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EXCERPTS FROM A STATEMENT  
MADE BY MR. EDUARDO MONDLANE  
AT THE 1394TH MEETING OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE

(The following statement is distributed in accordance  
with a decision of the Fourth Committee at its  
1394th meeting)

Mr. Chairman, Honourable Delegates,

I am here to petition on behalf of the people of Mozambique representing the only political party in Mozambique -- the Mozambique Liberation Front. This is the third time that I appear on behalf of the Mozambique people in an organ of the United Nations. The first two times I appeared as a private citizen and I had tried to present substantive information concerning the conditions in Mozambique as I knew them personally. But after my last appearance I participated in conferences involving various political parties representing the people of Mozambique who were trying to organize a united front against the Portuguese in East Africa. Out of the conference that took place last June the United Front was established and I was elected its president and since then I have been involved in various conferences that my party and I organized to try to outline our policies and direct the attention of the people of Mozambique to paths of action which we wish to follow from now on. Since the Fourth Committee is preparing to report to the General Assembly on these matters, even though I have already presented substantive information to two separate Committees of the United Nations Organization, I feel that I should make myself available to this body for further remarks concerning developments since my last appearance and also to make myself available for any questions that the honourable members may wish to direct to me as a representative of the people of Mozambique.

Since my last appearance to one of the Committees many things have happened in Mozambique which indicate the increasingly worsening situation in that country.

As I have mentioned before, the Portuguese Government is unwilling to take any steps that will allay the tensions that have been existing for many years in Mozambique. Lately they have increased their armed forces there, according to information we have received and they have spread these armed forces to various parts of the country and they have created even more tension in areas where the people were not quite aware of the activities of Portugal against them. Activities of the police have increased. Thousands and thousands of our people have been hurled into prisons since the last time I appeared here. Since the last conference we had in September in East Africa, hundreds of people who came from Mozambique to attend the Conference have told us that and given us lists of names of thousands of people who had been arrested during this year. Many of the people who were arrested were mostly people with some kind of education whom the Portuguese fear might join the nationalist movement and act against them. It seems as though it is the practice of the Portuguese Government that anybody who does not show any sympathy with the Portuguese Government is immediately considered as being a nationalist and is therefore first put under surveillance by the ubiquitous PIDE -- Policia Internacional para a Defesa do Estado -- and finally is hurled to the prison with thousands of other Africans who are under the same suspicion. In prison itself these people are under harrassment trying to force them to speak and tell about what those of us who are outside of the country are doing against the Portuguese Government. In the country they keep surveying everybody to make sure that these people are not helping to foster the nationalist movement. Furthermore they have begun to pressure the African people who are not in the armed forces into coming into the armed forces; arresting many of them usually young men between the ages of 18 and 35. The Portuguese Government is having a general mobilization and all this is done to maintain a system of colonialism which is already archaic. In relation to general political policy, lately Portugal has made statements in public through her Foreign Minister implying that a policy has been under way to change the political system in Portuguese Territories in Africa. Here I am referring to a Conference that is supposed to have taken place last October in Portugal -- discussing the future of African Territories. In general, the

Minister of Foreign Affairs has suggested, at least according to reports of newspapers, that this was a step towards self-determination for the people in those Territories. I'd like to put it on the record here, Mr. Chairman and Honourable Delegates, that this so-called Conference of Overseas Territories was really a routine meeting of an organization that has existed since the colonial system was established by the Portuguese. This Organization is the Overseas Council which really discusses some of the matters which the executive part of the Government in Portugal ceded to develop a policy on colonial Territories, and all the time this Council has been composed of ex-governors, military men and businessmen related to Africa. Lately this Council, we understand, has conceded the possibility of including some governors directly related to the African Territories. One of the major issues was that all Governors in Mozambique and Angola especially should be members of this Council and another issue was to ask whether there should be a certain amount of local autonomy that would help to administer the policy as set out in Portugal and not for establishing political institutions in these Territories to develop the people towards independence. And even this move for establishing some amount of autonomy to the Territories, whose details we are still awaiting, is intended for establishing the position of the white settlers in Portuguese Territories.

While I was in Mozambique last year many, many times I heard and read in newspapers opinions by Europeans who were complaining that the war in Angola which began while I was still in Mozambique, was mainly due to the lax policy of the Portuguese Government out in metropolitan Portugal. The Portuguese settlers believe that they would know better how to deal with the native peoples in order to prevent the kind of thing that happened in Angola and that if the Portuguese Government allowed more autonomy to the white settlers in these Territories then the kind of thing that happened in Angola would never happen in other colonial Territories. These pressures have been going on for a number of years and I personally believe, and many members of our party have come to the same conclusion, that this Conference in Lisbon last October was to try to see how more power could be given to

the local whites rather than, as the Foreign Minister was trying to imply, how to liberalize the policies in order to have more and more Africans getting involved in it. I would like to put this on record still hoping to get more information on the actual statements as reported from Lisbon as to exactly what are the details so we may have another opportunity to discuss this amidst you. But I wanted to make it known to you that we do not trust this kind of news. For we know already that the Europeans are interested in snatching power at this stage, fearing that pressures from all over the world from the allies of Portugal, from the nationalist movement, from the United Nations and from world opinion against colonialism might pressure Portugal into surrendering as other colonial powers have. The local white settlers are now taking moves to try and prevent a move that might give the people of Mozambique the right of self-determination.

The attitude of the Mozambique white settlers is shared by that of the neighbouring countries; this includes the Rhodesias and South Africa. These peoples have been put on record in many ways as supporting a white Southern Africa. This movement has been going on for years.

When I was a student in South Africa in the forties it was very obvious among the Europeans there, and from the indications that have been going on in Southern Rhodesia, it is clear that this is the same kind of attitude and the Portuguese are taking a similar step to try and kill two birds with the same stone. First, having Portugal cede to them more power in order to prevent a possible change of policy in Portugal and secondly, to try and fool the world by using words such as the "right to self-determination" or "autonomy" to those who don't know the situation.

My party feels strongly about this matter. We believe that there is nothing that can satisfy us that is short of getting the people of Mozambique -- the total majority of the people of Mozambique involved in political, economic and social moves that are going to hand over the government to our hands. Nothing short of that is going to satisfy us. We are not going to be fooled by words, we are not even going to be interested in little concessions to individual arguments which we have not even seen happen at this

stage. We are not going to be felled by anything short of a complete takeover by Africans -- by the majority of the people of Mozambique in all of the many lines of the control of the lives of the people in the country.

I have already given a statement to show how the Portuguese Government has been exploiting our people in the economic level. If the Honourable Delegates wish to ask more questions about slavery in Mozambique, I would be glad to answer them. We have already presented statements concerning the lack of freedom on the social and economic and political levels. We can document this. We can indicate to you further what is happening at the social level with the majority of the black people being completely controlled by a minority of the white people, and, as to the educational level, we have already stated in clear terms and in substantive papers presented to you how the Portuguese deliberately deny the majority of the people education. Lately we have received more information concerning education.

We are having thousands of young Africans leaving Mozambique each year to try and find places elsewhere where they can study. Many of these have gone to neighbouring countries, especially Tanganyika. In Tanganyika now there are overflowing numbers of exiles, men and women, who are looking for places to study because there is no education given to Africans in Mozambique. Many of those have been able to go to some countries in Europe, Asia and in America. The methods used by the Portuguese Government to prevent some of these from trying to leave legally are surprising for a country that calls itself modern and Christian.

We had a case lately, for instance, of a young man who is now at Lincoln University in Pennsylvania who for more than a year had been trying with a colleague of his to leave Mozambique to take a scholarship which was given to him in New York first and then in Pennsylvania. These young men had obtained a scholarship, through my services, when I was in Mozambique last year. He and his colleague has just finished Seminary -- a Roman Catholic

institution -- in the southern part of Mozambique and had wished to continue their studies overseas.

They came to talk to me and they indicated their desires and as soon as I arrived in the United States I contacted Roman Catholic institutions and I found several which were willing to give them scholarships. I forthwith got in contact with the official representatives of the American Government and told them all of the possibilities of these young men to come to America to study since I myself and a number of students earlier had been given the opportunity -- at least two of us had been able to come in the last 10 years -- to study and we were hoping that the American Government would give them a visa if they had scholarships.

Finally the American Government conceded and gave them visas and the local Consul General himself gave these visas to the Africans and indicated that the American Government approved of their coming to the United States to study. The Portuguese Government wanted evidence that they had scholarships. The Consul General proved that they did have scholarships so the Portuguese Government gave them passports and after they had passports, visas and money to fly they went to the airport and at the airport the Portuguese police arrived and without any reason arrested them and put them in prison for two weeks, investigated them and finally released them and warned them they should not go to school.

Then after a number of weeks these people, desperate about wishing to continue their education, just as thousands of other men and women in Mozambique wish to go to school, began to walk from Lourenço Marques, the capital of Mozambique, to the border with Rhodesia and at the last few miles of their walk they took a train across the border. They had their passports with visas to go to the United States and got to Salisbury. In Salisbury when they were getting out of the train a number of Portuguese police (here we indicate the connexion between the political manoeuvres of the white settlers of Mozambique and those of the manoeuvres of the Rhodesian people). Two white Portuguese police met them at the railroad station. They drew their guns to them and began to ask them whether they were from Mozambique.

Apparently some information must have been sent to the police about their whereabouts, and they were arrested. They were taken back by train by the Portuguese police from Salisbury in Rhodesia to Lourenço Marques, put in prison for another three months, investigated and released again. By this time their visas had expired so one of them, desperate about wishing to go to school, walked across to Swaziland and in Swaziland got in contact with people who are sympathetic to African education who helped him to move across to Tanganyika. From Tanganyika he was able to fly to the United States. He actually arrived about two months ago and is now in the United States as a student.

If the Committee is interested in hearing from this gentleman I would be personally willing to arrange for him to come at a later date from the school where he is now and present the information I have just generally indicated to you. This is only one illustration out of many, many cases of Africans, young men and women, who are being denied their right to get an education that is now open to them by the very fact that many countries in the world are now interested in helping people from countries that are under-privileged like our own. Yet the Portuguese Government often claiming that it is giving enough education to the Africans of Mozambique to match the best, as the Minister for Foreign Affairs announced in his last speech in the General Assembly just a few months ago, that it is giving enough education for Mozambicans to match any of the African States. In fact, he went to the outrageous extreme of saying that it can match the educational facilities given to people in Nigeria, for example. Some of you happen to know Nigeria. I was in Nigeria for a number of months as an officer of the UN in a plebiscite. I can testify to both what I saw and what I read that that country is one of the most advanced in education in Africa. For Portugal to claim what it claims as given in the statement of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, this is only one indication to show that Portugal would stop at nothing to exaggerate the fact to put it mildly.

Again in connexion with this point that I have given my full statement before the Committee of Seven last April still stands. It indicates exactly what is going on in Portuguese East Africa, in Mozambique in education. In relation to labour there is one point that I want to add here to what I have said before and that is that there are thousands and thousands of people -- at least the statistics in Tanganyika indicate about 50,000 Mozambicans who are now in Tanganyika but more than that even in that country and in the neighbouring countries -- workers who have left Mozambique to go and find work in other countries because the Mozambique Portuguese Government does not provide the proper economic conditions for the majority of the people to find employment in the country. And worse than that, many of these thousands because of political changes that are taking place around Mozambique are becoming stranded while in the past they were able to move back and forth when all these Territories were under colonial control -- these people are now stranded. The attitude of Portugal toward African freedom, towards independence has made it impossible for that natural flow that was going on for a number of years to go on so that these people could be in touch with their families as they were elsewhere.

This is one of the problems that we have to face more and more that pertains to the whole flow of refugees that result from the tensions that Mozambique is beginning to feel. We, as a political movement, we as a political party are appealing to members of the UN to help us pressure Portugal to follow the line that is clear all over the world, giving the right to self-determination to the people of Mozambique. If this cannot be done, if Portugal refuses and Portugal becomes stubborn as she is showing to be, our people are not going to tolerate this for long. We will use every method possible to give the right of self-determination which God has given every human being on earth.

I just wished to present these points to you and I will be open to questions if you are interested in finding more to add to what I have already said before.

Thank you Mr. Chairman.

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