It is now about 5 months that the (Comité Secreto da Restauração da-UDENAMO secret committée for the restoration of UDENAMO "COSERU") have been existing.

This committee was formed last year, in accordance with our opposition and denunciation to the (Mozambique Liberation Front "FRELIMO") which serves as a tool of imperialists, also in accordance with the JOINT STATEMENT signed by Mr.Mathew Mmole and I as the respective National Presidents of Mozambique African National Union (MANU) and Mozambique National Democratic Union (UDENALO), on the 27th July 1962, in Cairo. Thirdly it was in accordance with the peoples' response to our activities, and through this, the people understood all the imperialist manoeuvres employed by the FRELIMO and as a result the majority of Mozambicans nationalists are supporters of UDENAMO and Manu and demand the immediate restoration of both unions.

For the sake of uninterrupted progress and success, the secrecy of the existence of this committee was strongly concealed up-todate.

The aims of the (COSERU) at its formation were to:

- (a) campaign against the FRELIMO which after long and careful analysis was completely discovered that its leadership is composed mainly by a clique of U.S.A. hired stooges and traitors whose activities are for the interests of imperialists, modern and classical colonialists and for the further enslavement of toilling Mozambican people.
- (b) enlighten Mozambicans both at home and in exile, of the dangers threat--tening our struggle by U.S.A. infiltration and direct interference in Mozambique's internal affairs which clearly indicates either the U.S.A. conspiracy with the Portuguese or their design to replace Portugal through the back door.
- (c) sum up all successes and failures made by UDENARO as from its formation in October 2nd, 1960 in BULAWAYO, Southern Rhodesia and work out plans, ways and means to avoid the repetition of past errors which enabled opportunists and American stooges to infiltrate into the rank and file of the party, thereby weakening the dynamism and the real ideals of the party which are freedom and independence for Mozambique and complete eradication of imperialism, modern and classical colonialism.
- (d) reflect critically on our past experiences and successes, utilize and develope them into a powerful weapon in our renewed struggle.
- (e) study and analyse carefully the Mozambican people's enemy, his peculiar--rities at home and foreign alliance as well as the nature of alliance and its maintenance.
- (f) study and analyse throughly our friends at home and abroad, and their role and attitudes towards our struggle and the type of support they can give us and the limits of such support and also the cause of such limits.
- (g) know ourselves thoroughly as well as our enemy and work on those conclusions; in other words we mean we should know:
  - I. What advantages we have and how long can we develop such advantages for our just cause and what type of people home and abroad we should have an alliance with.
  - How powerful Portugal is militarily, politically and economically etc. and how she can be defeated.
  - III. How many enemies she has, and how many countries she is compelled to support, how many troops can she afford to maintain to wage such unjust and unholy wars of aggression in Mozambique, Angola,

Angola, Portuguese Guinea, Sao Tome and Principe, Macau and Timor and what is the reaction of the peoples of the above mentioned countries against Portugal; to what extent can the revolution be prolonged and what methods should be used in their struggles, their strength and determination. Who finances Portugal, who supplies weapons to wage unjust wars in these countries, the fighting morale of the Potuguese soldiers, their nature and peculiaities including their reaction and that of their families and relatives at home against Portugal. That is the reaction of the forced labourer peasants, workers, students, youth, women, clan chiefs, bourgeoisie, gentry, assimilados against the portuguese domination and to what extent can these groups come together and form main force against our enemy. Restore UDANALO up-to-date with the original revolutionary spirit which inspired the people of Mozambique to support it; but also to work out progressive correctpolicies, programmes, political lines and suitable slogans for the accelerated achievements of immediate and legitimate demands set up by the people of Mozambique. Briefly these are the main aims on which COSERU was formed and after thorough studies and analyses as described above, the committee has now concluded its work and is now moving towards the implementation of the following recommendations, subject to further studies and the

## RECOMMENDATIONS :-

(h)

- (1) The failures of UDENAMO was due to lack of intimate knowledge of ourselves and of the enemy; therefore there were no correct policies, political lines, programmes and suitable slogans to meet the just demands of the people. Unless immediate measures are taken to redress the position, this dangerous situation which still exist within the ranks of Mozambian organizations such as, FRELIMO, will remain to the detriment of the struggle.
- (2) In FRELIMO there are two types of traitors:

approval of other members of UDEF.10.

a. those who serve directly and consciously as the stooges of imperrialists headed by U.S.A. and

- b. those who failto understand and are pushed into the traitors band-wagon unconsciously by these traitors through many types of bribes and political and physical intimidations.

  The former form the minority and have illusion of believing that money is their main weapon to win in the revolution and forget the people; the latter form the majority, so this second group can be won over to the genuine Revolutionary party by political education.
- (3) Portugal is isolated in Mozambique and almost 100% of the population are reactionary to the Dictator SALAZAR'S government, therefore, there is a possibility of mobilizing all the reactionary elements against the common enemy, into a united force.
- (4) Superficially PORTUGAL is our enemy but essentially the NATO block headed by U.S.A. and particularly the U.S.A. isour major enemy, for they are the suppliers of the weapons to suppress our people and stand with Portugal in the U.N. The U.S.A. hereself is plotting to replace Portugal through back door; therefore our target is not only Portugal but both., while the hyaena is about to quit from the

from the front door we should at the same time avoid the leopard which is just about to come in through back door to take the place of the defeated hyaena.

- (5) The fighting morale of the Portuguese soldiers is weak because the war is being waged by Portuguese reactionaries not by the Portuguese people and contradictions are in large amount, secondly the soldiers are recruited by force to serve the interests of the reactionary capitalists, so the victory lies with the peoples' of Mozambique, Angola, Portuguese Guinea etc. and the Portuguese people themselves in Portugal to overthrow the Portuguese dictatorial regime.
- (6) At home, as well as abroad the people of Mozambique should primarely rely on themselves, their own strength, energy, resources and the past experiences in their struggle against the Portuguese, this also should apply to the political party which should rely on the people right inside the country and also those in exile to come together and defend the fatherland.
- (7) Pan-African and International support takes 2nd and 3rd places so that we cannot start from the top downwards either from the middle to opposite sides our struggle should start at homeand upwards, by this we mean Pan-African and International support is meaningless unless we have the support of the broad masses of the people at home.
- (8) Pan-African and International situtation is most favourable in the struggle against imperialism, modern and classical colonialism therefore UDENAMO should form a united front with all progressive elements at home and abroad and integrate our struggle for the complete emancipation of the oppressed peoples in Africa, Asia and Latin America and also for progressive forces in imperialist countries who are being suppressed by the reactionaries.
- (9) UDENAMO and MANU should be withdrawn formally from the FRELING without further delay, and take over the leadership of the struggle for people's salvation from imperialism, modern and classical coloniallism.

OURS IN THE PEOPLE'S JUST AND DEFENSIVE WAR FOR LIBERATION VERSUS IMPERIALISTS UNJUST AND OFFENSIVE WAR OF EXTERMINATION.

HLORAILO J.C. GRANDE

for and on behalf of the COSERU (Member)

KAMPALA, 14th May, 1963.