

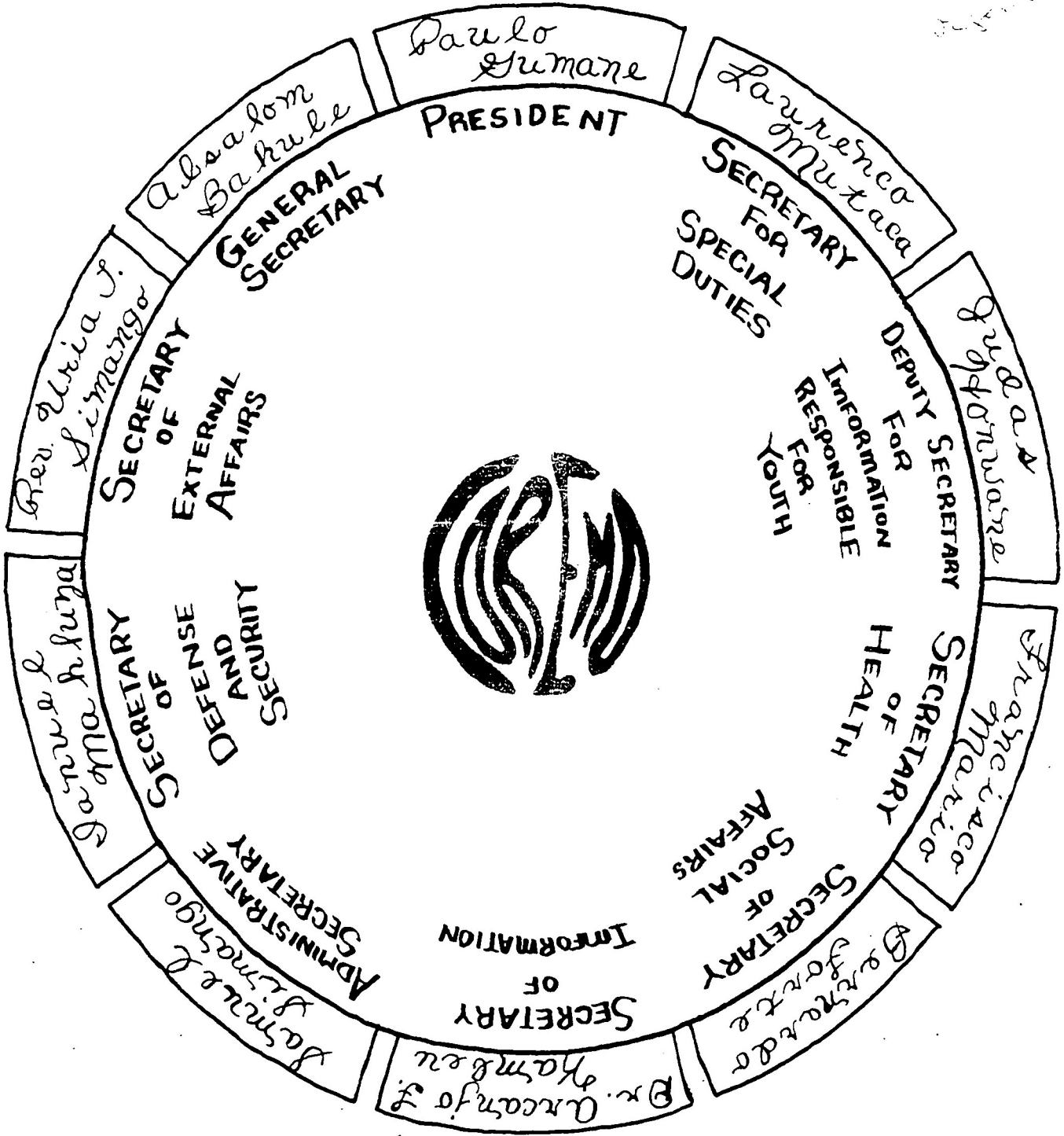
COMITE REVOLUCIONARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE

"MOZAMBIQUE REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE"

(COREMO)

NEWSLETTER

7-16
COREMO
NEWSLETTER



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Excerpt from editorial of COMBATENTE, COREMO's official organ published in Zambia, March 2, 1972

The friends of the Mozambique revolution have been shocked by the news of the murder of three COREMO guerillas and the arrest of four others by FRELIMO mercenary soldiers. Both the Mozambican people and the progressive people of the whole world strongly condemned the acts of vandalism perpetrated by FRELIMO against the revolutionary freedom fighters of COREMO.

FRELIMO's vile assassination of our militants is not only an open challenge to all nationalistic forces of our country, but also an obstacle to the continuation of FRELIMO's futile attempt to liquidate physically all true revolutionary forces of the Mozambican people by means of armed provocation against the Mozambican nationalists.

The Mozambican people are indomitable. In order to regain their human rights and achieve national independence, our people are determined to persist in the struggle until final victory is won against Portuguese colonial occupation of Mozambique.

The revolutionary struggle of our people has earned the support of the African peoples and the peoples of the world. The military reactionary leadership of FRELIMO will never succeed in their villainous attempt to stamp out the Mozambican revolution by vile murders of Mozambican patriots.

In our issue of January 2, 1972, vol. 5, No. 1, we had this to say: "Because of its reactionary and blood-stained leadership, FRELIMO has played a shameful and gloomy role in the annals of the Mozambique Liberation Movement and is a big stain on the armed struggle of our country, which, for about five hundred years of fierce resistance, has been waging a protracted struggle against colonial domination. The systematic policy of fratricide is aimed at denying the most staunch anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist patriots any meaningful participation in our armed struggle for the speedy and total liberation of Mozambique."

Only a month later on February 2, 1972, the FRELIMO military leadership murdered three of our guerrillas. The progressive world has been shocked at this news and all patriotic rank and file members of FRELIMO expressed their sincere hope that the FRELIMO leadership will stop this bad show of political immaturity.

The FRELIMO leadership has always denied our political existence in Mozambique. They have even gone to the extent of taking up our revolutionary exploits in the area as their own. Last year the world was told that the capture of six Portuguese colonists around the Cabora Bassa site was the work of FRELIMO men, and not of COREMO fighters. But later on, the world had to accept the real facts.

Our political influence in the Tete province has always been a matter of concern for the FRELIMO leadership. Hence, the imperialist-inspired slogan: "First, destroy COREMO forces, and then fight against Portuguese colonialists," is self-revelatory and no further comments are necessary.

We know quite well that the outside world has not taken our words very seriously, but we do not care. There is no country and no organization outside Mozambique that can and will liberate us from Portuguese domination. The job of liberation belongs to the Mozambican people themselves.

In the history of African liberation movements, some people have always tried to ignore the realities of the time in a given country. For instance, Africa tried to ignore the existence of MPLA as a fighting force on the Angolan soil. Despite all manoeuvres to the contrary, Africa and indeed the entire world, has to reckon with the fact that MPLA is a political nationalist organization engaged also in the armed struggle of Angola.

In our view, it is not the proper answer to the question of unity to deny the existence of an organization simply because we don't agree with its program.

In any case, this is not particular to African politics. In world history there are many examples of countries ignoring what exists in reality. It took the United States of America nearly fifteen years to recognize the communist rule in the Soviet Union, and nearly a quarter of a century to recognize that it is the People's Republic of China, and not the Taiwan regime that has the right to speak on behalf of the entire Chinese nation.

It is true that FRELIMO had its day in the past. But this is not the case now. It is this new change that the world must recognize. There are new forces of revolution in Mozambique.

Extremely frightened by the gigantic pace of revolutionary forces in our country, the forces of internal reaction are croaking about the fictitious threat of "infiltration of COREMO forces in the liberated zones" and trying to find a way out of the vote of non-confidence cast by the Mozambican people.

In order to silence the dissidents, the Samora-Marcelino clique has been engaged in an all-out campaign of physical liquidation. This state of affairs led to the breaking up of the Samora-Marcelino alliance in the early months of 1971. Faced with a new crisis, the reactionary part of the military leadership has been trying its best to deceive our people into believing that their failures in the Tete province are caused by the presence of COREMO forces in that part of the country. Not surprisingly, this year they have once again attacked their scape goat, the COREMO freedom fighters.

In any case, these tactics are old ones and they are bound to fail ignominiously. The immediate effect of the recent murder of our guerrillas is the realization of our people of the dangers of the Samora-Marcelino alliance to the Mozambican revolution. Incidentally the massacre of our guerrillas was committed near the place where last year our

guerrillas had captured six Portuguese colonialists alive. Therefore FRELIMO will need to kill many more villagers in the region before they can convince our people that the capture of these six Portuguese was a counter-revolutionary act by COREMO forces.

Where else can such brigandish acts of treason be seen, except in the FRELIMO ranks? The recent murder of our guerrilla officers in the most shameless gangster-like manner, is unprecedented in the history of the Mozambique Liberation Movement and an obvious counter-revolutionary act, which cannot pass unnoticed by our people and the world at large. For this reason, the Mozambican nationalists are now raising higher voices of opposition and condemnation, regardless of their party affiliation, and the FRELIMO leadership is unable to repress the surging indignation at such acts of vandalism by the Samora-Marcelino alliance.

In this number of our bulletin, we express our sincere thanks to all our brothers within FRELIMO who have expressed sympathy and offered condolences for our heroic comrades who fell as victims of the assassin bullets of FRELIMO.

The more the Samora-Marcelino military clique intensifies counter-revolutionary activities in our country, the higher the Mozambican people will raise the flames of the Mozambican revolution and the more the Samora military clique will hasten their own doom. For where there is counter-revolution and oppression, the popular masses always respond through revolution. It is inevitable that the people of Mozambique should fight against Portuguese colonialists, and there is no turning back!

Despite all these provocations, our struggle will not be diverted from its main target - Portuguese colonialism and imperialism.

TIMES OF ZAMBIA

FORWARD WITH THE NATION

SATURDAY, March 4, 1972

Stop the Coremo 'massacre,' Frelimo warned

By Times Reporter
FRELIMO was warned yesterday to stop the "massacre of forces of freedom."

The warning from President Kuunda's personal representative at the Liberation Centre, Mr Mukuka Nkoloso, came after complaints by the rival Coremo that Frelimo was provoking them and that a civil war could result in Mocambique.

Condemned

Coremo president, Mr Paul Gumane, had condemned what he called "the brutal murder of his heroic freedom fighters" by Frelimo.

In his warning letter, Mr Nkoloso said Frelimo's future in Zambia would be doubtful if the organisation continued with this "bad show."

He said they should concentrate on killing the Portuguese oppressors and not fellow freedom fighters.

The report on Frelimo's activities had annoyed the Zambian people and he urged Frelimo to change its tactics.

Freedom men meet allies

By Times Reporter

THE visiting Yugoslav delegation yesterday visited the Liberation Centre to meet representatives of the liberation movements.



MR Nkoloso shows liberation posters to Yugoslav delegation members (from left) Mr Vlado Durkovic, Mr Mile Peshut, Mr Joze Bosic and Mr Mashin Hotl.

The seven-man goodwill mission, which arrived in Lusaka on Sunday, met representatives of MPLA, Swapo, Zanu, Frelimo, ANC of South Africa and Coremo.

Leader of the delegation, Mr Joze Bosic, assured the groups of continued support in their struggle for independence.

He said Yugoslavia would continue to give them support until they liberated themselves from colonialism, imperialism and racialism.

The delegation was accompanied by the Yugoslav counsellor in Zambia, Mr Djodje Poznanonic.

Talks

Earlier, the Yugoslav team had talks with the President's personal representative at the Liberation Centre, Mr Mukuka Nkoloso.

He urged them to stop giving financial assistance to liberation movements from Rhodesia and South Africa and recommended that they only get moral support.

Mr Nkoloso said money had made Zapu, Zanu, Frolizi and ANC of South Africa weaker. They had lost the objective of the struggle, and were fighting among themselves for positions.

"In fact the best freedom fighter is a poor man," he declared.

He told the delegation that MPLA, Frelimo, Swapo and Coremo were "very effective" groups. The four organisations had shown that they were determined to liberate

We Deeply Deplore but not surprised...

From 1969 to the present the number of prominent members of FRELIMO who have deserted to the enemy has increased. The loss of these sons of Mozambique is deplored by all sons and daughters of Mozambique, but knowing the present state of FRELIMO's leadership, we are not surprised that the following members of the Central Committee have defected to the enemy:

Lazaru Kavandame	April, 1969
Alexandre Magno	November, 1969
Miguel Artur Marupa	1970
Joao Abilio Andrade	1971
Fernando Timoteo Bila	July, 1971
Jose Joao Craverinha	July, 1972

THESE MOZAMBICANS DID NOT PRAISE THE PORTUGUESE SYSTEM OF COLONIALISM IN THEIR STATEMENTS. However, each one of them has indicated their disillusionment with the present leadership of FRELIMO. Each one indicated that they deserted because the self-appointed leaders of that party despise and mistreat Africans who are intellectuals, militants or "radicals", and since "money-politics" rule the party. HARSH TREATMENT AND FEAR OF ASSASSINATION prompted these men to give themselves to the enemy rather than live at the mercy of these self-proclaimed liberators of Mozambique.

The situation has worsened since the death of Dr. Eduardo Mondlane and the resignation of the Rev. Uria Simango, who is now Secretary for External Affairs of COREMO. Money politics has failed, and Mozambicans realize that the only way to liberate themselves is through self-reliance and mutual understanding.

We deeply deplore the fact that our brothers have given themselves to the enemy, but we are not surprised that they fled from the present leadership of FRELIMO "to save their skins." Mozambicans must not allow themselves to be cheated again. Our struggle must continue until final victory is won. We believe in unity and working hard and quietly. For "the dog who barks loudly does not bite."

America's President Abraham Lincoln once said, "You can fool some of the people all of the time, and you can fool all of the people some of the time, but you can't fool all of the people all of the time." We must never allow ourselves to be deceived into believing that freely flowing money and splashy publicity will liberate us. Sons and daughters of Mozambique, let us awake, for the long night is over.

Do you care about what is happening in Southern Africa? Do you seek out people so that you can be well informed of the truth? The following interview is between a Representative of COREMO and a young Columbia University student who is in search of this truth.

Conversation with the Representative of COREMO

By M. W.

M. W. Mr. Vilankulu, when did you leave Mozambique and where were you educated?

A.V. I left Mozambique in the end of 1961 and it took me nine months to cross the border. As you may know, I left as a political refugee, after being conscripted into the Portuguese military force. Of course, I did not want to join the colonial force which would have forced me to fight against my own people.

As for my education, my early years were spent on a mission station. I also have a B. A. from Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa. and two certificates in mass communication from Fordham University and the Brooklyn Board of Education. After this training, I went back to Africa to work with the party that I was affiliated with at that time, FRELIMO. Later I was granted a United Nations fellowship and did my studies at Columbia University where I received a Masters of International Affairs and a diploma in African Studies. After one year of doctoral studies in International Politics, I transferred to Graduate Center, City University, where I completed my last year of course work towards my Ph. D.

M.W. You mention that you went back to Africa to work with the party that you were affiliated with. Are you a member of FRELIMO, and if not, why did you change your mind?

A.V. Well, it would take hours for me to tell you my reasons for disassociating myself from FRELIMO's present leadership. I say present leadership, because I am not against my peoples' fight against Portuguese colonialism or any of my people fighting inside Mozambique, but rather the present leadership which lives in Tanzania. After the death of Dr. Mondlane, Africans lost control of FRELIMO. That is, expatriates have more to say about FRELIMO than Africans themselves. By the way, it may surprise you to know that I am not the only one to disassociate myself from FRELIMO's present leadership. Many other important members, who were also members of the Central Committee have resigned from that party. It is important for you to know that these people were not "expelled" as the present leadership would like to have their supporters believe. How can you expell someone who has already written a statement of resignation? FRELIMO's present leaders are even proud and defiant when they state that they have expelled this and that person from the party. Now anyone who is a true nationalist, who really wants to liberate Mozambique, must not be happy to expell people from the party. On the contrary, one has to try hard to bring new members in and work harmoniously with the old members. There is an old political saying: "Where there is unity there is strength." The enemy of course enjoys very much seeing that the present leadership of FRELIMO is "expelling" the founders of the party, because the colonial theme is "Divide and Rule." This is exactly what has taken place today. There is a common saying among us Mozambicans that many run away from Portuguese colonialism to join FRELIMO and then become refugees for a second time, from FRELIMO. The worst thing is the present leadership of that party even tries to pressure some independent African states to return the Mozambicans who run away from them. It is a lack of knowledge in International Law for them to think that they have the right to imprison such people. FRELIMO is a liberation movement, not a sovereign state. When its leaders feel that they

are absolute rulers and infallible, people will continue to run away from them. I am not a foreigner to the Mozambique situation. I have not received any information through third parties. I know the situation in FRELIMO today because I have experienced it.

M.W. You mentioned that Africans have lost control of FRELIMO's leadership. What do you mean?

A.V. Let me answer your question this way. In 1963 a black American called Leo Miller (Abdel Aziz) infiltrated FRELIMO posing as a Mozambican. You see we have many Mozambicans who worked in countries now known as Tanzania, Malawi and Zambia. Some grew up in these countries, some spoke Mozambican languages and some did not. And when we formed our party in 1962, naturally these Mozambicans became involved. Miller, then, came in that way. He was given an important position in the party and a few months later he started to expell very militant and nationalist Mozambicans from the party. Some of those expelled were founders of FRELIMO, who later formed the Mozambican Revolutionary Committee (COREMO). It was not until late 1966 that an investigation revealed that Miller was from the U.S. with a special mission to destroy the Mozambican struggle. At least Miller camouflaged himself, but some like him even come in the day time, as our friends. Once inside, they are really wolves. I hope this reply satisfies you, I wish not to go into details, as this is a very sensitive matter.

M.W. You say that COREMO was formed in 1965 by the former founders of FRELIMO. Why is it that we hear more about FRELIMO than COREMO?

A.V. Well, FRELIMO has more access to the Western press than COREMO. Many contacts are made through Mrs. Janet Mondlane, the wife of the late President Mondlane. She has been in control of what was called the Mozambique Institute since 1963. She is the one who also raises funds and distributes money according to her wishes. After the death of her husband she was made a "citizen of Mozambique" by the Samore-Marcelino clique. Since she travels in American and other Western countries to raise funds, she also speaks about FRELIMO. In addition groups from these countries are sponsored by FRELIMO to "tour" the liberated areas. Many interested Americans, when they visit East Africa, make a point of visiting Mrs. Mondlane and meet with FRELIMO leaders. Some are invited to visit Mozambique refugee camps and take pictures. What is wrong with the situation is that some of these "tourists" really get involved in the internal affairs of Mozambicans. As a matter of fact some even feel more like specialists than the Mozambicans themselves, to the point, where they think they know more about Mozambique than the Mozambicans. As a matter of fact, some go as far as insulting Africans. Even if someone goes to Dar es Salaam for two or three days, he or she often returns an expert. What surprises many of us Africans is how emotionally involved these people become in FRELIMO, while problems at home do not attract the same degree of fervor.

Another thing you must know is that COREMO does not have any connection with any American organization whatsoever. But FRELIMO has many such connections with American organizations that contribute financially to its program. Because of these investments, the organizations naturally tend to publish more material

about FRELIMO. COREMO has now begun to publish a newsletter in this country every few months, which is sent to different organizations, universities and individuals. We hope that people will now know more about COREMO. Mind you though, we are not trying to compete with anyone, because we cannot afford this financially. And moreover, even if we had more money, we should use it for the needs of our people rather than for advertisements. Sorry, I got carried away in answering your question.

M.W. Mr. Vilankulu, what is the real difference between COREMO and FRELIMO?

A.V. Let me tell you that most COREMO members were FRELIMO members as I previously described. It is not "ideological" differences that separate us, but we have to admit that there is a disease in FRELIMO at the moment. We have lost many people who were assassinated. The first incident involved Mr. Samuel Magala, the first commander-in-chief of FRELIMO, who led the fighting in Mueda, Cabo del Gado in 1964. It is believed that he was shot by someone in the movement. Since then, we have had many people who lost their lives through assassinations, including Dr. Mondlane, who was well known outside the country. I feel that one of the differences between present day FRELIMO and COREMO is that COREMO believes in integrating all Mozambican people in the struggle, people from all walks of life, including the "intelligentsia." FRELIMO leaders tend to suspect anyone with a degree or initiative, and hence they tend to employ expatriates much more easily in their institutions than Mozambicans. COREMO on the other hand wants to make Mozambicans masters of their situation in all phases of the struggle. Our own experience is sufficient to allow us to run our own affairs, rather than be "guests" at our own revolution. We do not need a Big Daddy or Big Mamma to give us a certificate of approval. No one from the outside no matter how well-intentioned will really experience the suffering of the people of Mozambique except the Mozambicans themselves. I am not saying that we do not want sympathizers. No, but at the same time we don't want our sympathizers to interfere with the internal affairs of our country. Nor can their moral or material help be an excuse for such interference, and this applies to all people without regard to color or nationality. For, if we allow foreign interference during our revolutionary struggle, what will happen after Independence? I wish I could go on further on this topic, I mean the differences between COREMO and FRELIMO, but I believe we are getting into the realm of the internal matters I have just mentioned, things that I am ashamed to discuss with anyone who is not really a Mozambican.

M.W. Well I think you have given me some idea of the differences between the two parties. But I have two questions to ask you if you don't mind. The first is, in the new structure of COREMO how are you going to carry on your struggle?

A.V. We are now carrying out the struggle. But you see, due to our past experience we feel that it is better to be quiet but to work hard. All I can say at the present is that we are consolidating our forces internally, reorganizing them in order to intensify the struggle. Little money is spent to inform the enemy of exactly what we are up to.

The colonial forces at this moment are killing African civilians, and destroying villages and crops, using bombs and electrical computers that they receive from their NATO allies. These atrocities are being perpetrated upon Africans, and we

think we should speak for ourselves internationally. It is for this reason that I am in this country representing my people. I am assisted by my colleagues (Mozambican students) who are also involved in informing Americans about our situation, and who collaborate in producing our Newsletter. The particular strategies that COREMO is using must be kept for Mozambicans only. The secret of revolution is constant vigilance.

M.W. Who supports you in your struggle? I know that FRELIMO receives support from the O.A.U. and some American organizations.

A.V. Let me answer you this way. FRELIMO was recognized by the O.A.U. before COREMO was formed. For that matter, some of those who are now in COREMO were influential in obtaining O.A.U. recognition for FRELIMO. I want to make it clear, however, that although COREMO is not presently getting funds from the O.A.U. Liberation Committee, we receive moral and material support from individual independent African states and Socialist countries in Europe and elsewhere. COREMO appreciates very much the support that the O.A.U. Liberation Committee renders to particular groups, and we hope that through the determination of Independent African states to liquidate our enemies, help will eventually be rendered to all the suffering people of Southern Africa, without selecting particular groups. I was jubilant when I learned that during the recent meeting of the O.A.U. Liberation Committee in Uganda, it was proposed that the O. A. U. support FROLIZI, ZANU and ZAPU, all from Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). This kind of equal treatment by the O.A.U. can only foster the cause of unity. We hope that this kind of treatment will be extended to Mozambicans and Angolans as well as other colonized peoples of Africa.

We appreciate very much the material and moral support that has been given to the Mozambican people by our African brothers and those who believe in the independence of oppressed peoples. However, we also believe that no one from outside will free us. This we must do by ourselves, by our own hands and through our own suffering.

M.W. Last question - you said that you represent the party in this country. Who supports you financially?

A.V. As I said, COREMO believes that we should be as self-reliant as possible. And we also prefer to use our limited resources in ways that will aid the suffering people in the war zone. Therefore, I support my office and my family through teaching. You may wonder how I have time to work for the party as well. Well, my friend, where there is a will, there is a way. And of course, I have the collaboration of Mozambicans in this country. Actually, I prefer it this way, rather than expecting a check every month from "friends" to pay my living expenses. I have qualifications for a job, so why not use them? That way any pennies that I may get for the Mozambican people will be sent to meet the needs of my people. We need medicines very badly, scholarships, school materials, etc.

I might add that my number one supporters in this country are my wife and little daughter

- M.W. Thank you very much Mr. Vilankulu; is that the way you pronounce your name? I appreciate having this conversation with you, and I wish you and all Mozambican people success in your struggle. I will send you a copy of this conversation.
- A.V. Thank you on behalf of COREMO and the Mozambican people. I always like to share some of our experiences with those who are sympathetic to our cause. I hope to work with you again, and by the way, give me your address so that I can mail you the Newsletter. For that matter I will include our conversation in our next issue, if you send me a copy in time.

EXCERPTS FROM THE MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED TO THE UNITED NATIONS COMMITTEE ON DECOLONISATION, MEETING IN LUSAKA, REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA, FROM 17th - 22nd OF APRIL, 1972, BY THE MOZAMBIQUE REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE (COREMO).

Mr. Chairman and

Distinguished Delegates,

Before we go into the details of this memorandum, I would like to express, on behalf of the Central Committee and the High Command of the Mozambique Revolutionary Committee and the fighting Mozambican people, our sincere thanks to His Excellency President Kaunda, the Government, and the People of the Republic of Zambia for having made it possible for us to appear before this UN Committee meeting on decolonisation.

The Mozambique Revolutionary Committee (COREMO) has the honour to address today this UN Special Committee on decolonisation on behalf of 8 million oppressed, exploited, and discriminated African people of Mozambique, who are waging a resolute people's war against inhuman and barbaric oppression and the exploitation of Portuguese colonial rule and, therefore, we wish to submit to you, distinguished delegates, for your sympathetic consideration, this memorandum on the grave situation now prevailing in Mozambique.

For nearly five hundred years of colonial rule, the African people of Mozambique have been subjected to untold sufferings and humiliation. For this reason, we are here to tell you something about what is going on in our country.

Mr. Chairman and distinguished delegates, COREMO as the vanguard party of the armed struggle of the oppressed people of Mozambique is determined to fight against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism for the total independence of our country.

The reasons why the Mozambican people must fight for their national independence by force of arms are clear to this Committee.

In its resolution 2548 of 1967, the UN General Assembly declared that the continuation of colonial rule threatens international peace and security and also gave "its recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of the colonial peoples to exercise their right to self-determination and independence."

The former UN Secretary General, Mr. U Thant, was entirely correct when he assessed the situation in Portuguese colonies in the following way: "It is not sufficient that the Government of Portugal should be working, as it claims, towards increasing autonomy for the territories under its administration within the constitutional framework of the Portuguese State and seeking to improve the people's welfare." Mr. Chairman and distinguished Delegates, it is the continual denial of the Portuguese government to our people of their rights to self-determination and independence in accordance with the internationally recognized principles of the UN Charter that led us to take up arms and fight against Portuguese colonialism. Therefore, what the Mozambican people want and demand from the Portuguese government is not so-called autonomy for Portuguese colonies in Africa, but full rights of self-determination and national independence. Whether the Portuguese like it or not, the Mozambican people will achieve these full rights through the present armed struggle.

WESTERN POWERS SUPPORT PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM

Mr. Chairman and distinguished delegates of this Committee, in the world today there is hardly anybody who can be found to support Portuguese colonialism except those imperialist governments, such as the USA, Britain, France, West Germany, and others, which profit by the exploitation that goes with Portuguese colonialism. All progressive peoples and organisations of the world condemn Portuguese colonialism and fascism. Even those big business interests that are trading partners of Portugal in the United States, Japan, Britain, France, Belgium, South Africa, Rhodesia, and so on, which benefit from the ruthless exploitation of our country are too ashamed to support colonialism and racism openly.

Mr. Chairman, the world must be told and know why we have taken up arms and what we fight for. For the people of Mozambique, the decision to take up arms means a big sacrifice, facing death in many forms. For the neighbouring independent African states, our decision means a disturbance in their programmes of peaceful development. The member states of this Committee know well that, since we have launched an armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism, several threats have already been made by Mr. Vorster, Mr. Caetano, and Mr. Smith. The most recent threat in the series was made by South Africa police boss Lourens Muller, who has accused President Kaunda of allowing Zambia to be used as a base for guerrillas and warned that South Africa would exert "economic reprisals," according to the Times of Zambia, April 5, 1972. Thus, COREMO and the fighting people of Mozambique take this opportunity to pay homage to the contempt with which our neighboring countries, especially Zambia and Tanzania, have dismissed these threats.

In our country, the Portuguese are a foreign white minority group with exclusive control of political, economic, and military power.

FREEDOM FOR ALL

Mr. Chairman, it is our belief that true democracy and freedom can be established in Mozambique and on the African continent as a whole only when advocates of white

supremacy have been crushed politically, economically, and militarily. We should like to stress here that the freedom of the Africans means the freedom of all in Mozambique, including the whites, because only the African majority rule can guarantee genuine freedom and a lasting peace in which all men, black and white, will be citizens of a common state and will live and be governed as individuals and not as a distinctive racial group. Therefore, our revolutionary violence is aimed at establishing a government of Africans by Africans for Africans, with all people who have their only loyalty to Africa and who are ready to accept the concept of African majority rule.

It is therefore high time that the world should take note of our stand. We are not advocates of black supremacy; we are advocates of justice and peace. For this reason our struggle is not against whites as such; we are against whites as oppressors of our people. In the final analysis our struggle is directed against all those who believe in the exploitation of man by man. Thus our energies and struggle are directed against the structure of Portuguese colonialism, with its elaborate system and against the army and police forces. Supporting the Portuguese colonial machinery is the administrative system of civil servants and officials who carry out instructions of attack on our freedom and aspirations. In brief, our struggle is directed clearly and specifically at all those who support, feed, work with, and cooperate, explicitly or implicitly, with Portuguese colonialists, not only in the oppression and exploitation of our people, but also in the elimination of our armed forces. This includes all those financial interests that help the colonial army and police with any kind of assistance, either moral or material. However, all those, whatever their race or party affiliations, who disassociate themselves from the instruments of colonial oppression, and either refuse to help Portuguese colonialists in the elimination of revolutionary forces or remain neutral, are not regarded as enemies of the freedom struggle under the leadership of the Mozambique Revolutionary Committee.

DIRECT WESTERN SUPPORT

For instance, last December, the forces of freedom and peace were shocked at news that the U. S. government had promised Portugal up to 436 million dollars in credits in exchange for military facilities in the Azores, in addition to other undertakings in the territories under Portuguese administration.

The West German government has so far failed not only to put an arms embargo on Portugal but also refused to put pressure on West German firms to pull out of the Cabora Bassa project. This alone makes the recent talk that "the West German government will stop all arms shipments to Portugal if there are no guarantees that they will be used only in the NATO defence area" a poor exercise of politics intended to appease African public opinion. As long as the West German government ignores the fact that there is no extension of Portugal in Africa, and does not prevent the West German firms from participating in the ill-conceived project against the aspirations of our people, all talk of an effective arms embargo is meaningless.

PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT CONCENTRATION CAMPS

In Mozambique today there are hundreds of concentration camps throughout the country, especially in those areas most affected by the shooting war of liberation. Nevertheless, the biggest concentration camps are to be found in the southern part of our country, where the majority of African freedom fighters and sympathisers with the liberation struggle are being sent and locked up. Some of these concentration camps are near the capital city of

Mozambique, Lourenco Marques, namely the Machava and Mabalane concentration camps, with more than 25,000 Africans who are being kept there without trial.

In the central Prison of Beira there are now 5,700 political prisoners. We could go on mentioning other places, but time does not allow this. Furthermore, most of these people detained without trial are dying daily because of either torture and inhuman conditions or lack of good medical care and decent food.

Mr. Chairman, most of these political prisoners in the concentration camps come from war-affected areas or they are guerrillas captured by the enemy. And once one is sent to these maximum-security concentration camps, the chances of his or her return are very slim.

The prisoners are graded according to their political "crimes" and placed in different cells known as pavillions. This classification is done after many days of interrogation and torture. These interrogations may take weeks or even months until the security police is fully satisfied that the facts given to them by the prisoners are in accordance with their wishes. In many cases, the prisoners die in the interrogation chambers after being tortured day and night without water or food.

Those who survive the interrogations are placed in different cells, of which some are too small to accommodate the 100 to 150 people who are placed in them. In short, the classification or grading of political prisoners is more or less the same:

- a. Those people arrested for their clandestine work or for taking active part in the armed struggle against Portuguese oppression.
- b. Simple members of nationalist organisations and their families and sympathisers.
- c. Those people who have been arrested for suspicion or because they spoke words in public places (such as bars and others) likely to "inflame" the situation or agitate the people.

For groups b and c, the Portuguese usually organise "literature classes" or "classes for civic education," where, in fact, the prisoners are being taught counter-revolutionary propaganda and the "advantages" of the Lusitanian Commonwealth. For your information, the political prisoners may not receive visitors or their relatives, and the whereabouts of the prisoners are always a matter of secret to the public.

In the provinces of Cabo Delgado, Nyassa, and Tete, we can find what the Portuguese call "protected villages". This has become the most widespread system of controlling rural African populations in a vain attempt to prevent them from contacting the forces of progress and liberation in our country. Under this system of "protected villages," the rural populations in the contested zones are being grouped in militarily strategic positions and places surrounded with iron-wire fences and under heavy military guard. The people living in such "villages" are allowed to go out only during the day for field work, and they must report at a given time. To aggravate the situation more, the Portuguese colonialists have created a force called shock police (policia de choque). This mobile military force is mainly responsible for almost all massacres against African populations in rural areas when the nationalist forces stage an attack or plant mines near the "protected villages."

COREMO'S PLEADS

Mr. Chairman, how long will the United Nations tolerate such evils against African peoples? Can the civilized world of the 20th century afford to be indifferent to the mockery of UN principles?

Mr. Chairman and distinguished delegates, the Mozambique Revolutionary Committee (COREMO) has decided to repeat its previous demands when we appeared before this Committee on other occasions. The Mozambique Revolutionary Committee and the fighting people of Mozambique

- a. Call upon all allies of Portugal to stop immediately all supplies of war materials and desist from the participation in the Cabora Bassa project.
- b. Strongly condemn the economic exploitation to which our people are subjected under Portuguese colonialism.
- c. Denounce the indiscriminate bombings and burnings of villages and crops carried on by the Portuguese in collaboration with South Africa and Rhodesia.
- d. Demand that our freedom fighters should be regarded as war prisoners, not as criminals.
- e. Call upon the United Nations to become more practical in passing and implementing its own resolutions.

Letter to N. Y. Times Editorial in reply to Jack Penn's Article in N. Y. Times title "Communist Influence in Southern Africa", April 4, 1972; by Artur Vilankulu, COREMO Representative to the U. S.

To the Editor:

Without going into the East-West ideological squabble, let me say that it is a serious misconception to judge African nationalism as a result of either one's influence. Both the East and the West should have learned by now that Africans are neither pro-East nor pro-West, but pro-Africa. This thinking includes those of us in Southern Africa who are fighting for our freedom and independence.

Communism is a new concept in the world, but colonialism and imperialism are not. More than half of the world population has suffered some kind of colonialism and that includes North America. One can say that North Americans were some of the first to fight against British imperialism, and certainly George Washington was not influenced by the "Communists" to fight the unjust exploitation of man by man. Indeed he was influenced by the democratic spirit which allows people to choose their own form of government and decide their destiny without foreign influence. Likewise the people of Mozambique have been fighting Portuguese colonialism since the Portuguese arrived in our country.

After Vasco da Gama passed through Mozambique in 1498, the Portuguese sent an expedition under Pedro Alveres Cabral, who fought against the Arabs who were controlling the trade in

Mombasa and Malindi. A second fleet was sent to Mozambique the following year under Commander Joao da Nova. In the process of carrying out their mission of exploring the new routes to the Eastern spice trade, the Portuguese "discovered" not only new continents and people, but also a new and lucrative source of wealth, the slaves of West Africa, the ivory and gold of East Africa, and the tobacco and gold of the New World. Because the peoples of the nations in which these resources were found were not willing to hand over the wealth to the intruders, it became necessary for them to attack the indigenous people and destroy their political machinery before they could build the empire they meant to establish. In this connection it is interesting to note that for centuries the most common official term for the Portuguese overseas possessions was "conquistas", meaning conquests.

The Portuguese have often said that the Africans are happy to be under the Portuguese flag. History, however, shows that the Africans resisted Portuguese control of their motherland since the time the Portuguese put foot in our country. They have never known peace in Mozambique from the fifteenth century until the present day. Major wars with Africans broke out in 1834, when the governor of Inhambane District, Candido da Costa Soares, moved against King Manukuse, who refused to pay vassalage to the Portuguese authorities. Again on August 25, 1843, the joint forces of Kings Magaya, Muwamba, and Manukuse attacked the fortress in Lourenco Marques.

It was in 1884-85 during the Berlin Conference which divided up the African "pie" that Mozambique, Angola, and Guine Bissau were granted as colonies to Portugal, and it was at this time that Portugal desired to prove her "effective occupation" of Mozambique. These provocations led to an open revolt in the southern part of Mozambique under the leadership of King Ngungunyane and his general, Magigwani, in 1885. Ngungunyane was captured and, according to the Portuguese, died in 1906, "the man who led the important battles of Magul and Coolele."

Also in 1867 there were five Portuguese expeditions against the Massangano people, who refused to pay vassalage to the authorities. Other resisters joined the Massangano, including the Baruwe King of Makonde in 1901. The Portuguese call this period the "campanha e pacificacao de Barue," meaning the pacification of the Baruwe.

To say that the continuation of the Mozambican people's fight against colonialism is prompted by "Communist influence" displays a lack of knowledge of African history and the nature of African nationalism. Today Africans in Mozambique have been forced to arm themselves and fight as our forefathers did. The Massacre of June 16, 1960, in Mueda, Cabo Delgado, where 500 Africans were slaughtered when they peacefully asked for higher wages, cannot be forgotten by any Mozambican. The Massacre of Mueda marked the end of a period when Africans strove through the United Nations and through appeals to world opinion and to the Portuguese government to attain a peaceful settlement. The only alternative left to us is to fight in the only language that our oppressors, the Portuguese, understand. We do not want to be made Portuguese citizens in our own land. We want to remain Africans and Mozambicans.

The fact that Portugal is a dictatorship is a matter for Portuguese to settle, but no decree passed by any body in Portugal will make Africa part of Europe. Portugal claims sovereignty over countries outside its boundaries through right of conquest, which is a violation, of the grossest kind, of international law.

Finally, the moral support that we receive from our brothers in Tanzania and Zambia and other freedom-loving people is welcomed, but we realize that no person, however sympathetic, can win our freedom for us. This we must do by our own hands and through our own sufferings. For this reason as much as any we do not believe that Chinese foreign aid to help Tanzania and Zambia build a railway will "enable tens or hundreds of thousands of Chinese to come to Africa to strengthen their hold." Similarly we do not believe that American aid now being given to build a highway from Dar es Salaam to Tunduru, will enable tens or hundreds of thousands of Americans to come to Africa to influence our thinking. We have been under Western colonial control for hundreds of years, and this had not turned us into capitalists. Certainly the five years of modest aid to Africa from China will not transform us into Communists.

"Communist influence in Southern Africa" does not exist. Jack Penn has a Communist phobia, just as we Mozambicans have a Portuguese colonialism phobia. No matter what labels are given to us, we will fight for our dignity.

Artur X. L. Vilankulu

April 6, 1972