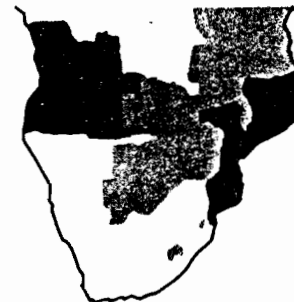


West European Support for South African Aggression Against Mozambique and Angola

— Summaries of ECASAAMA dossiers to be published in spring of 1989 —

ECASAAMA



Mozambique: West European Support for MNR

The MNR's armed banditry in Mozambique has reached levels of cruelty, violence and destruction seen in but few countries in the world.

Two recent studies have shown the true face of South African aggression on Mozambique. The UNICEF document »Children on the Frontline« and the report commissioned by the US State Department and written by Robert Gersony, give proof to the violence perpetuated by the MNR against the civilian population in the Mozambican countryside.

UNICEF estimates the infant mortality in Mozambique to be 325 – 375 per 1,000 children due to the destabilization. During 1986, 85,000 children died in Mozambique because of South Africa's aggression. In the last five years an estimated 220,000 children died in Mozambique due to the war.¹

Robert Gersony's report concludes that more than 100,000 Mozambicans have been directly killed by the MNR bandits. The accounts from over 200 interviews with Mozambican refugees portray a horrifying picture of MNR's reign of terror from which the rural population tries to escape.²

In international mass media the MNR (Mozambican National Resistance) is sometimes being promoted to the status of a political opposition to the FRELIMO party and the Mozambican government. The nature of its activity proves to the contrary. MNR's systematic destruction aims at tearing up the entire social and human network in Mozambique. A woman whose ears had been cut off by MNR bandits in Espungabera, Manica province, summarized her opinion in an interview: »If they say they want to rule this country, they will have to rule an earless people.«

Today there is sufficient documentation to prove that the MNR is a creation of the white, illegal regime of the former Rhodesian Prime Minister, Ian Smith. In 1980, when Rhodesia became independent Zimbabwe, the entire MNR — men, weapons and equipment — was transferred to South Africa in an air-lift operation.³ With the exception of the most retrograde defenders of the South African apartheid regime, it is widely accepted that South Africa is the operational and organizational force behind the MNR terror in Mozambique.

Less known are the contacts which the MNR is maintaining with European politicians, religious organizations, academics and right-wing organizations. These contacts are not principally aimed at gathering material support for the bandits but at manipulating public opinion to believe that South Africa's most important tool of aggression on Mozambique, MNR, is a movement of political credibility. Accordingly, governments providing shelter to MNR terrorists have to be considered accomplices of South Africa's crimes in Mozambique.

The MNR's most longstanding presence in Europe has been in **Portugal**. Among the Portuguese settlers who returned to Portugal from the colonies at independence, it was easy to exploit demands for retaliation. This environment provided a perfect cover for South African destabilization. To international public opinion it seemed 'natural' that a »resistance movement« in Mozambique would have its external base in the capital of the former colonial power.

However, Portugal was not merely a cover. It provided a variety of support to the MNR in Lisbon. Although it has never been officially admitted, high ranking members of Portuguese political parties — including present and former members of government — have been personally involved in contacts with the MNR. These contacts include the deputy president of the Social Democratic Party who met with a MNR delegation in Lisbon in November 1980.⁴

The MNR's presence in Portugal developed to the extent that in November 1984 the Mozambican government made an official protest to the Portuguese ambassador in Maputo about MNR's activities in Lisbon.

There are also some Portuguese military and security people involved in the support for the MNR. Paulo Oliveira, former MNR spokesperson in Lisbon, who defected to Maputo in March 1988, told a press conference on March 23rd, 1988 in Maputo that the head of the General Staff of the Portuguese army, Lemos Ferreira, was aware of visits of a Portuguese journalist to MNR bases inside Mozambique in November 1986. This journalist has a double role. He is both journalist and member of the Portuguese Institute for National Defence and the information department of the Portuguese army. He then gave reports about his trips to Mozambique to his military contacts. Following his trips non-lethal military equipment from the Por-

tuguese Armed Forces was handed over to the MNR in Phalaborwa in South Africa in several deliveries. Phalaborwa is one of the MNR's main bases inside South Africa.

The basic MNR network in Portugal has been largely organized by former colonialists from Mozambique. The former owner of the oil refinery in Maputo, Manuel Bulhosa, is the most important person in this network. He owned the publishing house 'Bertrand' where both Evo Fernandes and the MNR's Lisbon spokesperson Jorge Correia had been employed.

There has also been support for MNR from less influential colonialists in Lisbon. Most of them have been members in the »Association of Businessmen from Mozambique«. Some of them gave individual contributions, but they never wanted open involvement of their organization.

Furthermore, most of the media in Lisbon has always been an easy target for MNR's propaganda. Press statements have regularly been published or referred to in Portuguese media.

In Lisbon the MNR has kept a high profile with a maximum of media contacts. In the **Federal Republic of Germany** MNR has tried to keep its activities secret. Only occasionally information on MNR's presence has appeared in German media, apparently against the will of all parties involved.

The first contacts date back to November 1980 when a MNR delegation was received in the FRG⁵. Later on contact with Professor Werner Kaltefleiter and André Thomashausen, two academics at the University of Kiel, was established. Various of MNR's meetings in West Germany have been held at Professor Kaltefleiter's Institute at the University of Kiel.⁶

In one of his articles André Thomashausen strongly argued against critics who claim that the MNR is »merely a gang of mercenaries« without any programme or »distinguishable political goals«. It is not by chance that Thomashausen is preoccupied about this accusation, since professionally he is in an adequate position to help the MNR resolve the problem of its reputation. In the same article Thomashausen also presents what he thinks is a valuable political programme for the MNR which at the same time is supposed to serve as a draft constitution for a MNR-ruled Mozambique.⁷

But only in 1983 the West-German government was seriously embarrassed by the revelation of MNR contacts. The worst part of it might not even have been public knowledge of the contacts, but the fact that they had been made public in connection with an official protest from an US State Department envoy, Frank Wisner. He told West German government officials that the US government was worried about activities by the representative of the West German secret service BND in South Africa. The representative had been involved in support for the MNR which endangered US foreign policy towards Mozambique.⁸

At the same time it was disclosed that the bandit chief Afonso Dhlakama had been on a six week visit to West Germany in November 1983. Professor Kaltefleiter, who was a political advisor to Chancellor Helmut Kohl, had been the organizer of the MNR's trip and wrote a letter of recommendation for the delegation to the CSU party member Hans Graf Huyn, asking him to establish contacts with important members of the West German parliament.

During its visit the MNR delegation met representatives from the Hanns Seidel Foundation and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation. The Hanns Seidel Foundation is closely affiliated to the CSU while the Konrad Adenauer Foundation is closely affiliated with the CDU. The climax of the trip was a meeting with Franz Josef Strauß.⁹

Chanjunja Chivaca João, the recently defected former head of MNR's Department for Organization and Mobilization in Europe, stated in a press conference on November 30th, 1988, in Maputo, that Afonso Dhlakama had visited Heidelberg, FRG, in October 1988 in order to chair a meeting of the MNR's leadership. João's statements confirm the fact that the MNR's leadership can still meet in the FRG without hindrance. At the meeting in Heidelberg it was decided that Dhlakama had to change his image from that of a bandit to that of political leader. According to Mr. João it was decided that MNR needed to cultivate a diplomatic image »in order to be able to compete with FRELIMO«. Another decision of the Heidelberg meeting was to change MNR's military strategy by attempting to concentrate a stronger number of forces in Zimbabwe.¹⁰

In the FRG — as in Portugal — the security service has been interested in keeping contact with the MNR and supporting its presence. Paulo Oliveira stated after his defection that the MNR's contact person in West Germany has been a man in the BND called Wolfgang Richter. He held continuous contact with Evo Fernandes. At a certain point Richter allegedly provided Evo Fernandes with one million German Marks to buy SAM-7 anti-aircraft missiles of Polish origin on the black market. Paulo Oliveira's disclosures about contacts between MNR and BND have been confirmed by Chivaca João's statements after his defection from MNR.

Another person from the security establishment is Dr. Ludwig Holger Pfahls, who, according to the Indian Ocean Newsletter, has been supporting the preparations for a meeting of MNR 'dissidents' in Cologne in June 1986.

However the most striking evidence for contacts between MNR and West German policy makers during the last five years is a letter written by the Director of the Office for Foreign Relations of the CSU, Dieter A. Schmidt, to the MNR member Francisco Nota Moises, then head of the MNR's Department of Information in Kenya. In the letter Dieter Schmidt claims that he does not need a contact with Nota Moises, because the CSU is »already in direct contact with the president« of the MNR inside Mozambique and thus is »sufficiently informed«.¹¹

Until now, it is the kind of contacts described here which have been dominating the efforts to create support for the MNR in Europe. These efforts have never been directly directed towards public opinion but consist of occasional contacts to policy makers.

During the last year new kinds of efforts to promote MNR in Europe have emerged. They have two objectives — to establish closer relations with European parliamentarians by using national citizens to promote MNR's cause, and to trick the European public into believing that the MNR is supported by a base of respectable organizations.

There are four groups which have been directly involved in this campaign:

- International Freedom Foundation (UK)
- Western Goals (UK)
- International Society for Human Rights
- Mozambican Solidarity Campaign.

Since this report is on Mozambique, a closer look should be given to the **Mozambique Solidarity Campaign**.

The name »Mozambique Solidarity Campaign« has been chosen in order to confuse public opinion. The word »solidarity« is not a frequent expression in conservative politics. Thus it rather directs the immediate public attention to 'left wing' values than to the real sender of the message. Also confusing is the use of FRELIMO's best known slogan »A Luta Continua« (the struggle continues).

The two main features in the material distributed are the human rights approach in the criticism of the Mozambican government and the efforts to promote Afonso Dhlakama as a credible and honest freedom fighter. It is an interesting coincidence that Dhlakama is just now going through a special training programme in a South African military base in Transvaal. He is supposed to learn how to behave with journalists and foreign politicians.¹²

The texts distributed in London contain almost nothing but an endless list of murder, terror and torture allegedly committed under responsibility of the Mozambican government, which — it is conveyed — is an important reason for MNR's struggle. A brief look at the material shows that it is being produced by the MNR's office in the United States and then being photocopied for use in Great Britain.

The Mozambican Solidarity Campaign has its mailing address at 27 Old Gloucester Street in London. This address is shared by a number of different organizations. One of them is the British branch of the **International Society for Human Rights (ISHR)**.

The International Society for Human Rights was formed in Frankfurt, FRG, in 1972. Its origins can be traced back to the thirties. An organization called NTS (Narodno-Trudovi Soyus) was founded by Russian emigrants in Germany. A number of its members are also founders of the ISHR.¹³

The NTS collaborated intimately with the Nazis and worked in close contact with the Gestapo. Members of the organization were brought into areas of the Soviet Union occupied by the German army to work as a branch of Gestapo. They spread anti-Soviet propaganda, participated in lootings and the genocide against the Jewish population.

After the end of the war the NTS members maintained their organization which has been concentrating on human rights questions since the seventies to pursue it politics. In the eighties, with the internationalization of the organization, the programmatic struggle against the »USSR-sponsored spread of totalitarianism« has also started to target at the Front Line States in defense of South Africa.

The International Society for Human Rights has its base in Frankfurt, FRG, with branches in the United States, Great Britain, Belgium, France, Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Austria, Malta, Norway, Sweden, Israel and Australia.

Because of its already established network it is likely that MNR propaganda material is being spread by ISHR branches in several countries. In Britain and West Germany the ISHR launched a wide campaign against SWAPO with a human rights approach, thereby manipulating those unfamiliar to the situation in Namibia.

In March 1988 the ISHR sponsored a visit of South African Reverend Peter Hammond to Great Britain. He is member of a kind of pseudo-religious missionary organization called »Frontline Fellowship« which has close links to the South African military intelligence.¹⁴

Hammond got some publicity in 1986 when he made a visit to the MNR inside Mozambique claiming that he had been touring Mozambique with a motor bike. The subject of his speech at an ISHR meeting in London on March 29th, 1988 was the human rights situation in Southern Africa.

One of the topics raised by Peter Hammond was the case of Ian Grey, an Australian who was imprisoned in Mozambique for collaboration with the MNR. Hammond instigated ISHR to participate in an anti-Mozambican campaign because of Ian Grey. Hammond argued that Grey had been tortured and that his execution by firing squad was imminent. In reality, Grey was given a fair trial in Maputo in the presence of his father and an Australian lawyer his father had consulted. He was eventually sentenced to ten years of imprisonment. Both the lawyer and his father afterwards stated that Ian Grey had been given a fair trial.

Hammond's group, the Frontline Fellowship, has close contacts with another missionary group called Shekina Ministries. Ian Grey, an extremely religious Australian, joined the group while on a pilgrimage to Israel. In Israel he was approached by members of the organization who told him they needed people to work in Mozambique where allegedly religious people were being oppressed and worship was forbidden. He accepted to go to Mozambique and after a brief stay in Zimbabwe he ended up in Malawi.

Among other tasks he had to organize transport into Mozambique of various supplies to a MNR base on the Mozambican side of the border.

The information above has been confirmed by Horacio Leven, a MNR representative in West Germany, in an interview with a German journalist. Leven also claims he is able to organize trips for journalists to MNR-controlled areas inside Mozambique. These trips proceed via Malawi where MNR collaborators — masked as priests — organize the journey to the Malawi → Mozambique border.¹⁵

The third organization in the network of MNR supporters is **Western Goals (UK)**. It was founded in 1985 as a branch of the American Western Goals Foundation. In June 1987 the American parent organization started to concentrate on Central America while the British branch was to help right-wing insurgents in Southern Africa. The director of WGUK, Andrew Smith, admits that his organization is working on behalf of MNR.

In 1987 another director of WGUK, Stuart Notholt, travelled to Mozambique via Malawi to meet MNR representatives. His visit was organized by South African businessman Duncan Beckman. According to Notholt, Beckman is likely to be in contact with the South African government. Although Notholt was not satisfied with his MNR contacts he does not give any explanation for his disappointment.

The key organization in this network seems to be the **International Freedom Foundation (UK)**. Its base is located in the United States and it has branches in Great Britain, South Africa and Israel.

The young conservative director of IFF, Marc Gordon, a member of the Federation of Conservative Students, has been recruited by Jack Abramoff of the American parent branch. As an initial stimulation Gordon and his fellow were taken to the United States and sent to Nicaragua 'on patrol' with the Contras. In the aftermath of the Iran-Contragate hearings it was disclosed that Jack Abramoff had had regular meetings with Oliver North.

In Great Britain, the IFF distributed the »Freedom Bulletin« which used to accuse FRELIMO of being responsible for massacres of the civilian population in Mozambique.

Gordon stresses that IFF (UK) is receiving contributions from British businessmen. But he admits that the majority of the budget is being financed by contributions from the United States.

Some of these organizations only have a post office box number; others have a telephone number and even an address. Generally one or two persons are employed to run their affairs, but they tend to have a rather small or no membership. In Britain, those who manage the office affairs are almost exclusively being recruited among the Conservative Party's youth.

The Federation of Conservative Students has for a long time been dominated by an organized right-wing caucus. They even became too right-wing for Margaret Thatcher and thus embarrassing to the Conservative Party. There is a fertile ground among these young people for recruitment of personnel for several extreme right-wing organizations which have been founded during the last few years — many of them on behalf of the extreme right-wing in the United States.

Although it is still most visible in Britain, the activities of right-wing organizations on behalf of MNR have spread to several other European countries and to the youth branches of conservative parties in various European countries.

It might seem as if this campaign is not yet very well developed, but the example of Britain can teach solidarity organizations to be careful in their respective countries. It can be assumed that the above mentioned organizations can open channels for MNR to conservative MPs. They are being fed with sufficient background information to question development aid to Mozambique by their respective governments and to promote support for the MNR. One of the principle vehicles for this campaign is the question of human rights violations in Mozambique.

To a certain extent Amnesty International's 1987 report was reflecting this campaign. It carried imbalanced material on Mozambique, presenting the MNR in quite favourable light. After his visit to Mozambique in October 1988, Ian Martin, Secretary General of Amnesty International, admitted the Amnesty's report »has been used by the MNR and its supporters«. He explained that the imbalance in the 1987 report was due to the fact that Amnesty International did not have access to the Gersony report at the time Amnesty's report had been written.¹⁶

1. »Children on the Frontline«, UNICEF report 1987.
2. Robert Gersony's report was made public in April 1988. Copies can be obtained from US embassies.
3. Ken Flowers, »Serving Secretly«.
4. According to documents found in the MNR base of Garagua after it had been taken by FRELIMO troupes on December 5th, 1981.
5. Garagua documents.
6. Paulo Oliveira's press conference in Maputo on March 23rd, 1988.
7. Africa Insight, Vol. 13, no. 2, 1983.
8. Der Spiegel 1/84.
9. Der Spiegel 1/84.
10. AIM, November 30th, 1988.
11. Stern, January 28th, 1988.
12. Africa Confidential, Vol. 29, no. 18, September 19th, 1988.
13. Source of this description is a paper written for the London conference »The Media and Namibia« in May 1987 prepared by Barbara König.
14. Copy of an invitation to a meeting with Hammond from ISHR in author's archive.
15. Press conference with Ian Grey and his father in Maputo.
16. The Herald, October 7th, 1988.