

committee for a FREE MOZAMBIQUE



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NEW YORK, N.Y. 10027

December 7, 1972

Dear Friend of Mozambique,

This month's News and Notes discusses some recent events related to the Mozambican struggle. The first part analyzes the significance of the opening of FRELIMO's fourth front in Manica e Sofala Province (see announcement, September newsletter). The second part discusses the importance of recent sessions at the United Nations dealing with the question of the Portuguese territories and their liberation movements. While the opening of the fourth front reflects FRELIMO's successes within Mozambique, events at the U.N. show growing recognition of FRELIMO and of the other liberation movements at the international level.

FRELIMO vice-president Marcelino Dos Santos and Central Committee member and Representative to Zambia Mariano Matsina were in New York for the U.N. proceedings. New York CFM members were fortunate to meet with them and with the Representative to North America Sharfudine Khan on Sunday, November 12. We discussed CFM's current work and future goals in relation to FRELIMO's needs. In order to assess how CFM can be most effective, we found it necessary to clarify our understanding of current political realities in this country, especially with regard to the growing awareness of southern Africa issues. We noted the existence of many other southern Africa information and support groups and discussed the need for greater coordination. On Thursday, November 16 Comrade Dos Santos spoke to a large gathering of New York supporters about the Mozambican struggle.

A revised list of literature and films is being prepared and will be available soon.

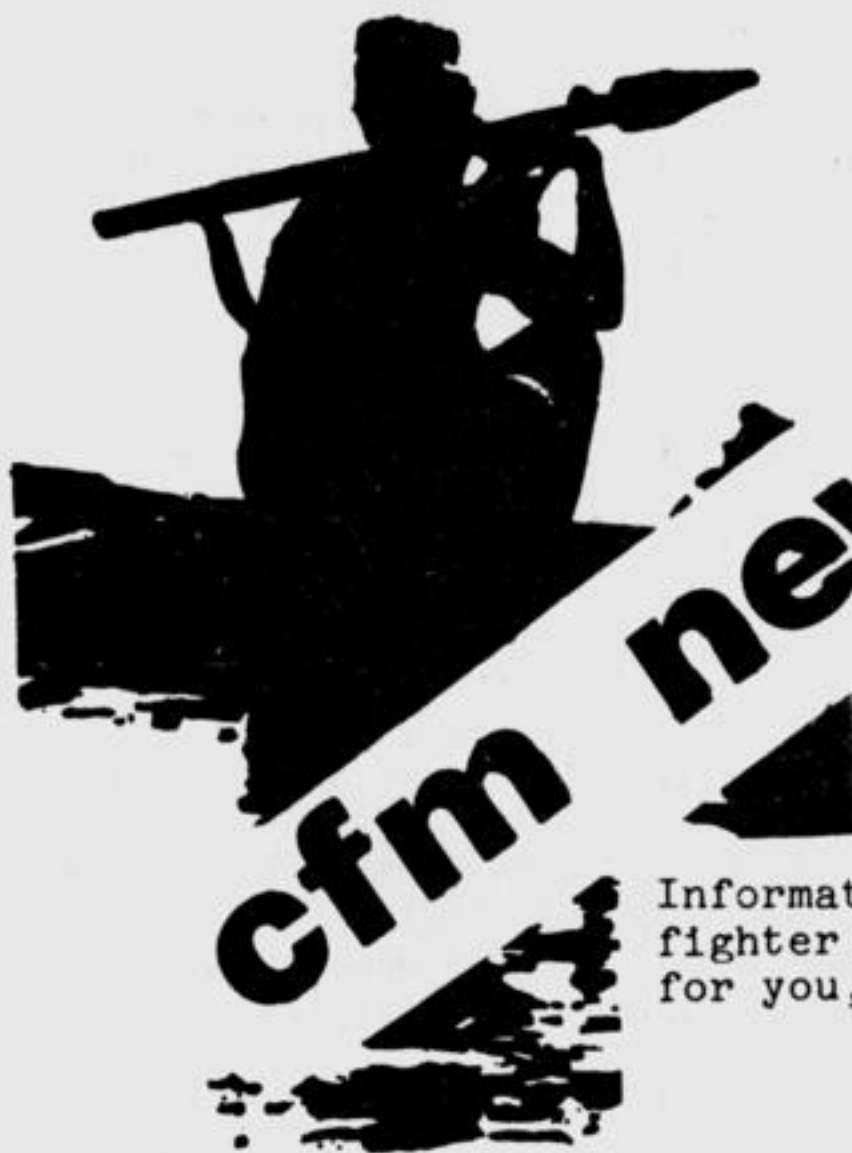
Venceremos,

Committee for a Free Mozambique

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cfm news & notes

17 - December, 1972

Information is ammunition for your struggle. A fighter without ammunition is not a fighter. And for you, a fighter without information cannot speak.

Samora M. Machel, President of FRELIMO to CFM delegation, Dar es Salaam, 8/71.

The Opening of the Fourth Front in Manica e Sofala

On the 25th of July, FRELIMO began military operations in the central Mozambican province of Manica e Sofala (News & Notes #15). Shortly after President Samora M. Machel's announcement of the opening of the front at the Summit Conference of East and Central African countries in early September, a South African radio report noted FRELIMO operations near the Manica e Sofala town of Vila Gouveia, only a few miles from the border with Rhodesia (Guerreiro, U.K., Sept.-Oct. '72). In mid-November, the main rail line connecting Tete with the port of Beira, the provincial capital of Manica e Sofala, and Mozambique's second largest city, was blown up in more than twenty places (Newsweek, November 27, '72). The news of FRELIMO's southernmost offensive against Portuguese colonialism comes amid reports of the liberation of large areas of Tete Province to the north, and a massive FRELIMO attack on the town of Tete itself, gateway to the Cabora Bassa Region, in which 18 aircraft and 30 barracks and hangars were destroyed (Daily News, Tanzania, Nov. 21, 1972).

A glance at the map of Mozambique reveals the critical importance of this new phase of the Mozambican struggle. Manica e Sofala is bordered by Tete on the north, Rhodesia on the east, and is only 120 miles from South Africa along its southern border. Significantly, Manica e Sofala does not border on any independent African country, which means that logistical support has to come entirely through Mozambique itself, an indication of FRELIMO's strength in Tete and of the mobilization of the people of Manica e Sofala. Speaking to a group of CFM members and other FRELIMO supporters on November 16 when in New York for this U.N. session, FRELIMO Vice-President Marcelino dos Santos described how

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the Portuguese, seeking to prepare for a FRELIMO offensive in Manica e Sofala, gave out weapons to the population to "defend themselves." "In the first day of our operations," dos Santos noted, "the people gave us over 1000 of these weapons."

Manica e Sofala is one of the richest and most densely populated provinces of Mozambique, and contains large deposits of copper, iron, and gold, important industries, and large French and British-owned plantations. As in the assault on the Cabora Bassa Dam project, FRELIMO is not only directly fighting Portuguese colonialism, but the foreign interests which support it.

A critical point mentioned by Marcelino dos Santos about the opening of the Manica e Sofala front is that FRELIMO's gains are seen with growing alarm by the white rulers of Rhodesia and South Africa. Beira is the nerve center of central Mozambique and the railhead which connects the Rhodesian capital of Salisbury to the sea. The illegal white minority regime of Ian Smith, the target of U.N.-imposed economic sanctions, is heavily dependent on the Beira line for its economic survival. It is also the rail and road head for the lines which run to Malawi and the Cabora Bassa Region. Salisbury and Pretoria, clearly alarmed by FRELIMO's rapid advances, have recently entered high level discussions with Lisbon. In mid-October, Ian Smith visited Portugal, while Rhodesian and Portuguese officials worked for a week on a secret agreement on defense strategies which was signed by Smith and Caetano (Guardian, U.K., 14 Oct. '72). In July, the defense ministers of Portugal and South Africa met in Lorenzo Marques for discussions on the military situation (Daily News, Tanzania, July 12, '72). Then in late October, the Defense Ministers and military chiefs of staff of Rhodesia and South Africa met in Salisbury. In a headline story, the Sunday Times of Johannesburg noted that,

The Rhodesian Government, in particular, is becoming increasingly doubtful whether the Portuguese can safely contain FRELIMO rebel activity in Mozambique (Sunday Times, J'burg, Oct. 29, '72)

While Rhodesia and South Africa are reacting with a new sense of urgency, actual military intervention by the two powers has been going on for some time. In his discussion of the implications of the opening of the fourth front, dos Santos noted that South Africa has been involved since 1966; first, by sending aircraft, and later, technical and military advisors. This year, South African-made herbicides were used to spray food crops in FRELIMO-liberated areas of Cabo Delgado. The planes were piloted by South African mercenaries who quit after coming under heavy FRELIMO anti-aircraft fire. Antony Gifford of the English Committee for the Freedom of Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau observed South African and Rhodesian army helicopters while on tour of liberated areas of Tete as a guest of FRELIMO. Rhodesian military involvement has also been extensive, and has included the deployment of ground combat troops as well as air and technical support. In March of this year, FRELIMO fire downed a Rhodesian helicopter and a reconnaissance plane in Tete (Daily News, Tanzania). The January-March issue of Mozambique Revolution reported massacres of the civilian population of Tete carried out by joint Rhodesian-Portuguese units.

It seems clear that the stage is being set by Rhodesia and South Africa for more widescale intervention. In August, South African Prime Minister Vorster promised that "South Africa would help any country to fight terrorism if aid were requested." (Christian Science Monitor, U.S., August 31, '72) Vorster's announcement came only a week after the Rhodesian Minister of Defense, Howman, spoke of the possible deployment of Rhodesian troops in Mozambique. Both statements coincided with the rapidly deteriorating Portuguese

military situation in Tete -- the blowing up of trains, the destruction of supply convoys, and numerous FRELIMO strikes on the international road running through Tete and connecting Rhodesia with Malawi, a road which has been dubbed "Hell's Corridor" (Daily Telegraph, U.K., October 3).

Clearly, the consolidation of FRELIMO gains in Tete and the expansion of the war to Manica e Sofala represent not only decisive victories against Portuguese colonialism, but a strategic threat to the illegal Salisbury government. Rhodesia, with a white population of only 200,000 is in no position to provide significant troop commitments to shore up the Portuguese military position. Also, the United Nations economic sanctions against Rhodesia have partially succeeded in immobilizing the industrial sector. The massive rejection of the proposed Smith-Heath settlement demonstrated the high degree of consciousness of the Zimbabwean people.

It is in this context that the growing U.S. support for the Rhodesian government should be viewed. The United States has already violated the U.N. imposed economic sanctions against Rhodesia. In a recent visit to Rhodesia, Clark MacGregor, formerly the head of the Committee to Re-Elect the President, openly expressed hope that the Nixon Administration will soon recognize the Smith regime (Guardian, U.K., December 13, '72). Also, Nixon has appointed Kenneth Rush, a staunch Rhodesia supporter and formerly the President of the Union Carbide Corporation, which spearheaded lobbying efforts to violate the sanctions, to the position of Deputy Secretary of State, the second highest post in the Department. U.S. recognition of Rhodesia, and the widescale trade and investment which would follow, would allow Rhodesia to divert more of its resources to the fight against FRELIMO and the liberation forces of the Zimbabwean people.

Marcelino dos Santos noted that much greater intervention in Mozambique on the part of South Africa and Rhodesia is now a definite possibility. "We know we will win," he said, "the problem is that South Africa and Rhodesia believe our struggle is an attack on them and, if we consider the racist systems in force in those countries, we conclude: yes, they are right!"

It is clear that in attempting to forestall a Portuguese military defeat in Mozambique, Rhodesia and South Africa, like the Portuguese, will be turning more and more to the western powers for support. As the struggle in Mozambique grows, spreading to Manica e Sofala, so the wider struggle in southern Africa becomes sharper. Actions that aid the Smith regime or racist South Africa now represent a direct threat to the people of Mozambique.

LIBERATION MOVEMENTS GAIN AT U.N. SESSION

The recent session of the United Nations has been of vital importance both symbolically and concretely to the liberation movements in Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau. Each of three separate United Nations bodies passed resolutions which affected the liberation movements, and heard speakers from these movements. In particular, Marcelino dos Santos, Vice-President of FRELIMO, was in New York to address both the General Assembly and the Security Council at this session.

The Fourth Committee of the General Assembly, which deals with decolonization, seated representatives of FRELIMO, PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands), and MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) as observers. This official status symbolized the fact that the U.N. felt strongly that only the liberation

movements could speak for the aspirations of the colonized people in their countries. Then, the General Assembly itself passed a resolution which overwhelmingly affirmed that the "national liberation movements of Angola, Guinea (Bissau), and Mozambique are the authentic representatives of the people of those territories." This resolution further recommended that all governments and U.N. bodies should have the liberation movements represented when dealing with Portuguese colonialism. It requested that member states should not provide Portugal with any aid which would help her in her efforts to prosecute her colonial wars. The General Assembly resolution passed 98-6, with the U.S., Britain, Spain, Brazil, Portugal, and South Africa opposing. Eight western and Latin American countries abstained.

Finally, the Security Council unanimously passed a resolution, which, although watered down by the influence of the large western powers, did reaffirm the "inalienable right of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau to self-determination and independence" and called upon Portugal to begin negotiations towards granting independence with the parties concerned.

The implications of these decisions are numerous. The humanitarian agencies of the U.N. are now authorized to give material support to the liberation movements, and some textbooks for use in schools in liberated Guinea-Bissau have already been printed by UNESCO. Furthermore, the international community is now referred to FRELIMO, MPLA, and PAIGC on all questions concerning the inhabitants of their countries. In particular, one must look to the MPLA, FRELIMO, and PAIGC for their policies on foreign investment. All three movements have spoken out plainly on this subject. Their position is that foreign investment serves only to strengthen Portugal as it fights against the movements, and therefore present investors should be pressed to withdraw and future investors discouraged.

The recent U.N. vote thus validates the position of numerous groups in the U.S. which have pressed for Gulf Oil to withdraw from Angola, pointing out that Gulf's tax payments to Portugal (projected by Gulf to reach \$45 million in 1972 alone) strengthen the Portuguese war effort and increase Portugal's vested interest in Angola. The Fourth Committee and General Assembly decisions greatly strengthen the hand of the liberation support groups and other organizations in the U.S. pushing for U.S. business to withdraw from Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau.

The U.S. position on recognizing the liberation movements was less than enthusiastic. In addition to voting against the General Assembly resolution, George Bush, U.S. representative to the U.N., argued that support for the liberation movements was contrary to the U.N. Charter. During the Security Council session, Mr. Bush stated that "In the exercise of self-determination, independence is certainly one of the options...But it is not the only choice". He also requested a division of the final, weak Security Council resolution so that the U.S. could vote against the paragraph condemning Portugal, but this was denied by the resolution's chief sponsor, Somalia, and the U.S. finally voted for the resolution.

While friends and foes alike are often sceptical of the efficacy of U.N. actions, FRELIMO, PAIGC, and MPLA have clearly won a diplomatic victory in the U.N. this session, as well as increased international stature and promises of more material aid.

"When questioned about the role of U.S. investment in the Portuguese colonies and the claims of Gulf Oil that its investment brings progress to the people of Angola, Dr. Amilcar Cabral stated, 'At this moment, to invest in Angola, Mozambique or Guinea-Bissau is to support the colonial war, Portuguese colonialism, and the domination of the black majority by the white minority. In reality, this becomes support for racism.'

Dr. Cabral argued that companies could wait until independence comes and then ask for the right to invest. 'It's not true that investment in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau at present help our people. We tell them we don't want their 'help', but investors like Gulf insist upon giving this 'help.' This kind of 'help' we don't need. They should know that any investment re-inforces the economic position of the Portuguese.'"

(Dr. Amilcar Cabral, President of the PAIGC, at a meeting of American church officials in October 1972, while in New York for the United Nations Session.)

!!!NEWS FLASHES!!!

Caterpillar Tractor Company has sold more than 40 units of machinery for earth-moving and other activities to ZAMCO, the international consortium building the Cabora Bassa Dam, according to their company magazine, the Dealer, of April, 1972. (reported in Southern Africa, October, 1972)

Bethlehem Steel is part of another international consortium which has been awarded mineral rights in southern Tete province by the Portuguese government. The consortium includes the Companhia Mineira do Lobito, the Companhia de Uranio de Mocambique, and the Bethlehem Steel Corporation. The concession rights apply to all minerals with the exception of uranium, diamond, coal, and oil at Chioco and Changara, some 50 to 90 miles south of the Cabora Bassa Dam site (reported in African Development, Nov., '72)

TAKE ACTION NOW!!!! Write to these companies, telling them of your disapproval of their investment. Cite the recent U.N. decisions, and Dr. Cabral's statement. Send copies of your letters to your congresspeople and to the Black Caucus and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

