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FRELIMO STANDS FIRM  
CANDID INTERVIEW WITH DOS SANTOS

(The following is an interview given by Marcelino dos Santos, Vice-President of FRELIMO, to members of the German Volunteer Service in Tanzania. It appeared in the Sunday News, Tanzania, of December 6, 1970.)

Q. Mr. Dos Santos, President Kaunda of Zambia said at the OAU Conference in Addis Ababa: Black Africa "is ready to assist" Portugal in settling the problem of its African territories. He continued: "Africa is ready to negotiate" and "We are ready to accept Portugal as a friend," but unless there was a positive response from Lisbon, "there can be no friendship at all." Does FRELIMO agree with President Kaunda in these items?

A. Yes, we agree with President Kaunda, and the basic condition for us to talk with Portugal is Portugal must recognize solemnly and formally our right to independence. We don't even want to accept the idea that it is enough when the colonial power accepts the principal of self-determination, because sometimes this is just a way of manoeuvring.

Q. For what reason did you join FRELIMO?

A. I joined FRELIMO the way in which most people joined. When FRELIMO was born in 1962, we were all more or less members of the organisations which existed before FRELIMO, and we decided to combine all of these. This was a moment in which the Mozambican people united themselves completely. FRELIMO is a unity between forces from inside Mozambique who were working until then underground, and the forces outside. To join FRELIMO was just a continuation in the development of the struggle against Portuguese colonialism.

Q. FRELIMO is among the liberation movements which will get support from the World Council of Churches and from the German Friedrich Ebert Foundation. Will FRELIMO accept this help, and what will she use that money for?

A. We must distinguish between aid given by the World Council of Churches and the German Friedrich Ebert Foundation. As far as help from the World Council of Churches is concerned, we are ready to accept this. In fact, we already have received money which will be used in the fields of education, health, etc., and we are very thankful to them. The matter is different as far as assistance from the German Friedrich Ebert Foundation is concerned. The Foundation is sponsored by the German Government, and at the present we do not feel ready to accept help from them channelled through this organisation.

As long as the German Government supplies arms directly and in-

directly through Nato to Portugal, we cannot accept this help. There is also the problem of Cabora Bassa. The German Government says it isn't possible to stop the companies from participating in this project. Suppose the statement of the German Government is right. How do we interpret these relations to them?

Frankly, we consider the German Government of Mr. Willy Brandt is giving Portugal the necessary means to kill us and at the same time trying to give us the necessary means for buying coffins.

Q. Did you and your comrades of FRELIMO reconsider all possibilities of non-violent resistance before you started the armed struggle against the Portuguese?

A. When we started our liberation activities in 1950, we didn't know that we would come to a guerrilla war. It was only from our experience of massacres we had suffered which forced us to change our strategy. It was Sinavon in the south in the sugar cane. It was Mueda, which is very well known. In 1960 about 600 people were killed here by the Portuguese when they asked for land. We were forced to either choose death passively, or to take up arms.

Q. Mr. Dos Santos, Rhodesia meets half her consumption of crude oil by pipeline from Beira, and the rail link to Rhodesia is also essential for the Smith regime. South Africa went as far as to guarantee 47.5% of the sea-borne traffic for the industries on the Witwatersrand be cleared via Lorenzo Marques. South Africa and Rhodesia will be the main consumers of the electricity generated by Cabora Bassa. With whose help does FRELIMO want to oppose this constellation of power?

A. I would say, for example, with the help of the German people, and also other people in the world; especially with the help of the people of the Western countries. The outcome of the Rome Conference justifies our hope. Unanimity of the people of the Western countries will help the people in the Portuguese colonies, and in particular FRELIMO, enabling us to carry out our programme of liberation.

It will also help us with the action against the support their governments are giving to Portugal. I mentioned German people in the first place because you are German. You must certainly realise how important the help is which we receive from our African brothers, especially from Tanzania and Zambia, which assisted us right from the beginning of our movement. The help received from them is the very needed basic help. From the beginning we have also received help from the socialist countries; mainly from China, the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia. All the weapons we use come from these countries. Help is even received from Latin America and inside Portugal. We have the support of the people of the world, and therefore we will win. We know we will win.

Q. How do you see the Guinean issue from your point of view? Will it affect your struggle, and if so, in what way?

A. Yes, because it clearly shows the aggression of Portugal, even though it wasn't Portugal alone who invaded Guinea. This will surely be a very big lesson for our enemies and others. We proved that when we are really organised, nobody can invade our country. At the same time, I think, and I am speaking particularly to our friends in Africa - our African brothers - that this lesson shows the Africans that it is their duty to help substantially the liberation movements which are a very important task now.

Q. So far, the Portuguese and South African troops seem to have successfully guarded the project of Cabora Bassa. Will they also do so in the future?

A. You remember, we decided at the second conference in 1963 that the Cabora Bassa Dam would never be built. We know that some works have already started, but this doesn't mean that Portugal and South Africa are able to guard Cabora Bassa. We will be able to destroy this project, but first we must fulfil some conditions before we can begin the final deciding coup.

Q. Do you have more examples of the economic engagement of Nato states besides Cabora Bassa?

A. Yes, there is that big monster Gulf Oil, an American enterprise, in Mozambique, there are French companies, and Japanese companies; although Japan doesn't belong to Nato, it does belong to the same constellation of countries. From West Germany there is Krupp in Angola. There are companies seeking for oil, and I was told there are also agriculture projects. We can say that the foreign investments have increased since the beginning of the war.

Q. Investments are generally meant for the economic well-being of the people. In what way does the African population participate in the foreign investment of the Portuguese colonies?

A. There are no investments which now benefit the Mozambican people. The Mozambican people do work at these foreign companies, but for what money. They receive 1500 escudos - 50 U.S. dollars - annually. How does that benefit the Mozambican people?

Q. Do you have proof of military assistance given by Nato states, especially Western Germany, to Portugal for aiding her warfare in Africa?

A. Yes, we have an enormous list of the kind of help that western countries have given. Do you want to hear something? For heavier weapons, the Portuguese army is completely dependent on supplies from Nato allies. They have obtained a great number of "AMH" 607 Panhards from France, which arrived in the colonies in 1966. The artillery is mainly obsolete British and West German types. But in 1968 the USA is thought to have supplied a great number of 155 mm guns. M41 and M47 tanks were supplied secretly by West Germany. Jeeps and unimogs are delivered by Britain, USA and West Germany. At present, G-3 guns (Nato type) are manufactured in Braco da Prata (Portugal) under license of West Germany at a rate of 160 per day.

1965-66 20 Douglas B-26 bombers received from USA, 1966 40 Fighters G-91 Nato type R4 supplied by West Germany and extensively used in the colonies; 1967 60 F36K Sabre Jet Fighters supplied by West Germany.

During the 1960s, 110 Dornier DO 27 (the last 20 were in 1969) were received from West Germany. They often carry rockets under their wings. The West German shipyards of Blohm and Voss are constructing three 1400 ton warships for 40 million US dollars. The Portuguese have already openly declared that these will be used in the colonies.

Q. Nato states supply arms to partner states for exclusive use within the organisation. By what means can these states prevent Portugal from using those arms in Africa?

A. Until today there were no means since these countries could only control the use of the weapons by interfering in internal affairs. However, these states have to be responsible for their weapons. The only way to prevent Portugal from using these weapons in Africa is to give no weapons to Portugal at all.

Q. Don't you think Portugal will be able to keep her positions in Africa even without Nato help, purely by support from the "unholy alliance" with Rhodesia and South Africa?

A. No. This is impossible since South Africa and Rhodesia are also asking these same Nato states for the necessary weapons.

Q. Mr. Dos Santos, after the Rome Conference, you were given a special audience by the Pope. Did the Pope in any way criticise the methods of Portuguese ruling in Africa?

A. The Pope did not condemn Portugal, but he did say, "We are with those who are fighting for freedom and independence in Africa."

You must realise the significance of the fact that the Pope received us as the leaders of liberation movements fighting with arms against Portugal.

Q. How do you imagine a liberated Mozambique? Is there any state which already has or seems to be about to realise your political and social "dream"?

A. What we imagine for Mozambique is not complete yet in all details. We want a free country, we want a country in which everyone is appreciated as a human being, and able to face the realities of modern, industrialised life, even if he comes from an agrarian colonial society. We want a country where no exploitation of men by men exists, and where we can destine ourselves. In this way, we are really impressed by the evolution of Tanzania.

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#### U.S. CLEARS SALE OF 707s TO PORTUGAL

The U.S. has approved the sale of two Boeing-707s to the Portuguese government, the first transaction of its kind since the imposition in 1961 of a partial arms embargo to Portugal. The long-range planes are of little use inside Portugal and it is believed that the planes will see service to and from the African territories. The article in London's Daily Tel. of January 13 cites the opinion of military observers that one purpose of the planes will be to ferry soldiers home on leave quickly, thus improving morale among the 150,000 troops in Africa. Senator Case, R,N.J., has demanded details of the sale of the planes from Secretary of State Rogers.