

www.cphrc.org

Courier Pouch

CONFIDENTIAL

For Department Use Only

HANDLING INDICATOR

FOREIGN SERVICE DESPATCH

753e.00/6-1962

FROM : Amembassy DAR ES SALAAM

268

TO : THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON.

June 19, 1962
 DATE

ACTION	AF	DEPT	RM/R	REP	AF	ARA	EUR	FE	NEA	CU	INR	E	P	IO
			AGR	COM	FRB	INT	LAB	TAR	TR	XMB				
REC'D	6-25	OTHER	AIR	ARMY	CIA	NAVY	OSD	OCB	USIA	NSA	NSC			

S/S S/P G

USIB
 REFERENCE
 FILE

SUBJECT: Conversation with Eduardo Mondlane
 This document consists of _____ pages.
 Number _____ of _____ copies, Series _____

COPY NO. 1 SERIES A

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

Mr. Eduardo MONDLANE, Mozambique nationalist and Professor at Syracuse University, called on the Reporting Officer on June 18 to report on his efforts to unite the Mozambique African National Union (MANU) and the National Democratic Union of Mozambique (UDENAMO), the two rival Mozambique refugee organizations operating in Dar es Salaam.

Mondlane reported that he was dismayed to learn how completely committed Adelino GWAMBE, leader of UDENAMO, was to Dr. Kwame NKURUMAH and to the Communist Bloc, and alleges that Gwambe is a regular recipient of substantial funds from Ghana and from the Soviet Union. As an illustration, Mondlane insists that only last week Gwambe had received \$14,000 from Ghana. He was also disturbed to learn that M. M. MMOLE, President of MANU, and his lieutenants were in Gwambe's pay. Mondlane explained that the very small subvention the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) had previously made available to MANU had ceased and that the MANU officials had become completely dependent upon Gwambe for their subsistence. Mondlane claimed that he had proof that for periodic handouts of from £3* to £5 Mmole had delivered MANU into Gwambe's control. Mondlane insisted that his investigations revealed that UDENAMO had little or no real support among the few Mozambique political refugees in Tanganyika and that MANU was still fairly strong among the Makonde agricultural workers.

Mr. Mondlane, who claims an old acquaintanceship with Julius NYERERE, President of TANU, stated that his interview with Nyerere was most unsatisfactory. He referred to Nyerere as a "Tanganyikan Eisenhower" who refused to become involved in strife, suggesting that Mondlane take up his complaint that TANU was favoring the absorption of MANU by UDENAMO with Minister for Home Affairs Oscar KAMBONA. According to Mondlane, Kambona sought to avoid

£1 = \$2.80

RTHennemeyer:mp
 REPORTER

CONFIDENTIAL

FORM 8-61 FS-439 GPO B 12586

For Department Use Only - To be Filled In on Yellow Original ONLY

ACTION ASSIGNED TO:	ACTION TAKEN:		
NAME OF OFFICER	DATE OF ACTION	DIRECTIONS TO RM/R	
B OFFICE SYMBOL			

DEPARTMENT OF STATE A/CDC/MR
 REVIEWED BY: [Signature]
 Date: 11/19/62
 Or. U. or PA exemptions
 () CLASSIFY as
 () DOWNGRADE TO () S of () G, OADR
 () RELEASE () DECLASSIFY IN PART
 () DENY () DELETE
 () Non-responsive info.
 Copy No(s) 2
 Destroyed in R/R
 Name [Signature] Date 9-24-62

E3

R

[Handwritten notes]

SEP 17 9 41 AM '62
 [Handwritten signature]



CONFIDENTIAL

Page 2 of

Encl. No. _____

Disp. No. 268

From Dar es Salaam

him for several days but he finally succeeded in discussing the problem with Kambona on June 17. According to Mondlane, Kambona's partiality for UDENAMO was determined by a desire to placate Dr. Nkrumah. Mondlane said that he told Kambona that Mozambique nationalists would not in the long run accept a position as Nkrumah's political football and that there should be a single Mozambique independence organization, all support for which should go into a single treasury which would be subject to audit. Mondlane said that a continuation of the existing arrangement whereby Gwambe had ample resources while both the UDENAMO and MANU treasuries were empty meant that the Mozambique nationalist movement belonged to Gwambe and he in turn could deliver it to his Ghanaian and Russian paymasters. Mondlane urged Kambona to consider the advantage of securing funds from Western sources in order to free the Mozambique movement from Gwambe. According to Mondlane, Kambona agreed and suggested that Prime Minister Rashidi KAWAWA be the recipient of such funds for disbursement to a united Mozambique independence movement.

Mr. Mondlane stated that he met with Gwambe in Dar es Salaam on June 15 and that he was in regular touch with Gwambe's lieutenants, many of whom were disturbed by Gwambe's Ghanaian and Communist connections. According to Mondlane, the 30 or more young Mozambique refugees in Dar es Salaam, as well as Gwambe's lieutenants and the officials of MANU, forced Gwambe to accept the designation of an eight-man committee to discuss the unification of the rival organizations. However, Mondlane did not believe that this implied any major concession on Gwambe's part, since, as long as Gwambe is the source of funds for his own people and for the MANU leaders, there was little danger that anything would be agreed that Gwambe would not find acceptable. A development which Mondlane found very disturbing was the departure on June 17 of Gwambe for New Delhi. Mr. Mondlane stated he knew for certain that Gwambe was scheduled to have discussions with Krishna Menon concerning the release of Mozambique soldiers captured during India's invasion of Goa. These soldiers are to be flown from India to Ghana to receive ideological training and to form the nucleus of a Mozambique army of liberation.

According to Mondlane, Gwambe was somewhat disturbed by Mondlane's presence in Dar es Salaam in that Mondlane was proving to be more difficult to handle than the poorly educated and ill-informed MANU and UDENAMO leaders. Mondlane states that Gwambe discussed this problem with Joe-Fio MEYER, Ghana High Commissioner to Tanganyika, and concluded that it would be desirable to secure the services of a Western-educated Mozambique refugee to counter Mondlane. Gwambe allegedly telephoned Los Angeles from the Ghana High Commission and talked to Leo Eldridge MILAS, a graduate student at UCLA, offering him a position as educational coordinator for Mozambique refugees in East Africa. Mondlane states that Milas accepted and is to secure airplane tickets and a Ghanaian passport in New York from Ambassador QUAISSON-SACKEY, Ghana's Permanent Representative to the United Nations. (Mr. Mondlane states that Mr. Milas had been contacted by the African-American Institute and offered a position in connection with a proposed educational institution for Mozambique refugees to be established at Dar es Salaam.)

While in general Mondlane was rather depressed by Gwambe's success in securing considerable control over the Mozambique refugee movement, he was nevertheless hopeful that the growing dissatisfaction with Gwambe's Ghanaian and Soviet connections among his own lieutenants and the few articulate Mozambique refugees in Dar

CONFIDENTIAL



CONFIDENTIAL

es Salaam might serve to temporarily block a complete victory by Gwambe. Mondlane proposes to leave Dar es Salaam in about a week's time to return to Syracuse to fulfill a teaching commitment for the summer session. Enroute home he plans to stop in Cairo, Tunis, Geneva, London and New York in an effort to raise funds with which to strengthen the resistance within the Mozambique refugee movement to Gwambe. Mr. Mondlane plans to get in touch with Deputy Assistant Secretary Wayne Fredericks as soon as he reaches the United States. Mondlane plans to return to Dar es Salaam in September with a view to continuing his work among Mozambique refugees.

Comment: The foregoing is as accurate a recapitulation of Mr. Mondlane's conversation as possible. Mondlane is a likeable, intelligent and highly articulate individual, but the Reporting Officer has the impression that Mondlane's estimate of dissatisfaction with Gwambe on the part of Mozambique refugees is at least partially based on wishful thinking. Mondlane is attempting to play in a very tough league and it is doubtful that he has the resources to make an impact. Both MANU and UDENAMO have pathetically few adherents, the overwhelming majority of the approximately 250,000 Makonde in Tanganyika who are almost exclusively sisal estate workers, have no knowledge of, or interest in, the Mozambique independence movement. Mozambique refugee politics are the work of a handful of people who have the support of the few score authentic refugees. These people are desperately poor and Gwambe is on the spot with money at hand, he has the Ghanaian High Commission as a powerful ally and probably has at least the sympathy of Kambona. Given the fact that Gwambe need only buy a comparatively few of these easily-purchased professional "refugees" in order to control Mozambique's expatriate political movements, it would appear that the odds are against Mondlane neutralizing the energetic and prosperous Gwambe.

Thomas R. Byrne (by RTH)

Thomas R. Byrne
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim

*Subsequent events seem to have proved ~~that~~
again that unparished victory can win
over well-beked corruption! O.H.D.*

CONFIDENTIAL