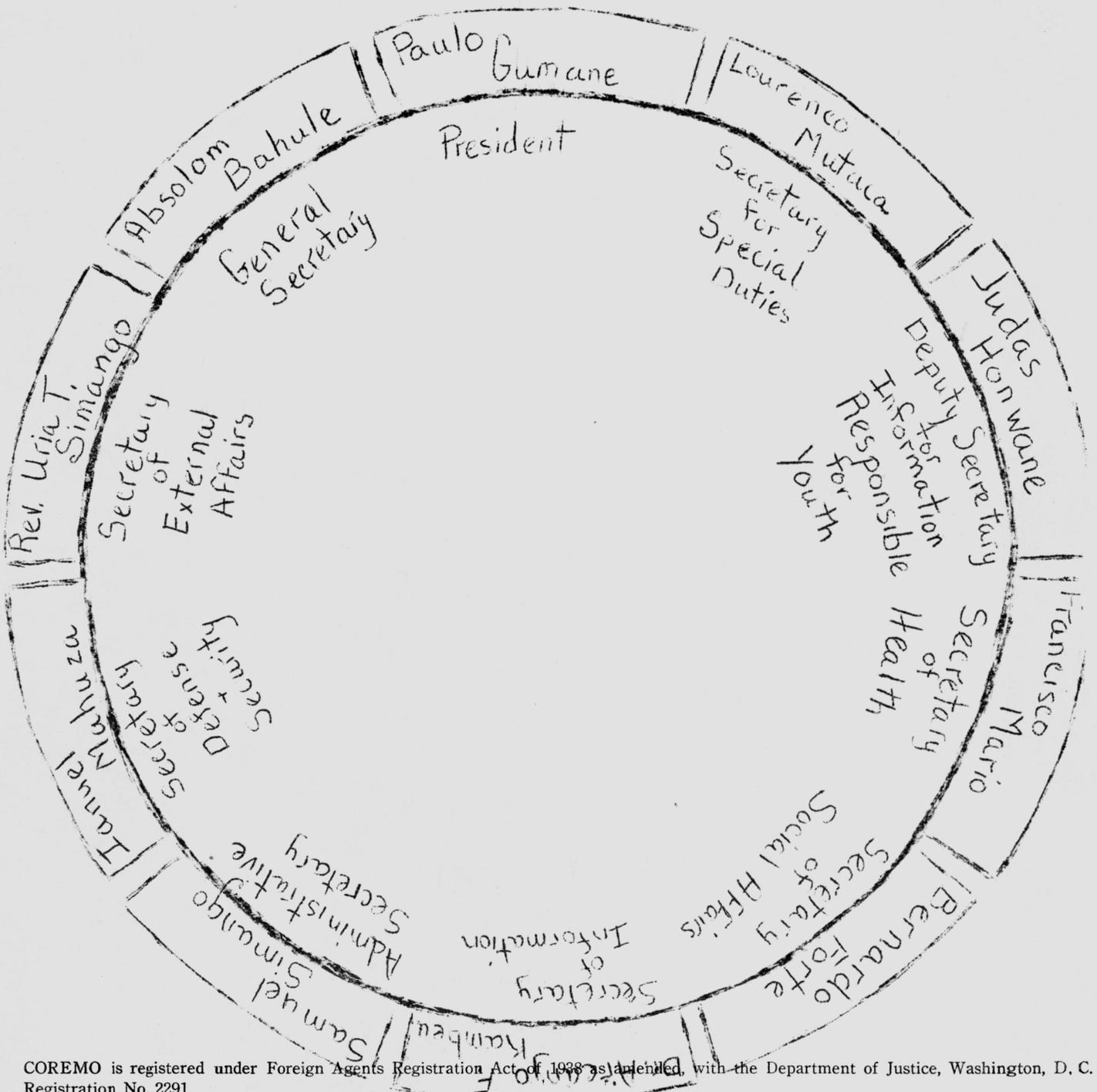


# COMITE REVOLUCIONARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE

"MOZAMBIQUE REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE"

## (COREMO) NEWSLETTER



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The year 1971 was for the Mozambican people a year full of success in the armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism, despite many difficulties. The fierce struggle of the outgoing year has borne abundant fruits. The revolutionary consciousness of the masses of our people has been raised to a higher degree. COREMO revolutionary forces and fighters have gained greater strength because of our incessant efforts to mobilize the popular masses and new recruits for our liberation struggle.

Looking back at the revolutionary path of our armed struggle, we have traversed, we feel greatly encouraged with last year's efforts and successes in the political and military fields of our struggle against Portuguese colonialism, the sworn enemy of the Mozambican people. Looking out on the bright prospects of our struggle in 1972, we are all more confident in victory against the foes of our revolution and people. Therefore, we have entered the New Year with a clear understanding of the nature of, and tactics used by, the enemies of the Mozambican revolution. This is extremely important if we have to develop the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle in our beloved Country.

The outgoing year has seen Portuguese colonial administration paying lip service to "peace", "progress" and to the dawning of an era of the so-called autonomy for Mozambique and other African territories under Portuguese administration. However, the African people will not be deceived again by empty words and promises. Hard facts of colonialism provide much material for thought. In effect, those who hold some illusions about the true intentions of the Portuguese government should ask themselves the following question: To whom is the colonial government going to give the promised autonomy? - Certainly not to the African people, otherwise they would be consulted in the matter.

One thing we would like to point out here is that constitutional farces and decrees on "spectacular reforms" have never been an extraordinary event in the life of the Africans in the Portuguese colonies and such changes in terminology are intended to satisfy certain demands in international relations, in the words of the late dictator, Dr. Oliveira Salazar in his work "The Road for the Future", such measures are merely a subterfuge intended to satisfy those who seem to be content with appearances. . . "

In our opinion, any change in international status of Mozambique should be a matter to be decided by the expressed will of the Mozambican people as a whole.

At present, the colonial government is in firm hands of the white settlers. The so called deputies (MPs) of Mozambique to the Portuguese National Assembly are all Portuguese "elected" or appointed by the Portuguese government. The adopted amendments to the Portuguese constitution turning the colonies into "autonomous regions" can only benefit the white settlers, excluding the vast masses of Africans. Any changes in the colonial administration without the consultation of the people concerned can in no way benefit the colonial people and they should not be regarded as genuine reforms.

On the other hand, any genuine political reforms in the colonies should be discussed and agreed upon with the nationalist organizations of the national liberation movements of the countries concerned, since they alone are the true representatives of aspirations of African masses and their legitimate spokesmen. If there is any change at all, Portuguese government may be preparing a situation similar to that one in Rhodesia or South Africa.

According to the Article 135 of the recently adopted Portuguese constitution, "the autonomy of the overseas provinces shall comprise ", inter alia,

- a) the right to have elective organs of their own government;
- b) the right to legislate ... about matters of exclusive interest to the respective province;
- c) the right to ensure through the organs of their government the implementation of laws and internal administration;
- d) the right to have an economic system adequate to the necessities of the state of their development and welfare of their populations.

Nevertheless, according to the article 136, Portuguese Central Government in Lisbon continues a) to represent, internally and externally, the whole Nation; b) to establish statutes of the "overseas provinces"; c) to ensure the "national" defence; d) to appoint the Governor General.

In a whole, there has been no substantial constitutional change, if there is any, it is just a game of words. In effect, the only difference is that where there was "overseas provinces", we find now the term "autonomous regions", or the words "overseas provinces" are preceded by the "autonomy of" and so on. Until the end of last year (1971), Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique had already an "economic-administrative autonomy" given by the Portuguese Constitution. The only new thing is that the so called overseas provinces can now be called, according to Article 133, "autonomous regions, being able to be designated as States, in accordance with national traditions when the state of development of social milieu and complex administration justify this honorary qualification". Hence, here is the key word of the present constitutional farce: "this honorary qualification".

The fact that the Portuguese Government will not only "ensure national defence", but also "will represent, internally and externally the whole Nation" makes all talk of autonomy nonsense even for the white settlers themselves. This is another proof that nothing has been changed in the political status of Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau and that the Portuguese fascist regime is determined to continue its war of genocide against African peoples.

In our view, the only solution to the "question of autonomy" is the majority rule which will enable African peoples to participate in the institutions of their own making, because the characteristic feature of reforms within the colonial system is to favour more white settlers in detriment of the African masses.

The right of Africans to develop their own political institutions and organizations is the only move in the right direction and which can be considered as being for the benefit of the African peoples.

African peoples under Portuguese colonial administration have had a long history of legal farces in the past. For this reason, this time, the Portuguese colonialists will not succeed to deceive the majority of the African people with promises of autonomy. That is why our people will continue to wage the armed struggle for self-determination and national independence till its final victory.

The world should also know that, for the last three years, the Portuguese fascist regime has been headed by Marcello Caetano, who is tirelessly trying very hard to give fascism and colonialism acceptability and new facade through demagogy and well planned propaganda without changing the fundamental features of the regime.

Although the Portuguese fascist regime under Marcello Caetano succeeded only to create confusion in the capitalist countries about what is really going on in the Portuguese colonies and thus attract a few votes at the UN from these so called democratic governments, nevertheless, this exercise in deception has run into serious troubles not only in Africa but also in Portugal itself. The successful actions of sabotage carried out by underground organizations, Armed Revolutionary Action (A R A) since 1970 against fascist and colonial policies, especially the successful interruption of communications from Lisbon at the time of NATO ministerial meeting in JUNE 1971 and the destruction on the ground of 17 army helicopters and other aircraft three months earlier, are clear warnings to Portuguese fascism and colonialism that their days are surely numbered both at home and in the African colonies under Portuguese domination .

...O COMBATENTE January 2 1972\*

\* O COMBATENTE is an official organ of COREMO

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PRESS RELEASE BY MR. P. J. GUMANE, PRESIDENT OF COREMO Jan. 5 1972

After many months of contacts and consultations with former leaders of Frelimo, e.g., Rev. Uria Simango and his colleagues on problems facing the liberation of our Motherland, Mozambique, from Portuguese colonialism. - We are today making it known to the World through all media of information that we held a conference in Lusaka on 3, 6 and 7 August 1971, between Coremo on one hand and comrade Uria Simango and his colleagues on the other, to study the way of unifying our forces and the best way possible of conducting the armed struggle for National liberation.

The conference was conducted in a spirit of understanding and with a clear goal we wanted to attain.

The Armed struggle and the conditions under which it is carried out was studied. We appraised the situation prevailing internally and abroad in relation to our liberation struggle. The efforts

and sacrifices of the Mozambican people towards the struggle were very much appreciated.

Our deliberations centered on unity and how to develop and consolidate the armed revolutionary struggle. We were of identical opinions in all questions. All conclusions were reached at and decisions taken with unanimity. Guided by the desire and spirit of unity for the sake of National liberation and salvation and finding that nothing was in our way to unity, we declared our forces UNITED.

It is incumbent upon us to inform our people in Mozambique and wherever they may be and the World at large of this development. This is a new chapter that has been opened in the history of our liberation struggle and henceforth the posture of our movement as a liberation force is different. It has not only been elevated but will play a prominent and decisive role as a striking force against the enemy.

In becoming a giant, we will also have many difficulties, particularly in the field of supplies of war material and of all accessories. We think the African good will and of our friends will prevail.

It would be ungratefulness on our side not to acknowledge with gratitude the support and efforts of the people and Government of Zambia, particularly of the President of the Republic, Dr. K. D. Kaunda, within and without the context of the OAU, which enabled, not only the people of Mozambique but also of many colonised peoples in Southern Africa, to realize their aspirations and hope.

In finalizing the discussions, the conference, among other things, decided to appoint comrade Simango and some of his colleagues into the Executive with the following functions:

- |                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| 1. Uria T. Simango    | Secretary for External Affairs                                |
| 2. A. Faustino Kambeu | Secretary for Information                                     |
| 3. Judas Honwana      | Deputy Secretary for Information<br>and Responsible for Youth |
| 4. Lorenzo Mutaca     | Secretary for Special Duties                                  |

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STATEMENT DELIVERED BY COREMO REPRESENTATIVE TO MEMBERS OF THE AFRICA DEPARTMENT, DIVISION OF OVERSEAS MINISTRIES, THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES.

On behalf of the Comite Revolucionario de Mozambique and the Mozambican people, I wish to express our appreciation and gratitude for being invited to attend this meeting. It is the first time that our Party has been invited to attend any meeting of this organization and we hope that from now on, contact between your organization and ours will be continued.

Our special thanks and appreciation are due to Rev. Isaac Bivens who has been responsible for this invitation.

The Mozambique Revolutionary Committee was formed in 1965 by some former active members of FRELIMO and since then it has been trying to overcome all problems that any struggling people have. By 1969, some FRELIMO members who had remained in that party resigned, and this group included the Rev. Uria Simango, the only living leader who was elected by both the Congress of 1962 and the Congress of 1968. After many months of contacts and consultations with former leaders of FRELIMO, a conference was held in Lusaka, the capitol of Zambia, from the 3rd to the 7th of August, 1971, that included both COREMO and former FRELIMO leaders.

The agenda called for the discussion, among other things, of the form of unification or integration between COREMO on one hand, and Comrade Simango's group on the other, and the best possible way of conducting the armed struggle for national liberation. The members of the conference analyzed the present situation inside our country and studied the best way to consolidate our forces. The participants also took a close look at the external situation and noted that it largely depended on the internal one. It was verified that this integration by various patriotic and nationalist forces constituted a very important element in the development and consolidation of the armed struggle of the Mozambican people against Portuguese colonialism and with this situation a new phase was being created which tended to accelerate the total liquidation of foreign domination and restore the rights and dignity of the Mozambican people. The conference observed with satisfaction that this situation was encouraging and within the spirit of realization of the will and aspirations of our people.

The Conference appreciated the political consciousness of the Mozambican people and their understanding of the necessity to participate in the national liberation struggle. The conference also noted with satisfaction that the Mozambican people, within their means, contribute as they can and adequately play their role in the solution of the independence question of our beloved country, Mozambique.

The Conference also urged the militants of COREMO and Mozambicans in general not to be satisfied with the achieved successes but that together we should intensify the armed struggle so that we may achieve final victory, and the conference reminded the Mozambican people that our unity is the most powerful weapon we have in the struggle against Portuguese colonialism and internal reaction. Unity must be developed, promoted and consolidated so that the acquisition of independence should be brought about by the Mozambican people themselves.

After a deep analysis of the whole situation, the conference decided to double its efforts in all fields of the struggle, with a view to intensifying the armed struggle, the only form of struggle presently in sight, for the liberation of our country.

Finally the conference verified that although the national liberation struggle had enemies, there was a positive attitude from many African and non-African countries, national and international organizations expressed through moral, political and material support in favor of the struggle of the Mozambican people. No

doubt this support constitutes an encouraging and moralizing factor to enable us to proceed with our just struggle for national independence.

Your organization is not only concerned with the spiritual needs of Africans, but also with injustice and the oppression of people in Africa and throughout the world. We are, therefore, hoping that you will help us to meet some needs in our struggle, such as educational material, medicine, clothing, and also strong moral support.

We are not, however, waiting with our hands folded. We are doing our best to help ourselves. As president of COREMO, Comrade Paulo Jose Gumane said, "It should be the duty of each and every one of us to have faith in ourselves and to be more and more self-reliant, instead of waiting for outside help." It cannot be denied, at the same time, that your humanitarian support will be most appreciated by all of us.

Some people may say in this regard, that their organizations must help only those parties recognized by the Organization of African Unity. And the question comes, are church organizations political or humanitarian? If the answer is humanitarian, it must be known that other parties are also formed by humans and exceptions should not be made. Otherwise some implications may arise regarding the motives and intentions of such humanitarian organizations. For it means that humanitarian organizations are supporting only particular groups of people, and excluding large groups of people of Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Azania (South Africa) Comoro, Spanish Sahara, Namibia (Southwest Africa) to mention a few countries where there are parties not recognized by the O.A.U.

Certainly when the Messiah comes, he will not leave out any group, including church organizations.

Let me conclude by saying that our party will be happy to be in contact with your member organizations unless a statement is put out by individual denominations stating that their humanitarian aid is going only to the support of selected groups. If such a statement is well publicized, certainly those who are left out will not continue to bother you for humanitarian assistance. Let me only mention that such a policy of selecting favored liberation movements can only work toward the detriment of national unity. Equal treatment may foster a feeling that division will not, at least, mean a corner on external resources. Selecting a favored group may also mean that an unpopular group is propped up against the will of the African majority.

Let me once again express our great appreciation on behalf of the Mozambican people for this hearing. Thank you very much.

Artur X.L. Vilankulu  
Chief Representative

March 29, 1972

A LONG WAY TO GO. . . BUT. . .

GUERRILLA MOVES WORRY LISBON AS BLAST IN MOZAMBIQUE KILLS 9

The Portuguese are troubled over an upsurge of nationalist guerrilla activity in western Mozambique, where the vast Cabora Bassa hydro-electric dam is being built on the Zambezi River....Portuguese military headquarters in Nampula announced in a communique that the guerrillas has won the "complicity" of part of the population to carry out their action. This was a serious admission for the Portuguese, who have been arduously trying to win over the people and regroup them into strategic settlements.

Times of Zambia  
Feb. 10, 1972

CAETANO UNLEASHES HIS FASCIST FURY:

A wave of political repression is sweeping through Portugal, the like of which has not been seen since the days of Dr. Salazar. Over the past four months, a hundred or more people have been arrested throughout Portugal, according to information given to Amnesty International. Faced with an upsurge of political demonstrations, sabotage and arson, Premier Marcello Caetano is adopting the tactics of his ruthless predecessor.....But it is not the regimes' African policies that makes its opponents and some of its erstwhile supporters angry. When Premier Caetano took office in 1968, he promised political reforms, including a Press law to modify the censorship and the abolition of "security measures" where by political offenders can be imprisoned indefinitely.

Times of Zambia  
September 9, 1971

ITALIAN MPs WANT "RACIST" AMBASSADOR RECALLED:

Three Communist parliamentary deputies have demanded the recall of the Italian ambassador in Lisbon, Girolamo Messeri. They have accused him of supporting Portuguese efforts to block international recognition of African liberation movements.

Times of Zambia  
March 11, 1972

"TIME TO TALK, PORTUGAL":

Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr. Elijah Mudenda, said Portugal should negotiate a settlement in her African territories with leaders of liberation movements. He told Danish Foreign Minister Knud Andersen at Lusaka reception that this was the only way loss of life would be avoided....He called on Denmark and other progressive countries to tell Portugal there was no need for a bloody struggle in her countries....Mr. Andersen, who was in Zambia, said his country would continue to oppose racial discrimination and colonialism.

Times of Zambia  
March 14, 1972

18 MEMBER NATIONS OF THE UN PLEDGE AID TO SOUTHERN AFRICA:

Eighteen member nations paid or pledged amounts totaling \$892,960 for aid to the peoples of Southern Africa on the occasion of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. Dr. Ralph Abernathy, President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, told the United Nations Committee on Apartheid that the crisis in Southern Africa should have urgent attention. He said "it is a crises of racial oppression openly aided and abetted by political, military and economic interests of some major powers, including the United States.

New York Times  
March 25, 1972

FACTS:

For a peaceful change to take place in the Portuguese Territories, the Western Powers (USA) in particular must stop arming Portugal. For continuing to support Portugal within and outside NATO, means increasing violence in Southern Africa.

Portugal says that Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau are integral parts of Portugal, hence, dropping napalm bombs in these "overseas provinces" means dropping them in their own sphere of influence.

Western support of Portuguese colonial wars are based on the fact that their interest in Southern Africa is on material resources rather than human resources which contradicts their beliefs of "democracy, freedom and independence of all people.

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Excerpts from a statement from Senator Edward Kennedy on Senator Resolution 214-to reconsider the executive agreement with Portugal, March 4, 1972

SELF-DETERMINATION FOR AFRICAN PEOPLE??????????????????

Last December the administration agreed to guarantee Portugal half a billion dollars for projects that may ultimately go to support their colonial wars in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau.

Five days after Mrs. Nixon returned from a tour of black Africa, the Administration announced a \$48.6 million loan guarantee for South Africa to purchase locomotives from the General Motors Corporation.

Early in the Kennedy Administration United States officials encouraged Portugal to establish a goal of self-determination among the peoples of the Portuguese colonies. We had begun to set policies for using our non-military resources to nudge Portugal toward a program of reapproachment. Since then it appears that the United States has moved further and further away from efforts to persuade Portugal to take steps leading to self government in its African territories.

Instead of appealing to Portugal's sense of justice and human dignity, we are contributing more to their war machine.

Instead of seeking amelioration we are providing support for the repressive policies of minority rule, in countries where half a million whites dominate the lives of 14 million blacks. Why do we ally our resources with Portuguese interests? Since 1969, United States activity with Portugal has increased substantially.

Early in 1971 the sale of Boeing transports -- 707's and 747's added to the Portuguese fleet of troop carriers going to the African wars; the United States sold five Bell helicopters for use in Mozambique.

- The United States trains Portuguese armed forces both in this country and in Europe.
- We provide over \$1 million in grant military aid to Portugal each year.
- We annually put a substantial portion of the operation costs for the Azores base into the Portuguese economy.

#### NIXON CONCEPT OF SELF-DETERMINATION

- On December 13, 1971, President Nixon's meeting with the Portuguese Prime Minister in the Azores followed a massive new agreement for the use of military bases in the Azores. It is this last step that particularly dismayed those of us who were already troubled by the earlier sales to Portugal. And now, we believe it is imperative that American-Portuguese relations receive careful scrutiny.

As the Foreign Relations Committee clearly emphasized in its hearings last month, the December agreement with Portugal authorized the United States to guarantee to the Portuguese government a package amounting to a minimum of \$436 million including:

1. \$30 million in loans under the Public Law 480 program for the purchase of agricultural commodities.
2. Free use of the hydrographic vessel, U.S.N.S. Kellar,
3. \$1 million for education development projects from the Defense Department budget,
4. An unlimited amount in drawing rights -- a minimum of \$5 million -- for the purchase of non-military excess equipment from Defense Department stocks, and,

5. \$400 million in loan guarantees from the Export-Import Bank to finance development projects for airports, highways, railroads, harbors, bridges, electric power stations, schools, hospitals, and town planning in metropolitan Portugal.

The United States has offered all of that for the use of military facilities in the Azores.

I believe that the State Department and the Department of Defense should fully explain to the Senate why the Azores warrants a rental of nearly half a billion dollars in 1971, when in the past the United States has never paid for these facilities.

Why, after 30 years of using the Azores without official payment does the United States find it necessary to rent it at this time?

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There are COREMO representatives in foreign countries including U.S.A., Carribeans and Latin America, where Mr. Artur Xavier Lambo Vilankulu, is the Chief Representative. Mr. Vilankulu has a B.A. degree in Political Science from Dickinson College Carlisle, Pa., his masters in International Affairs and Certificate in African Studies from Columbia University and Certificates in Mass Communication from Fordham University and the Brooklyn Board of Education. He is completing his P.H.D. as a United Nations Scholar in the field of International Politics. He has worked with Mozambique Liberation Movement in Africa.

# Don't push us too far, says Coremo

TIMES OF ZAMBIA,

THURSDAY, March 2, 1972

**COREMO** yesterday warned rival liberation movement Frelimo that further "provocations" would lead to civil war.

Coremo president, Mr Paul Gumane, condemned what he called "the brutal murder of our heroic freedom fighters."

Fierce fighting between Frelimo and Coremo was reported from Mocambique's Tete district last week.

Speaking at Lusaka's Liberation Centre, Mr Gumane claimed Frelimo had shot and killed three of his men and three others were still missing.

He said he was convinced the "murders" were a planned affair

and attacked Frelimo soldiers for being "inspired by imperialists and colonialists."

His guerrillas had always treasured their friendly ties with the revolutionary Mocambicans within Frelimo on the battlefield.

And in spite of provocations from Frelimo, they had not retaliated.

Mr Gumane said conflict between the two liberation movements had been going on for some time.

When the troubles reached a crisis in 1968, the matter was referred to the OAU liberation committee and the governments of Zambia and Tanzania.

## Stern

A second major incident took place in 1970 when Frelimo guerrillas entered a Coremo base without permission.

Coremo had not taken any stern action because they respected their fellow guerrillas, Mr Gumane said.

A letter of protest has been sent to Frelimo representatives in Zambia.