department of State, which represents the general political line of the Government of the United States.

When, therefore, Admiral Anderson, at the end of this triumphant visit to Angola and Mozambique, declared that he was 'tremendously impressed' by the development of the overseas territories of Portugal and by the progress and well-being of the populations of those territories, and that he had noted the complete absence of racial discrimination; when Admiral Anderson proclaims the unity which he said existed between Portugal and the United States of America, we of the Mozambique Liberation Front have no alternative but

to conclude that this is the point of view of the United States Government.

The fundamental point to be underlined here is the following: Admiral Anderson could not have found racial equality in Portuguese colonies, for there is racism in all Portuguese colonies, especially in Mozambique. All the commissions of inquiry which were created by the United Nations to study Portuguese colonial problems were unanimous in this respect. Let us cite a few here. The Special Committee on Territories Under Portuguese Administration in its report presented to the General Assembly the following conclusions:

. . . the Committee finds with serious concern that political and civil rights have not been fully extended to all inhabitants and discrimination against them (meaning against the indigenous peoples) has not been removed. (Para. 410)

. . . the Committee is not convinced that the indigenous inhabitants are now guaranteed just treatment and equality under the law. (Para. 417)

. . . forced labour . . . apparently continues to exist in actual practice even now in all territories under Portuguese administration. (Para. 418).

Similarly Ambassador Anderson could not have found progress, well-being and harmonious relations in Portuguese colonies except among the Portuguese settlers, for misery dominates the African population of these territories. That same United Nations Committee in its report declared, in paragraph 433, that, 'in the economic field there has been little significant change in levels of living of the indigenous population, whereas exports of some mineral and agricultural products have increased over the past decade'. Further on in the same report the Committee said, 'The Committee wishes to emphasize that in its view there can be no full participation of the indigenous inhabitants in the economic life of the Territories until they have full sovereignty over their natural resources through the attainment of independence'.

In view of the conclusions reached by this august Committee and our own experience as native inhabitants of these Portuguese colonies, one might ask: how could Ambassador Anderson have known the true conditions prevailing in these territories when his visit had an official character in which any direct contact with the overwhelming majority of the people was impossible? We can only conclude that Admiral Anderson's remarks at the end of his visit were politically inspired, reflecting the official policy of his Government.

The importance of Admiral Anderson's declarations has to be seen also against the fact that it represents a counter-position to the liberation movements of the peoples under Portuguese colonialism and imperialism, implying that they had no reason for being. In other words, Ambassador Anderson and through him the United States Government, seems to be saying that nothing justifies the accession of Portuguese overseas territories to independence, since the inhabitants of these territories are happy and have complete well-

being and enjoy progress. This is even more grave when it is realized that his visit was undertaken 'with the complete approval of his Government, and, in special, of the Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Rusk' as Admiral Anderson himself declared to the journalists in Luanda on the 11th of March.

When it is to be recalled that even the Secretary General of the United Nations, U Thant, refused to accept an invitation to visit Portuguese colonies, the American Government's position and activities seem even more odd and incongruous.

The only conclusion which can be derived from these official visits is that the United States of America cannot identify itself with our ideals for self-determination and independence.

These activities of the United States Government are not only an obvious connivance with Portugal, but also raise suspicions of connivance with the imperialist Government of the Republic of South Africa.

Exactly two months after Admiral Anderson's official visit, there followed the official visit of the highest officer of the armed forces of South Africa, General Grobbelaar. Like Admiral Anderson, General Grobbelaar inspected lengthily all the Portuguese military bases in Mozambique. We already know that General Grobbelaar's visit was a preliminary step towards the establishment of a coordinated plan for the repression of our people, in which the South African armed forces will act conjointly with the Portuguese armed forces when our people take arms to fight for their liberation.

What meaning should we attribute to the visit of the Ambassador of the United States to the same Portuguese military bases?

We can only believe that the United States of America wishes to reassure its ally, Portugal, of its sympathy and material support in sustaining Portuguese colonialism and imperialism on the African continent.

On the basis of the facts above, we are forced to conclude that when our people finally rise to take up arms against Portuguese imperialism, the United States of America, like the Republic of South Africa, will intervene against us in support of Portugal.

In December 1963, the Salazar Government was granted a loan of 35 million dollars from banks in the United States. Besides that amount, the Portuguese received 112.5 million dollars from the IBRD (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development) (see *Diario do Governo*, 10 December, 1964). In receiving help from one of the biggest powers in the world with which to buy equipment against our undefended people, the President of Portugal, Americo Tomas, was able to announce recently, 'As far as we are concerned, the international atmosphere has evolved favourably . . .'.

In a letter signed by the United States Secretary of State, we read: 'Portugal is one ally which gave and is still giving an important contribution to our mutual security by permitting us to use a military base in the Azores. To sacrifice the interests of the Portuguese by supporting, in one way or another, the attacks levelled against her in the United Nations can only lead to a disaster' (*Fortune*, 14 May 1964).

Encouraged by all of this assistance, the Portuguese are feeling strong and

are sure that they will not be deprived of their colonies. The power of the American dollar and of the American press are visibly with them.

From the end of July to August, Americo Tomas visited Mozambique. The main goal of the trip, according to official sources, was 'to show the world that peace, progress and racial harmony exist in Mozambique' (*The New York Times*, 20 August, 1964, p. 3).