

Mozambican Notes

Number 4

NOVEMBER 1984

NKOMATI UPDATE

Mozambique and South Africa signed a non-aggression agreement on March 16, 1984 at a place on the border of their two countries called Nkomati.

Since that time MNR activities in the Central provinces have been brought under control by the Mozambican army, although not completely eliminated. According to the military commander of Inhambane province the MNR bandits "have no bases left" in that province. During the last two months the army captured the last significant bandit base. Since June, 13 MNR bases have been captured in inhambane.

In August it was announced that a vital rail link serving cities in three provinces in the north and central area had been reopened. The line which was previously closed for a long period due to MNR activity can now carry food and clothing to villages along the route as well as pick up sugar and limestone produced in the area.

The number of bandits still operating in the southern province of Gaza was termed 'insignificant' by that province's military commander. Roads which were once only possible to travel in military convoy are now traveled freely, making it possible for food produced in those areas to reach Maputo markets.

However, Maputo province has now become the new theater of intense MNR activity. Since Nkomati, attack tactics as well as locations have changed. Before the accord was signed, attacks in the North were frequently raids of large groups on isolated villages or sabotage against economic targets. Attacks in the south since the agreement have often consisted of small groups of MNR bandits terrorizing those living near or in small towns.

In May, two meetings of the Mozambique-South Africa Joint Security Commission were held. One (actually meeting number 3) took place in Maputo on May 11 and 12 and another was held on May 25 in Pretoria. The Mozambican delegation is chaired by Deputy Minister of Defense, Colonel Sergio Vieira. General Johann Coetzee leads the South African delegation.

Issues taken up at the meetings included each country's compliance

with the Accord and security of the Cahora Bassa hydro-electric transmission lines. A permanent sub-commission was recommended to deal with questions related to common borders.

In other meetings with South Africans, Mozambican Minister in the Presidency for Economic Affairs Jacinto Veloso, who spear-headed initial pre-Accord discussions led a delegation in meetings at Capetown on May 16. These meetings were described as routine meetings to appraise the level of compliance. The South African counterpart at the meeting was foreign Minister Roelof Botha. Veloso was also received by Prime Minister P.W. Botha.

On June 30, South African Foreign Minister R.F. Botha was seen by President Samora Machel in Maputo. The Mozambican and South African delegations are said to have discussed matters related to the security situation and economic relations.

On July 18, the Mozambique-South Africa Joint Security Commission held its fifth session since the Accord in Maputo. The Commission publicly concluded that although the situation following the Accord was satisfactory, that further progress was needed.

During August a series of meetings took place between Mozambican and South African representatives where security was the number one item on the agenda. On August 13, Minister Veloso was in Pretoria to deliver an undisclosed message to the South African Prime Minister from Mozambique's President Machel.

Decisive steps, it was later announced, would be taken "within the next few weeks" towards a solution of the security problem in Mozambique. By this time it was known that Mozambique was disturbed at the continuing MNR activity which suggested that not enough was being done by the South Africans to curb MNR activities and that certain forces inside South Africa still maintained links with the armed bands inside Mozambique and with the groups in Portugal who openly work in support of the MNR.

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POPULATION AND ARMY UNITE

AS TERRORIST ACTIVITIES INTENSIFY IN MAPUTO

After the signing of the Nkomati Accord, Mozambican officials noted several changes in the patterns of attacks by the armed bandits. The new objective, the Mozambicans noted, appeared to be for the bandits to keep themselves in the news as much as possible with minimum cost to themselves in terms of lives and ammunition. While the military situation improved considerably in some provinces, MNR actions increased dramatically in Maputo Province.

The Armed Forces announced that in battles throughout the country in the first six months of this year, more than 1,200 bandits were killed, 340 were captured, 93 MNR camps were destroyed and approximately 10,000 people who had been kidnapped by the MNR were released. During the same period, more than 289 bandits turned themselves in. In September, more than 4,000 people were released in military operations in one Sofala district alone.

As the MNR activities have increased in Maputo Province, the districts that make up that province have each had to find new tactics to strengthen the security of each district's populations. The Army in Maputo Province now works closely with the population and visa versa to accomplish the difficult task of eliminating the MNR once and forever.

What follows are reports from three of Maputo Province's ten districts describing how the Army and the population have responded to the escalation in terrorism. These three are representative of the ten and we believe

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NKOMATI UPDATE

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In August, the South African Foreign Minister denied that this was the case, adding that "if there is evidence to indicate that is the case, the South African government will not hesitate to act firmly in terms of the spirit and letter of the Nkomati Accord."

On September 27, Minister Veloso speaking with reporters before departing for the most recent talks stated that "six months after the Nkomati Accord there have still been no practical results and the violence has continued." He went on to declare that the continuing rebel activities could "seriously endanger" the Accord. Officials in Mozambique believed that the South African military was continuing to resupply MNR insurgents and that South African intelligence may have been using some Portuguese import-export firms for this purpose. They also contented that South African agents were providing arms to the MNR through Malawi.

After intense meetings between the Mozambicans and South Africans beginning on September 27, a four point declaration was read by the South African Foreign Minister on October 3. The declaration which obliges South Africa to take a firmer hand in dealing with continuing violations of the Accord came about after Mozambique threatened to cancel the Accord if South Africa did not take immediate actions to curb MNR activities.

The declaration was presented by the South Africans after separate meetings between the Mozambican and South African delegations and between the South Africans and MNR representatives. At no time did the Mozambican delegation, led by Veloso, and the MNR representatives meet or negotiate.

The Four Points as presented by the South African Foreign Minister are:

1. Representatives of the MNR recognized the authority of the Mozambican state and agreed to a cease-fire of violent acts within Mozambique. It stated that "Samora Machel is recognized as the president of the People's Republic of Mozambique."
2. This point states that armed activities and conflict inside Mozambique from wherever it comes from must end. Since the armed conflict in Mozambique is between the legitimate government of that country and terrorists representing foreign interests this essentially means that the MNR activist must lay down their arms.

To make surrender more palatable, Mozambique is considering a general amnesty policy

to cover those Mozambicans connected with the MNR inside the country as well as any Mozambicans who may have been outside the country at the time of the signing. Mozambican officials are said to be talking to several countries, including South Africa, about possible material assistance to resettle and integrate those affected by an amnesty.

3. South Africa was solicited to play a role in the implementation of the declaration and a commission will be formed to put into practice the declaration. The first two points form the basis of the work.
4. The South African government publicly agreed to an active participation in the implementation of the Nkomati Accord in unison with the spirit of the Accord. This does not mean however that South African troops will necessarily be moving to take up positions inside Mozambique as suggested by the South African Minister. According to Minister Veloso the subject of South African troops in Mozambique was not discussed.

Botha concluded the reading of the declaration in Pretoria, where he was joined by representatives of the MNR as well as the Mozambican delegation, be emphasizing that the period which follows will be difficult and full of danger.

For the world press, South Africa tried to use the occasion to play the part of peacemaker between two hostile warring factions, while all evidence shows clearly that the 'war' owes its very existence to the South African government's attempt to destabilize

Mozambique. South Africa's media stance is similar to that of an arsonist patting himself on the back for putting out a fire he himself started.

Statements made later by Evo Fernandes, the proclaimed Secretary General of the MNR claimed the conflict would "continue and may escalate" and that recognizing Samora Machel as the leader of the government was "merely a recognition of a current fact" and does not limit the MNR's political demands in the future.

The MNR has "won" no concessions in its long and bloody reign of terror in Mozambique and the Mozambican government has no interest in or reason to negotiate with the MNR. Minister of Information Cabaco, speaking at a recent Washington seminar on information stated, "It would never enter the mind of any minister that there was the possibility of sharing power with terrorists whose role has been to rob, mutilate and murder Mozambicans on behalf of foreign interests."

Evo Fernandes' comments strongly suggest that there is tension and contradictions between the master and his creation. It remains to be seen what recourse South Africa will take to dismantle the MNR.

In a press conference following the October 3 declaration Minister Veloso left no doubt about the continuing importance of Mozambican army actions against the MNR. The bandits he declared, would lay down their arms either through their "own decision, when faced with the unavoidable facts" or "because we neutralize them completely in action on the ground."

THE ACCORD—WHOSE IDEA

Since the Nkomati Accord was finalized, there has been much speculation about whose idea the Accord actually was. Some believe that the militarily superior South Africans forced the Accord on the Mozambicans. Others believe that the U.S. government set-up the Accord in exchange for foreign assistance. Mozambican officials insist that neither premise is correct. The Accord and the talks leading up to it were entirely the result of decisions made in Maputo.

High Mozambican officials explain that it was they who approached the South African government as early as 1982 with the objective of holding talks which they hoped would lead to some type of non-aggression agreement. At that time the relationship between the Mozambican government and the U.S. was still recovering from the snubbing

which followed the Mozambican expulsion of C.I.A. agents working at the U.S. Embassy. The Mozambicans arrived at the decision to approach its arch enemy after a difficult but detailed study of their own as well as South Africa's situation at the time.

They considered, for instance, the fact that with the increased direct South African military intervention which drew little or no international condemnation, Mozambique and South Africa were being brought close and closer to a general war situation. They considered the vast amount of military assistance that Mozambique would require to update and sustain a modern army capable of dealing with the South African Army and the fact that little aid to accomplish this was forthcoming from

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NEW INVESTMENT CODE

On August 18, Mozambique announced the details of its long awaited new foreign investment code. Mozambique's previous code was released in 1977. Since that time the situation has become more critical in terms of Mozambique's need to attract development capital. The country's tremendous potentials need stimulation. Natural disasters have stemmed production in many areas. More destructive has been armed terrorist activities. Shortages exist in almost every sector. Clothing, furnishings, food and normal consumer goods are shortages which frustrate both city and country residents.

Many factories which could produce shoes, shirts, toothpaste, soap and the like produce a quarter or less of what they could produce if 1) they had raw materials needed for production; 2) they had the machines and machine parts necessary and 3) they had technicians who were versed in modern management techniques, improved production systems and who could explore new markets.

In many cases, goods and parts which could be produced locally if all the conditions existed, must be imported from Europe or more likely, done without because the small amount of available foreign capital can't be made to stretch that far.

Until now the state has continually underwritten the cost of many of the least productive factories—a practice that Machel severely criticized in a speech during this year's annual international trade fair.

The new investment code states that Mozambique "considers agriculture as the basis and industry as the dynamic factor—with first priority being given to self-sufficiency in food, raising exports, increasing import substitutions, guaranteeing the supply of raw materials for industry and improving the qualifications of the national labor force."

Direct foreign investment can take one of the following forms: 1) freely convertible foreign exchange, 2) imported equipment, machinery or material or 3) the transfer of technology. Foreign companies doing business in Mozambique will be expected to form an association with a Mozambican company, either state or private or may

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ARUSHA CONFERENCE IN SUPPORT OF FRONT LINE STATES

Three Mozambican ministers and the country's president attended the September meeting of the Socialist International Conference in Support of the Front Line States held in Arusha.

Presiding over the conference, Tanzania's president Julius Nyerere, urged those present to give the maximum support possible to the Front Line States as well as to SWAPO and the ANC. The attendees at the conference included European party leaders who are part of the Socialist International. Nyerere called on the European delegates to prevent the sale of computers to South Africa and the issuance of production licenses and bank credits to South Africa. Nyerere stressed that both the Front Line States (Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe) and the liberation movements urgently needed material aid for their battle against apartheid. The need for investments by the West in the Front Line States was underscored. European representatives were encouraged to invest in the Front Line States rather than in South Africa. Their investments in these countries would be safer, he stressed, if South Africa was not allowed to perpetuate "insecurity". President Nyerere observed that while South Africa's tactics may have changed apartheid continued.

In his speech President Somora Machel called on participants to work out "a joint program which contributes in a tangible and effective way to ending oppression, inequality and war in southern Africa." He also appealed for

pressure to be put on the South African government to begin talks with the ANC and for international pressure for the release of all political prisoners and for an end to the hanging of freedom fighters in South Africa.

Addressing the economic problems of the regions, President Machel called for greater international support for the Front Line States and the SADCC (Southern African Development Coordination Conference). "Western countries witnessed our destruction passively," Machel pointed out, "not concerning themselves with the violence being used against our people. They did not convene conferences, nor did they set up appropriate machinery to help us establish a basis for economic and social development." Consolidation of the security situation in Mozambique he added, "has been affected by the support which political forces in Western countries are still giving to the agents of regional destabilization." He then called for the international community, including the West, to invest in Mozambique in order to help develop the country's "immense potential."

The Swedish Prime Minister stated in Arusha that his country already gives one-fifth of that country's foreign aid budget to the Front Line States and he urged other countries to also cooperate. Represented at the conference were Socialist and Social Democratic parties from Italy, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Norway, France, Portugal, Sweden and Great Britain.



Tanzania's President Julius Nyerere as chair of Arusha Conference.

POPULATION AND ARMY UNITE

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that they give our readership an insight into what living with and fighting against terrorism is all about.

Moamba District

Speaking to reporters in early September, the Political Commissioner of the Army in Moamba explained that one of their tasks had been to mobilize the population, mainly those who were already victims of the MNR and those whose isolated homes made them easy targets, to move into communal villages where they would be safer. The Army assists with the construction of new houses as well as arranging food and transportation at times. The army also returns to the homes left by the district residents fleeing from the MNR to recover their belongings for them.

The Commissioner stated that in spite of the difficulties faced by the Army, the morale of the soldiers appears to be high. "We talk to our soldiers so that they will understand why it is that they have left their homes and their families, to come together here in the woods and fight the enemy. (We explain) who the enemy we are fighting is and all other questions relating to this."

The number of local residents who have shown up to be trained as voluntary militias is increasing. Workers are trained to defend their factory or work units. Residents of the communal village asked for arms to defend the communal villages against the MNR and were promised that they would receive arms and training.

In elaborating on the unique army/population relationship necessary to carry out their work, another soldier, who is a veteran of the armed struggle for independence, commented: "During the fight against the invader Ian Smith, many times, it was the population who informed us of the enemy's movement and proximity, including their fighting capacity. It was what gave us success until their defeat.

"Today, it is the population who informs us of the movements by the bandits. When we find them, the battles that result are not too difficult."

According to the commander being interviewed by TEMPO magazine: "In the beginning of the year, the armed bandits intensified their sabotage actions against economic targets and increased assassinations of undefended populations. Shortly after we arrived here, we initiated operations and in spite of everything—it hasn't always been easy—at this moment the situation is

satisfactory."

During August, the Armed Forces carried out three search and destroy operations and two ambushes on MNR positions.

"After the August 28 battle, those who managed to escape our fire, dispersed. The population informed us of their movements. Thanks to this, we closed all of the access routes so that they are encircled."

Namaacha

A meeting took place in Namaacha in early September to examine the activities of various state, party social and economic structure during the preceding three months. The district's administrator convened the meeting whose participants included company managers, members of the Armed Forces, the women's organization, the youth organization and local government officials.

Most of the time was spent on discussions relating to security and the economy. It was announced that more than 1000 local residents had completed political and military training to act as voluntary militias. The administrator stated that the armed bandits had already caused "many deaths among the population and party members and continue to assassinate and rob the population's possessions."

In the economic area, the creation of two productive cooperatives (one for shoe repair and another of tailors) were announced. It was also announced that workers in various sectors had started planting food for their own consumption.

Magude

One of the principle targets of the MNR in Magude is cattle. Magude, the most southern district in the province,

has for decades been known as the main cattle producing district in the region. Four years ago, 160,000 heads of cattle were recorded. The number was reduced drastically by the drought and bandits operating in the area. The latest estimate of 80,000-100,000 is being revised, as it is known that currently only enough meat is produced to supply the city of Maputo and then only in very limited quantities.

Families are the major cattle producers in the district. State operations account for only 15%-20% of the total. The MNR has tried frequently to attack the large cattle blocks but is usually repelled by the military units assigned to guard them.

Since the beginning of the year, cattle and personal property belonging to the villagers as well as large quantities of arms have been recovered in Army attacks on MNR bases in the district. At one location weapons were found with NATO inscriptions. Personal property recovered included portable radios, sewing machines, chairs, motorcycles and sacks of corn. The total number of MNR bandits killed and wounded in the attacks was not given. In an attack on a small MNR base in Mongonzo where five MNR members were listed as killed, two women and two children who had been kidnapped were freed.

In September, it was announced that four employees of CFM-Sul (the regional railroad line) were killed and one wounded in an attack by the MNR on a train one Sunday evening. Because the attack involved a train repair crew, no passengers were involved.

Mozambican journalists writing in TEMPO magazine, describe a stretch of

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Residents of each area train with the army to act as voluntary militias in their villages and work places.

Ministerial Changes Announced

In June, the Mozambique government announced the reorganization of several important government posts. The first communique announced only the dismissal of three ministers. They were the Minister of Interior, Lieutenant-General Armando Emilio Guebuza, the Minister of Security, Major-General Mariano Matsinha and the Minister of Mineral Resources, Jose Carlos Lobo.

On the following day more detailed changes were announced which involved the naming of new ministers, vice ministers and secretaries of state as well as the creation of a Secretary of State for Former Combatants under the Ministry of National Defense and the intergration of the Secretary of State for Coal and Hydrocarbons into the Ministry of Mineral Resources.

On June 18, extensive changes involving the naming of promotion of 89 staff member to state and economic structure were announced.

During the swearing in ceremony for the new ministers, vice ministers and secretaries of state, the President spoke about the importance of the new reorganization. He also spoke of the hope that the Nation had that problems which had come to disturb the normal functioning of their lives would be solved. At the root of the cabinet shake-up seems to be the determination of Machel and others to not let die the continual fight against what has come to be known in Mozambique as 'illegality'. Abuses of power and other serious inadequacies were found in the two ministries responsible for assuring legal procedures and justice, Interior (which oversees the Police) and Security.

At a huge May 24 rally in Nampula, President Machel spoke extensively on the importance of the correct functioning those ministries responsible for defense and security. He spoke of the problems or a relaxation found within these ministries which made it possible for certain abuses to continue. In Nampula, the President stressed the need for better educated, more highly trained police and security agents. Morally they must be capable of resisting corruption but they should also have supervisors who will not allow personnel to use their positions to demand special privileges. In his speech, Samora Machel pointed up that one of the difficulties caused by such actions is a undermining of public confidence as citizens come to believe that corrupt officers are acting with the knowledge of their superiors, and therefore the state.

Machel stated that the decisions relating to changes in the Ministries of Security, Interior and Justice resulted

from discussions of the problems in their ministries in an April meeting of the Central Committee and the People's Assembly.

Explaining the need for changing the leadership of the Ministry of Mineral Resources, President Machel talked of how illegality and injustice could affect state structures to the extent that the normal functioning is disrupted causing "great damage to the national economy."

The President stressed that "This leadership must be capable of creating a new climate of confidence and will to work" in order to make the sector "a source of foreign exchange and contributes decisively to national economy".

The last major reorganization at the Ministerial level was in May 1983 following the Fourth Party Congress. As stated during that government overhaul, changes within the government are made after evaluating the political, technical and professional capacity of the existing personnel. Because of a colonial past which gave little attention to education, few people have the technical and professional requirements for running a ministry. For this reason, the periodic government moves seem destined to find the best job for the those who possess the necessary qualifications. But younger, new blood is also being cultivated as evident in the naming of new appointees to positions within all of the ministries.

A description of the principle changes follow.

Mariano Matsinha, who was relieved of his position as the Minister of Security was appointed to replace Sergio Vieira as the Governor of Nissa.

Sergio Vieira was appointed to replace Mariano Matsinha as the Minister of Security.

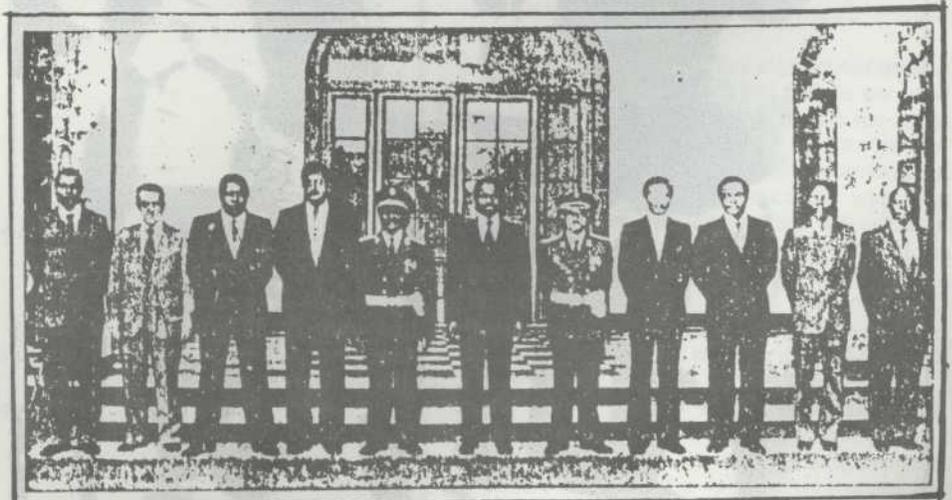
Oscar Monteiro, was named as the new Minister of Interior, replacing Armando Guebuza. Monteiro had been named Minister of Justice in May 1983 following a period as Minister of State in the Presidency.

Armando Guebuza was appointed as a Minister in the Presidency in a September 28 comunicado. The other Minister in the Presidency's Office is Jacinto Veloso who is responsible for economic affairs. Guebuza was appointed as Minister of Interior in May 1983. Before that he was the Resident Minister in Sofala.

Ossumane Ali Daute, who was previously a senior official in the Ministry of Justice, was appointed Minister replacing Oscar Monteiro.

Abdul Magid Osman, who was Secretary of State of Coal and Hydrocarbons which was intergrated into the Ministry of National Resources, was named its minister replacing Jose Carlos Lobo.

Jose Carlos Lobo, was appointed a Vice-Minister in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The other Vice-Minister is Daniel Mbanza who was before Mozambique's Ambassador to Zambia. Lobo was for eight years Mozambique's Ambassador to the U.N.



President Machel and newly sworn in cabinet members.

FIGHT AGAINST DROUGHT CONTINUES

It was announced in September that beginning in October UNICEF would be conducting a program in Tete province to assist residents affected by the drought. The program which has the support of the World Food Program and the Mozambican Ministry of Health will distribute food, strengthen agricultural production and support activities related to nutritional rehabilitation. The program will last approximately a year and will affect six of the cities hardest hit by the drought including the city of Tete.

Every person in a program area is to receive rations including corn mill or beans, sugar and cooking oil and powdered milk. Seeds are also to be distributed.

\$330,000 was allocated for the provision of gasoline for vehicles taking food to the affected areas. Animal plows and bicycles for technicians are also part of the program. In addition, a

program for increasing the production of sardines and other fish which already grow in two districts is also planned.

The necessity of such a program is evident in a report of one of the affected districts which stated that 12% of the children weighed 70% less than the normal weight for their height. Between January and March, 50% of the children were hospitalized for mal-nutrition. Of these 20% were reported to have died.

In Inhambane Province, more than 82,000 people were reported to be still suffering the affects of the continuing drought in two districts alone. Many families have left their homes to seek food in one of the several emergency centers set up last year. The largest of these centers is now reported to house 13,500 people of whom 10,000 are children. The delivery of food to the area is hampered by the shortage of transportation...

FOREIGN AID PACKAGES ANNOUNCED

Since July Mozambique has received promises of foreign aid from several different parts of the world to assist in repairing damage caused by natural disasters and the country's development in general. Highlighted below are some of the major aid packages announced.

U.S.A.—In July, it was announced that the U.S. government would be giving Mozambique \$340 million to buy equipment to stimulate the recuperation of private farms damaged by cyclone 'Domoina' in Maputo province. The money is to be used to purchase motors, spare parts and components for irrigation pumps. This is in addition to \$550 million given for the repair of the Maputo Central filtration and pumping station. In November, the White House announced a food aid package for Mozambique valued at \$12.7 million as part of an emergency food assistance program destined for African countries hardest hit by drought.

CHINA—During President Machel's official trip to China in July, China promised more than \$13 million in credits to be repaid within 10 years with no interest. A \$2.2 million grant to purchase consumer goods and a 2,000 ton donation of maize was also announced.

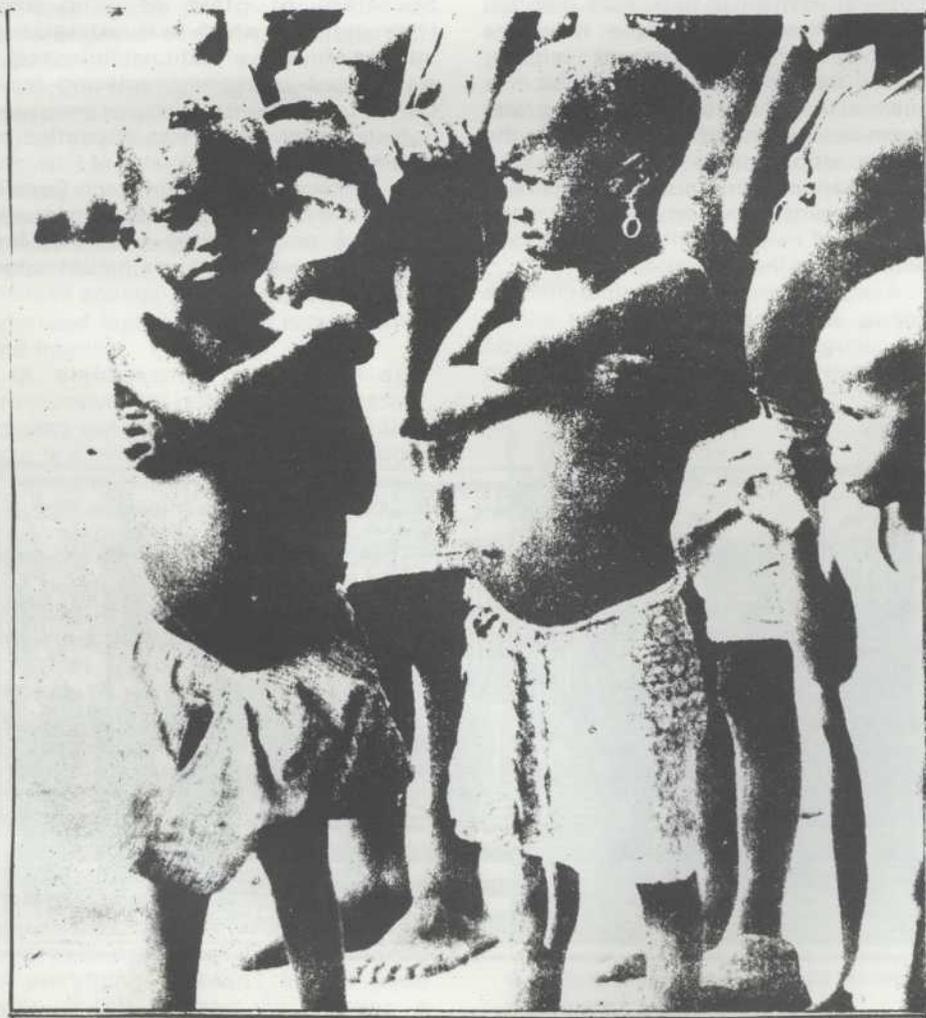
ITALY—Italian officials visiting Mozambique in July announced the crediting of \$18.5 million for the recuperation of the Beira-Moatize railroad line. Italian officials also signed an accord with Mozambique to provide coal exploration in Tete province valued at \$100 million.

BULGARIA—The Bulgarian Prime-Minister visiting Mozambique in July signed a bilateral accord promising \$3.5 million worth of consumer goods.

HOLLAND—During a visit of Holland's Minister of Development and Cooperation to Mozambique, accords were signed continuing Holland's rehabilitation program for Beira's port. It was announced that an additional \$14.7 million would be made available for drought related problems, including aiding Mozambique's balance of payment, exchange for consumer goods and programs to stimulate the agriculture.

FRANCE—In July it was announced that France would loan Mozambique \$11 million dollars for the purchase of consumer goods, supplies and

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THE ANC AND FRELIMO

There were many sharp criticism of Mozambique and charges of selling out the ANC leveled by some against Mozambique immediately following the signing the Nkomati Accord. What information is available suggests that in the early meetings heading up to the accord the South Africans wanted Mozambique to end all support and encouragement to the ANC. In the end, Mozambique prevailed and vowed to continue its moral, political and diplomatic support of the ANC and its ideals. Missing is the word 'militarily' which is now restricted under the terms of the Nkomati Accord. Both the ANC and Mozambique always insisted that there were no military training bases for the ANC inside Mozambique. The reason for the lack of such bases has more to do with the stage of the struggle and Mozambique's ability to provide bases than South Africa's desire to not have them there.

But some changes were predictable as the result of an accord which guarantees each signer that the other country will not be used to launch attacks against the other. For the ANC it has meant that

while the ANC office remains in Maputo along with some ANC representatives, other ANC members would have been transferred to U.N. Refugee centers within Mozambique. Several hundred ANC members left for other countries instead.

But has the Nkomati Accord sparked a rift in a relationship dating back several decades? The relationship between FRELIMO was ANC goes back to the time that FRELIMO was founded. At Samora Machel's urging, the ANC of South Africa was recognized as the South African liberation movement which should be supported by the OAU and the Front Line States.

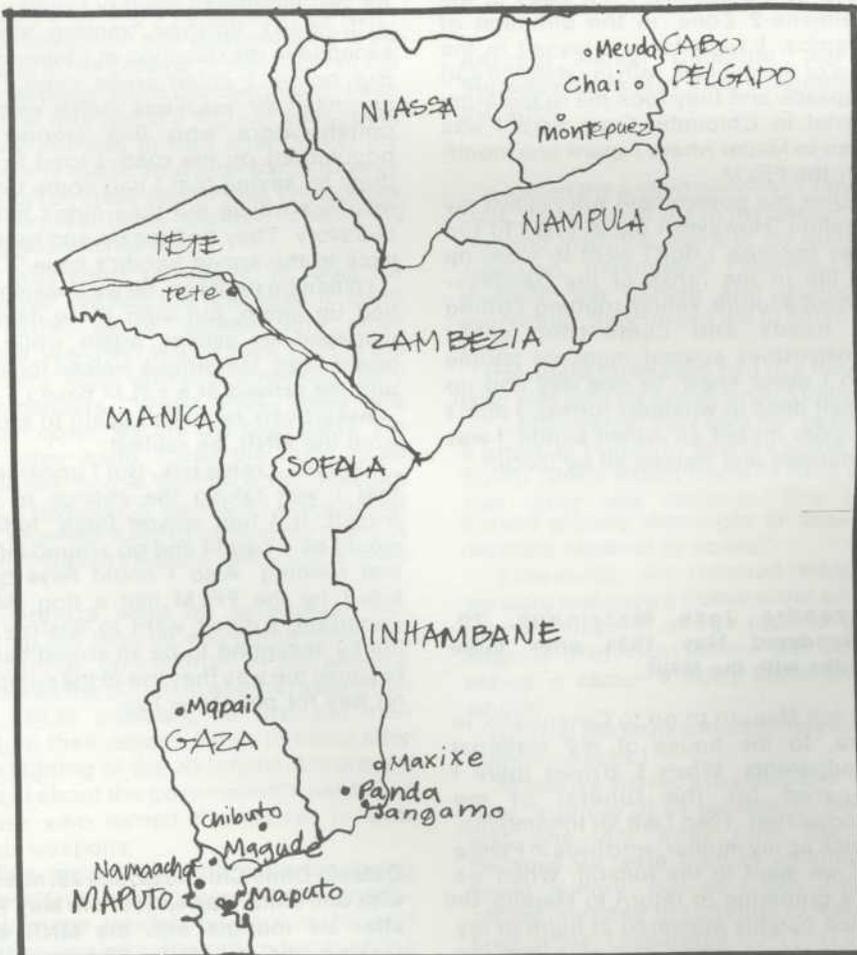
In an interview done on Mozambican Radio during a trip to Maputo in May, a leader of the African National Congress Thabo Mbeki stated that "It is perfectly clear that the South African regime would like Mozambique and the ANC to quarrel" because, he said, it would be in the interests of the South African authorities if they did. "That is why," he continued, "they are cooking up stories like the one that the ANC is cooperating with the MNR—an outrageous thing to

say."

Speaking of the declaration which came out of the last Front Line States meeting in Arusha which stressed the commitment of all its members to the destruction of colonialism in Namibia and the apartheid state in South Africa and the commitment to the Liberation of both peoples Mbeki stated that: "These common positions have overtaken whatever problems, differences or misunderstandings might have arisen" as a result of the agreements reached by the Angolan and Mozambican governments with South Africa.

More recently in Maputo, the ANC representative Jacob Nzuma, in an interview with Allen Issacman commenting on the improved level of understanding between FRELIMO and the ANC commented, "We share a common long-term objective and common enemy."

"If we allow emotions and anger to govern our thinking we are playing into the hands of the Boers. We (the ANC and FRELIMO) need to work together in order to liberate ourselves."



Map of Mozambique showing areas discussed in this issue.

FOREIGN AID PACKAGES

ANNOUNCED

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equipment to support the upcoming agricultural marketing campaign. The loan, which is repayable over 15 years will be used to import raw materials for factories manufacturing goods necessary to agriculture and for the purchase of goods, sacks, scales and transport means for the cotton and cashew marketing campaigns in Nampula province. Feed for cattle, pig and poultry producers in Maputo and Gaza provinces will also be purchased with loan money.

NORWAY—Norway signed accords in Maputo promising \$200,000 to be used for the acquisition of materials for OMM (Mozambican Women's Organization) to use in its formation centers across the country. In July, an accord was also signed with Norway which will result in the provision of about \$4.75 million for fishery research in Mozambican waters off the coast of Sofala province. The research will concentrate on the development of anchovy fishing in this area.

DENMARK—Mozambique and Denmark signed accords for greater cooperation in the area of education. A donation of \$1.8 million was given for the improvement of technical schools.

SWEDEN—A gift of \$1 million was announced from Sweden for the purchase of flour.

... AND SOME SURRENDER

On May 27, 1984 President Machel announced a pardon to take effect immediately, covering those armed bandits who turn themselves in, they would be allowed to live their personal lives in liberty and be integrated into national reconstruction activities. It was emphasized at the time that this pardon would be the last opportunity for them to revive their own lives and contribute to the national life of the country. Several rehabilitation centers are already operating. Since that time the idea of general amnesty has been discussed and accepted by Mozambican officials in principle; a final decision has not yet been announced. But those who wait for the actual ceasefire and general amnesty run the risk of being killed by the Army in the meantime.

One of the aims of the pardon is to encourage those who stick with the MNR out of fear of being tried and executed for their crimes to surrender. The make-up of MNR membership makes a pardon to those who surrender a very effective tool from the government's point of view. Although the exact percentage is not known, many so-called MNR members were actually forced to join (see article) and are believed to stay with the MNR out of fear. The pardons speed up the inevitable liquidation of the MNR by permitting those who want to get out a chance to do so.

Many of the MNR bandits who will be giving themselves up would have committed serious crimes including murder. While the pardon allows them to be integrated into the society without 'paying' for their crimes, it does neutralize those who previously took part in such activities and hasten the end of this devastating chapter of Mozambican history. Surrendering bandits have also been responsible for leading FPLM troops to MNR bases.

Reprinted below are excerpts from interviews published in the Mozambican press with MNR members who surrendered. Together they present, we believe, our first look at what life within the MNR is like.

Williamo Ngive Macvhans, 41 years old, married with two children. Previous occupation—farmer and member of People's Militia. Surrendered to the FPLM in Gaza Province in February 1984 after 11 months with the MNR.

"It was May 1983, that the armed bandits kidnapped me close to my house. They found me working in the field, robbed me of most of the corn which wasn't ripe, and forced me to accompany them. Because there were many of them (more than 20) and they were armed, there was nothing I could do but follow them.

(Although he was in the militia, weapons were limited to those on guard duty).

"From there, they took me to a campsite situated about 20 kilometers from Xiyamane region. When we arrived there, it was already night. I was tied to a tree and stayed that way for about two days. When I was untied, I was sent for training which lasted a month and afterwards was given a weapon of the AKM model. Things continued like that. I waited for an opportunity to escape when we left on assaults, because I didn't want to stay with them under any circumstances—to go around robbing and killing innocent persons."

(But the chief of the group became suspicious and ordered him to stay in camp. He was later appointed cook for the wounded and sick in camp which made it more difficult to escape. In February, he was to be part of a group transporting war material to Inhambane)

"I slept badly that night. I had to make every effort not to give away my intentions. In the early morning, the group left, but as I had planned, I didn't arrive at the destiny. I got away in the Nzaimane-2 Zone, in the direction of Inhambane. I went to turn myself in the zone of the militias, with my weapon and knapsack and they took me to the army quartel in Chipimbi. From here I was taken to Mapai where I spent one month with the FPLM.

"Now our government will resolve my situation. However I could I had to run away because I don't want to mess up my life in the ranks of the bandits—without a future, killing, robbing, cutting off heads and committing other monstrosities against innocent people who I never knew, to one day end up myself dead in whatever forest. I didn't consider myself an armed bandit. I was kidnapped and trained all by force."

Alexandre Jose Massingue, 20. Surrendered May 1984 after three months with the MNR.

"I left Maputo to go to Cavanhane, in Gaza, to the house of my maternal grandparents. When I arrived there I prepared for the funeral of my grandmother. Then I left for Inhambane, to pick up my mother, who lives in Panda and we went to the funeral. When we were preparing to return to Maputo, the armed bandits appeared at night in my grandparents' home and as I was the only young person present, they

kidnapped me, tied me up tightly and took me to the camp at Txane-Txane."

(Massingue stated that he spent two weeks tied up in a cell and was then sent for two months of military training).

"I hadn't finished training when I escaped in the direction of Changanine. But before I could arrive there I was surprised by 'madjibas' (MNR spies or collaborators who live among the population) on the road. I tried to fool them by saying that I had come from a relative's house but they didn't believe this story. They tied me up and took me back to the armed bandit's base."

(When he returned, he was beaten and tied up again, but after three days he managed to escape again while the guard slept. Massingue walked for a day until he arrived at a FPLM base.)

Asked why he risked death to escape from the MNR, he replied:

"In fact, I ran a risk. But I understood that I was taking the chance to free myself. If I had stayed there, today I would be a bandit and go around killing and robbing. Also I could have been killed by the FPLM like a dog. More important, I didn't want to destroy my life by accepting to be an armed bandit because the way they live in the camps is no way for people to live."

Octavio Dinis Chirindza, age 26, married with one child. Surrendered in May 1984 after six months with the MNR after serving as a MNR "Commander" responsible for 82 men.

"...When I went to the Labor Department to find employment as a typist or office worker, they asked me for my diploma but I had left it at my parent's house in Chibuto (Gaza).

"Then, when I returned to my parent's home on November 29, 1983 there was an attack by the bandits in our zone, assaulting houses and robbing property from the population. Cattle, small animals like chickens and goats and many people were also taken. During these assaults, they arrived at our house, where they stole things and forced me to join the others they already had."

(Those kidnapped were taken to Hati-Hati Camp in Gaza, where they spend two days. On the third day, the older men and women were released. Chirindza and two other young men were held.)

"I finished training and was made a company commander and they assigned me the 2nd company of operations in Cuzoanhane."

When asked why he thinks he was selected as commander he responded:

"I don't know exactly why. But I suspect that it was because I had a 7th grade education and was better able to do reports to the general commander of the central camp about our operations. I was the one who had the highest education.

"My job was to lead attacks that my company made. And afterwards to write a report of these operations. I had under my orders three platoon chiefs, 12 sergeants and 82 men.

"I had some privileges, in food, for example. We had the 'Madjibas' to bring us cattle, liquor, women and other things. Well, as I was of rank, I ate at the officers' table with four other company commanders. When they killed the stolen cows, we ate the best parts. On the other hand, I had the right to an individual house, women when I had one and a radio. This was how I knew about the Nkomati Accord before my men...A bandit doesn't have a radio but a chief does."

Chirindza went on to explain that during the time he was commander, he led three "operations". In one attack a villa was the target. In another assault on an FPLM position, he lost ten men before their retreat. While in camp after the signing of the Nkomati Accord, he heard about the government's pardon of those who turned themselves in with their weapons.

The main reason he gave for giving himself up was to be with his family. Before the announced pardon, he said that he was afraid to return because the MNR told them that they would be killed

by the Army if they gave themselves up.

To escape, he traveled for 3 weeks, walking in the day and sleeping in the night. He turned himself in to a police station, in Gaza and was taken to the Army base.

Asked about the reaction in his camp upon hearing about the Nkomati Accord he responded:

"We were disoriented. We didn't know what to do, because we saw that South Africa had abandoned us. We discussed it in the Command Post and realized that the FRELIMO soldiers were going to liquidate us sooner or later, now that they had stopped the supplies of arms and weapons. There wasn't any salvation.

"The Commander himself came there to our camp very furious and said that South Africa betrayed us. And now we must destroy and kill everything that we found, that we should try to go around in small groups or save ourselves however we could because the soldiers were going to take advantage of the opportunity to intensify the war to liquidate us once and for all."

Antonio Rafael Cambule, age 22. Surrendered in May after 4 months with the MNR.

"I joined the armed bandits in January 1984. They found me in my garden plot planting madioca, there at my home, in Jangamo, Inhambane Province. After invading the garden and pulling up everything, they forced me to come with them."

(He spent three days tied to a tree and later was sent for one month of training.)

"...Afterwards, they sent me as part of a group in Pulumu to guard a plane from South Africa which came to drop arms and other war material. The plane arrived around mid-night or later and dropped material in boxes."

Afterwards, we received weapons, we were assigned a commander and put into a company of 184 men to go to Maputo (Province) where we were to set-up a camp. I don't know exactly where.

(During the week's march, they staged several attacks.)

"When we arrived at a spot close to the river, a group of 28 bandits, of which I was one, got away from the rest, because we were tired of walking and being hungry. But as I saw that the others intended to continue to lead that kind of life, I separated from that group and escaped alone."

Mateus Sithole, age 25. Surrendered in February 1984 after 4 months with the MNR.

"I was going to South Africa via Inhambane along with a group of friends from my region to work in the mines. In the Maxixe zone, we came in contact with an armed group who intercepted the car in which we were traveling.

"As soon as our car stopped, they circled us and gave orders to get down and then they burned the car. They then took us to a small camp nearby and from there to Macdamo, near Mapai, in Gaza. Here we were taken to another camp, much larger than the other, where we received political mobilization during the first days. During this time, they explained that they were fighting for the land, to get rid of socialism, communal villages and other things, but they didn't say what they intended to create in its place."

(After training one month, he was given a weapon.)

"Finishing training, I was intergrated into a group which was sent out with the mission of assaulting houses, shops and other places to rob cattle, chickens, cornmill and all the food that we could take, because there in the woods where we lived, we didn't have anything."

(Sithole admitted taking part in a number of attacks and having fired shots which probably killed some peasants. He explained these actions as necessary to prevent himself being killed by the MNR command.)

"The opportunity to escape from that life without future, came one night when we were returned to the camp in February of this year. I and others of my group were selected to guard duty. Then this night, I took advantage of the distraction by my colleagues, got my weapon and pack and took to the road. After traveling all night, I went directly to FPLM headquarters in Mapai where I turned myself in."

Sithole later led the Army to his former 'base' which was then destroyed.

"It was me who risked more than my life, robbing cattle here and there and only received the skin of the cow to roast and eat. The meat was only for the chiefs. What life is that? Besides this the majority of the people there were recruited by force. It is certain that some end up being destroyed because the life that they lead there is dehumanizing to all who stay there. But the majority are not yet poisoned and only think about escaping because they all see that banditism has no future."

POPULATION AND ARMY UNITE

(Continued from page 1)

50 kilometers between the main villa and smaller locality Mahele. They reported seeing houses which had been reduced to ashes and the burned out vehicles along the road as local residents accompanying them told how many people were injured or killed by the MNR at each location. Most of the burnt out vehicles were Mazdas which belonged to Mozambican miners returning from South Africa with goods for their families.

With the help of training received from the Army, many villages are now protected by the residents themselves. In larger concentration of the population, soldiers stay at attention in dug out trenches surrounding the areas.

The battalion currently stationed in Maguda which arrived there in 1982, is made up of mostly young recruits. Their spokesman stated that when they arrived there the area was infested with armed bandits who found it an ideal location because of the abundance of cattle and easy access to water. With battles described as long and sometimes difficult, the number of armed bandits has diminished and most have been driven to the forrest areas where they now are.

"Our section," explained a FPLM transmissions operator, "participated in about 20 battles of which the hardest was the assault on the base at Mabitine. We considered that the hardest because in that one, we lost 9 fellow soldiers and were obliged to alter our plan. First it was a shock to see our colleague lifeless, but it was necessary in the middle of intense fire, to continue to maintain rhythm of efficiency. When we finally assaulted the base, we felt that the blood of our comrade had not been in vain. The deaths—our heroes, give us courage for the hardest battles. It is the law of war."

Many of the families currently living in communal villages in Magude were at one time or another held by the MNR. Some families were kidnapped by the MNR and liberated by the Army more than once.

According to the commander of the people's militia who works closely with the Army, "This communal village had been the preference of the armed bandits in their attacks, because the population have many heads of cattle and we have the state cattle company here. Because of this, more than in any other location, we have had to perfect our defense."

A View from Within Americans in Mozambique

"FREEDOM DOES NOT COME EASY"

After planning for close to a year for her trip to Mozambique to do research for a thesis, Molly Brown of Chicago finally arrived in Maputo to begin work in March. Her experiences reflect the expectations and anxiety of the moment. A moment in which "...history was being grinded out." Her report follows.

I arrived in Mozambique in early March 1984. I spent my first week in Maputo organizing my work and living schedule. I was there to conduct research for my PhD thesis on a history of southern Mozambique which involved research in the Arquivos and traveling to Gaza and Inhambane provinces to do oral interviews. As a researcher, I was concerned about my status. However, once there, I was told, "if you get into trouble, contact us." So I suppose the Universidade Eduardo Mondlane was responsible for me.

I began working at the Arquivo Historico and trying to get the feel of life in Maputo. I was told very early on that to travel to Gaza and Inhambane would require protection and as I was just a single researcher it was unlikely that it would be approved. The MNR were quite active in these areas. Neither the government nor the university could take the risks of allowing me to travel there. After some pressing I resigned myself to doing what oral interviews I could inside the city and concentrating on documentary material. "Hopefully," I was told, "things will get better after the Nkomati is signed."

It was to be this issue—the Nkomati accord—that predominated my stay there. It was impossible to ignore the tension, anxiety and expectations that hovered throughout the city. In some strange way it was as if history was being grinded out right in front of me and I could not help feeling involved. When people would ask me the customary "how do you like Mozambique?" I would simply say, "I am glad to be here at this time."

On March 9, I watched the pageantry and ceremony of the Nkomati Poort signing on Mozambican television. Frelimo leaders and commentators

called it a strike for peace. But when I saw the thin Mozambican soldiers dwarfed by the all white racist army of South Africa, I remember thinking how vulnerable they were. Someone in the television room said, "Can peace really be enforced between such unequal partners. Who is to believe those vicious men from South Africa?"

When the terms of the agreement were slowly released during the following weeks, it became clear that the Mozambican National Resistance, the African National Congress and the economic condition of Mozambique were the main subjects to be addressed by the Accord. The long range strategies to handle these 3 areas are still being ironed out. But during March, April and May, I was to get a glimpse at the immediate results of the accord.

The MNR during these months did not get better as many had hoped. They got worse. During the first week after the signing, there was heavy activity around Manica and other areas north of Maputo. Rumors circulated throughout the city that the bandits were shooting at passers-by and stealing foodstuffs from local people in and around Namaacha and Ressano Garcia. In fact, for a week or so in late March, the road to Ressano Garcia was closed. In April, power lines were bombed south of Maputo, sporadically cutting out electricity for many parts of the city.

The talk around the city at this time was that South Africa had armed the MNR terrorists with 3-5 years worth of armaments before March 9. They were supposedly sent through Zimbabwe and Swaziland from South Africa (where they had received their training) into Mozambique. What is fact appears to have happened is that an increasing number of heavily armed bandits were coming into Mozambique.

The economic situation in Mozambique had been very bad before the signing of the accord. Often no meat, no vegetables and a lack of basic commodities like soap, clothing and shoes made life very hard. Many Mozambicans that I knew had hoped that the accord would at least bring some immediate food relief. But this was

not the case. While the MNR escalated and the drought continued, there remained very little change.

While it appeared that South Africa had bent the rules with the MNR, Frelimo was carrying out its reordering of the ANC presence in Maputo with haste and efficiency. For me it was especially difficult because many of the friends I had made were South African and within a few weeks most were gone. On March 24 ANC houses and offices were raided in a search for weapons, some at gunpoint by army soldiers. Some houses were in fact raided twice. A week or so after the raids, all adults not officially working as cooperantes in Maputo had hastily thrown whatever they could into boxes and trunks and boarded planes destined for other countries. In mid-April, a plane of South African children were sent away as well. As we waved good-bye and sang freedom songs at the airport, I

remember thinking with tears in my eyes, freedom definitely does not come easy. For Mozambicans and South Africans freedom will not come easy.

The events mentioned above and Maputo life in general had a varied impact on me and my work. Unlike most Mozambican women and men, I was spared the harsher effects of the economic situation. Eventhough, I had to get used to cold baths, walking long distances and a lack of foods I wanted, I was able to get most of what I needed at the Loja Franca (the foreign currency store). At one point, however, I desperately needed shoes as mine had fallen apart. I could find none in the city. I got a ride to Swaziland with friends and bought shoes there. I took with me a long list of items—peanut butter, ballpoint pens, paper, children's clothes, meat and English newspapers—to buy for friends. All are difficult to find in Mozambique.

In general, my research went well. I continued at the Arquivos and conducted a few interviews in the city. There were a few days when the Arquivos was closed or we worked by sunlight due to the power shortages caused by MNR destruction of power lines. Also, my inability to travel to Gaza and Inhambane, again because of the MNR, was disappointing. But Frelimo are now capturing many of the bandits, so maybe the situation will get better.

All in all, the stay in Mozambique was enlightening and I have grown in many ways because of it. I was so touched by the openness, kindness and hospitality of the people I met who were always willing to share what little they had with me. I hope that my thesis can make some small contribution to their struggle and their country.

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NEW INVESTMENT CODE

(Continued from page 3)

have exclusively foreign capital when high technology is involved and the production is essentially destined for foreign markets.

Foreign companies will be expected to employ Mozambicans when they meet the qualifications needed. Foreign technicians can be contracted by the investing company where there are no Mozambicans with the required qualifications.

Investment proposals which will receive the highest consideration include those which stimulate agriculture production; are labor-intensive; projects located in parts of the country which have few infra-structures; produce high returns; develop natural resources and have a positive effect on Mozambique's balance of payments. After the foreign investor has fulfilled its legal obligations, the Mozambican government guarantees the right to the transfer of exportable profits and the principal and interest due on loans borrowed on the international market to

sponsor the project.

To encourage investors, Mozambique proposed the following incentives: exemption of custom duties for certain imported raw materials and some other goods related to required studies not available in Mozambique, tax-exemption for salaries paid to foreign technicians to carry out the studies, fiscal exemption for an established period (between 2 and 10 years) for income and profit in proportion to the investment, tax exemption for 3 times the amount spent, within limits, on training Mozambican workers and tax-exemption on loan interests.

The objective in the end, is the creation of a code which will attract needed development capital to Mozambique without relinquishing overall control of economic activities inside the country.

Deputy Finance Minister, Eneas Comiche, has been appointed head of newly-created office for the promotion of foreign investment.

HISTORY REMEMBERED:

20th ANNIVERSARY OF THE BEGINNING OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE

On September 25, Mozambicans celebrated the 20th anniversary of the beginning of the armed struggle which eventually led to formation of an independent nation. The following article taken from NOTICIAS recounts the beginning of the armed struggle for independence against Portuguese colonialism.

It was an historic and very important meeting—that of the FRELIMO Central Committee which in July 1964 decided to start the Armed Struggle of the Mozambican People against Portuguese Colonialism—if you take into account, the significance and seriousness of the decision. But before this, there was the necessity to study all the conditions and problems which it presented:

1. Could it be that Armed Struggle was the only road?
2. How do you create an army well organized and structured to conduct the struggle?
3. How do you convince the people that the Portuguese can be overthrown?
4. How do you attain the unity of all the Mozambican people?
5. The armed struggle will cause a great deal of suffering. Is it worth it to accept that kind of sacrifices to obtain independence?

To all these questions positive answers were found.

The Portuguese had already announced that they would never accept the independence of Mozambique; the struggle had to be organized on a popular and national base in a way to insure a constant increase in the number of fighters, who would be armed and supported by African and socialist countries and by progressive forces of the capitalist world.

It was concluded that when the first Portuguese soldiers fell that the People would become convinced that the

colonialists are not invincible. The unity of the people would be attained in the process of struggle and all of the people are able to support whatever sacrifices there are to obtain independence.

And because people said that it is better to die fighting than to live a slave, the necessary conditions were created for firing the first shot.

"During the clandestine maneuvers in September, I received an urgent call to Mueda," remembered Alberto Joaquim Chipande, the Minister of National Defense in a 1967 interview.

"The operational commandants for the zones of Montepuez, Mocimboa de Praia and Porto Amélia, were invited. They had been invited to receive instructions from the Central Committee about the day on which we would launch our attacks against the Portuguese troops. We received this information on the 20th of September—the struggle was to begin on the 25th.

"We started immediately to organize ourselves. We alerted the chief for each zone to organize groups of saboteurs whose task would be to sabotage bridges, railroad lines and roads. We told them that they should start their work on the evening of September 24th.

My task was to lead the attack on Chai (a city in Cabo Delgado Province which had a Portuguese army post). We had 16 weapons: six machine guns, six rifles and four automatic pistols. We chose 12 comrades and left some weapons for the defense of the base.

On the morning of the 25th, we arrived near Chai. We took off our boots to

prevent any sound and went on. We camped near the river. I gave instructions to a comrade to dress in civilian clothes and go to do reconnaissance of the sort. We tied a bandage on his foot so that he would appear injured. He went to the medical post, where he stayed a little while and later went to the office, where he got into a conversation with a worker, who told him where the white soldiers, the employees and the black soldiers slept. He was also told where the guards were. The guerrilla stayed a little longer and afterwards returned with the information.

I made the plan for the attack. At 4 p.m. we left and at 6 p.m. we were at our positions. At 7 o'clock, we advanced to circle the house of the chief of the post. In the meantime, the trucks that had gone out to hunt returned and they unloaded the animals. Afterwards the soldiers got on and left in the direction of Macomia. I went up to the guard at the entrance of the Post chief's house to begin the attack.

My shot would be the signal for the others. The attack started at 9 o'clock. When they heard the shots, the chief appeared at the door and fell with one shot. Six Portuguese were killed.

The explanation given by the Portuguese was 'killed by disaster'. We withdrew. On the following day, we were followed by some soldiers, but by that time we were far away and they never caught up with us.

MOZAMBIQUE AND PORTUGAL TODAY

On April 24, 1974, the Portuguese regime of Marcello Caetano was overthrown by the Armed Forces Movement organized by young army officers who were disillusioned with colonial wars abroad and authoritarian rule at home. The principle impetus to the coup was the Portuguese regime's inability to win its wars in Mozambique and other Portuguese colonies.

FRELIMO and the new Portuguese officials met in Lusaka on September 7, 1974 to organize the final terms for the transfer of power to FRELIMO. Mozambique became independent on June, 1975 after a transitional period. Since that time, the Portuguese have experienced several changes in administration while forces of the right and the left vie for power. Relations between Mozambique and Portugal have fluctuated over the years as the two governments struggled to establish a as two sovereign, independent nations,—as equals.

President Machel was warmly welcomed in Portugal during his trip to Europe last October. In September, of this year, Portugal's Prime Minister Mario Soares paid an official state visit to Mozambique in the first visit by a Portuguese Prime Minister to Mozambique since independence. Machel announced that both countries had decided to 'close the old pages of history' and work together for more bilateral cooperation and a better relationship. Mario Soares expressed his country's desire to "substitute arms of war with arms of peace and development."

Other points touched on during a

press conference by the Prime Minister following his three day stay in Mozambique included:

1. On Portugal's relationship with South Africa—Soares explained that "in spite of diplomatic relations with South Africa, we condemn vehemently apartheid."
2. On the presence of MNR personnel and offices in Lisbon—"What happens is very complex and creates embarrassment and difficulties, but we are perfectly disposed to face them." Speaking about the creation of intelligence services which would enable them to more closely follow MNR activities he said, "It is only now that this service is being set up and from now on, we will have the knowledge of facts" which will allow them to take actions to stop certain activities.
3. On the possibility of military cooperation between Portugal and Mozambique, Soares stated that it had been discussed but that nothing was finalized.

In early November, Mozambique reiterated its concern over the links between some Portuguese citizens and the MNR. Mozambique's Minister of Foreign Affairs Joaquin Chissana is reported to have expressed Mozambique's concern to the Portuguese Ambassador about "involvement by Portuguese citizens and personalities in the preparation and direction from Portugal of acts of armed banditry against Mozambique."

MOZAMBIKAN NOTES

Newsletter Editors and Contributors:

Lisa Brock
Jim Cason
Mike Fleshman
Jennifer Garvey
Allen Isaacman
Melba Kgositsile
Deborah Shanks
Atiba Wesa
Roberta Washington

THE ACCORD—WHOSE IDEA ?

(Continued from page 2)

their socialist allies.

And of course, they considered the daily damage being done by the South African-backed MNR terrorists.

Mozambican analysts examined the economic situation inside South Africa itself and concluded that the decline in the price of gold, the rising petroleum price and balance of payment deficits might make South Africa more receptive to talks which could result in new markets and investment possibilities for them in Mozambique.

During the first contacts, the South Africans refused to consider Mozambique's proposed terms for a non-aggression agreement, insisting instead on Mozambique's complete rejection of FRELIMO's strong anti-Apartheid stand and the expulsion of the ANC from Mozambican territory.

Mozambique countered by taking their campaign to the western nations supporting the South African government and demonstrating that western interests would not be served by the creation of a cold war zone (which could eventually become more) in southern Africa. South Africa reconsidered and the talks continued.

At one secret meeting held in Swaziland in December 1983, South African delegates walked out when FRELIMO representatives denounced South Africa's long history of racist aggression. But the talks continued and the Non-Agression Accord was signed on March 16.

While it is true, that the necessity from Mozambique's point of view, for the talks and a non-aggression agreement was the escalating terrorist and military activity from the South Africans, the ultimate decision to pursue this avenue was their own.



President Somara Machel and Portugal's Prime Minister Mario Soares on the latter's arrival in Maputo.

MOZAMBIQUE AT THE OLYMPICS

The People's Republic of Mozambique participated for the second time since independence in the Olympics. The first time was in 1980 in Moscow. This year's team consisted of seven men and one woman who competed in track and swimming events. They were accompanied by their trainers including track coach American cooperante Ron Davis.

While no metals were won or world records set, the experience was considered invaluable to the young athletes who participated. For one thing, it pointed up once more what athletes from developing countries are up against when they compete with more developed countries. While Mozambicans and other African runners may have the physical potential to set world records, without more favorable training conditions it will be difficult to achieve their goals in the near future.

In Maputo, where the national track team trained, those training faced several difficulties which may have ultimately affected their performances. Ron Davis, through arduous solicitations was able to arrange the donation of track shoes and other equipment by manufacturers. But the need is constant. Mozambique has no asphalt covered running courses like those of international competitions. The cinder tracks that they do have did not exist before independence.

Mozambican runners left Mozambique more than a month before the start of the Olympics accepting an offer from Atlanta's Mayor Andrew Young to train there. The program conceived in 1982 by Davis and Mayor Young accommodated athletes from ten countries including Zimbabwe, Zambia and Tanzania. During the five weeks of training at Georgia Tech the young runners had weekly competitions on the same type of track that they would run on in Los Angeles and experienced during that short period the other benefits which athletes in more advanced countries take for granted.

According to Ron Davis, training in the developed world is 'high tech' training which makes use of the latest information available on training techniques and the athletes' body, nutrition and sports medicine. Training is done on synthetic tracks with equipment and weight rooms to support

the runner's total development. Disadvantaged countries most often have only outdoor tracks which make it difficult to practice during inclement weather.

The swimmers in Mozambique also experience difficulties related to the development of the country in general. Mozambican swimmers could only train in the warm months because all of the country's pools are outdoors. Efforts to go to East Germany to train earlier than they did were delayed and once there, they did not have access to a 50 meter pool. As a result, the two swimmers who attended the Olympics had problems related to their lack of experience in an Olympic-sized pool. They also experienced the nervousness caused by performing in front of crowds hundreds of times larger than any they ever had in Maputo.

But in spite of these problems, Mozambique performed admirably at the Olympics. One runner, the lone female to participate, qualified as a semi-finalist in the 100 meter race. The

other runners came in 4th or 5th in their qualifying runs when 3rd place finishes were needed to go on to the next round. From East Africa, only Kenya ran faster. Mozambicans broke all previous national records.

While giving Mozambicans a chance to test their ability against competitors from other countries. The Olympics also pointed out to those athletes who attended the vast difference in training resources available. On their return, the athletes pressed to be taken more seriously and noted that while Mozambican runners had five months of training for the Olympics, many of the winners trained steadily since the last Olympic Games. Also noted were organizational problems in the office responsible for athletics.

The more important question for the state is, given all of the crucial problems facing the Republic, can the resources be found to reinforce sport programs so that the true potential of its athletes will be uncovered.



Mozambican Olympic athletes with their coaches in Los Angeles.

news briefs

WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS ATTACKED BY THE MNR

An incident in July in southern Mozambique near the border with South Africa demonstrated that as the mayhem generated by the South African authorities continue, no one is immune—not even white South Africans traveling to Mozambique after the signing of the Accord.

A car carrying three South African construction company technicians returning to South Africa after repairing equipment at the Maputo Port was stopped and robbed by a group of 18-20 armed bandits who later took them as prisoners.

After they were ordered out of the car and surrounded by eight armed bandits, a truck traveling behind them carrying 3 Mozambicans was shot up resulting in the death of a woman and child. A third vehicle believed to have been carrying a South African businessman was fired on and with the aid of an FPLM escort narrowly escaped ambush. During the confusion, two drivers and a dispatcher accompanying the South Africans technicians escaped.

The other driver and the three South Africans were taken as prisoners by the MNR. After being forced to accompany them on a 4 hour march they were released.

The month before these incidents, a MNR spokesman in Portugal warned that South African businessmen traveling to Maputo by car would not be allowed to pass. The MNR spokesman, Jorge Correia, is a Portuguese citizen who had earlier threatened that Portuguese citizens as well as all other foreign workers in Mozambique were being declared "military targets by the MNR."

Some speculated that the MNR actions against the white South Africans may have been instigated by groups inside South Africa and Portugal opposed to the Accord which promised a withdrawal of support from the MNR.

MNR REPS IN THE U.S.

According to an article appearing in the Washington Times on September 3, 1984: "Two representatives of the guerrilla movement battling Mozambi-

que's Marxist government were scheduled to arrive in San Diego today after the U.S. officials reversed themselves a second time and agreed to let them into the United States."

The two MNR representatives were given a letter which stated that they would not normally be allowed to enter the United States, according to the report in the World Unification Church owned daily. The letter warned them not to assault government officials, damage property or commit sabotage during their stay. Their visas reportedly were approved by the U.S. Attorney General.

Armando Khambo Gumbe and Faniel Mahuzawho listed as the Ministers of Information and Finance were traveling to the U.S. to participate in a conference sponsored by the World Anti-Communist League to be chaired by retired U.S. Maj. Gen. John Singlaub. Bumbe was scheduled to be a keynote speaker.

Although, not often heard from, there are MNR representatives stationed in the U.S. Immediately following the signing of the Accord, an MNR representative using a Philadelphia address wrote a letter to the New York Times denying any South African control and claiming their acceptance by the masses of Mozambicans. Their charges were refuted in a letter published a few days later which had been written by a group of Americans who had worked in Mozambique as co-operantes.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER KILLED

Zacarias Tomas, a long time member of FRELIMO was killed by the MNR while fighting alongside the Armed Forces. Tomas, was also a member of the Popular Assembly and the administrator of Marromeu district in Sofala. When the armed bandit group tried to attack the district seat, Tomas first made sure that the populations was removed to a secure position before joining the soldiers on the line of fire where he was killed by an explosion.

He joined FRELIMO in 1967 at age 34 and worked in youth recruitment. He was arrested by PIDE, the Portuguese intelligence service, in 1970 and spent 2 years in prison. After independence, Tomas was elected to be responsible for mobilization, production and commerce for an area of Beira.

In 1977, he was elected as a delegate to the 3rd FRELIMO party Congress and as a Deputy to the Popular Assembly. He was afterwards named to the Secretariat of the Beira City Committee for organization and later became the 1st Secretary. At the 4th Party Congress in 1983, he was elected to the Central Committee.

RUTH FIRST REMEMBERED

On August 19, 1982, a letter bomb exploded in the office of Ruth First at the Center for African Studies on the campus of Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo. The bomb killed her and wounded several colleagues. On August of this year, her husband Joe Slovo, himself a well-known apartheid fighter and ANC member spoke at the second annual memorial lecture organized to pay homage to Ruth First and her ideas.

The lecture was entitled 'Some Key Concepts of the South African Struggle'. In explaining why Ruth First was chosen as a target by the South African authorities he concluded, "She was increasing devoting her considerable talents to help lay bare the real and undeviating historic mission of South African's ruling class both within the country and in our sub-continent."

"We can not talk seriously of ending race domination and leave undisturbed the ownership and control by the existing ruling class of virtually all the means of production," Joe Slovo continued. "...we can not restrict the struggle objectives to the bourgeois democratic concept of civil or democratic rights".

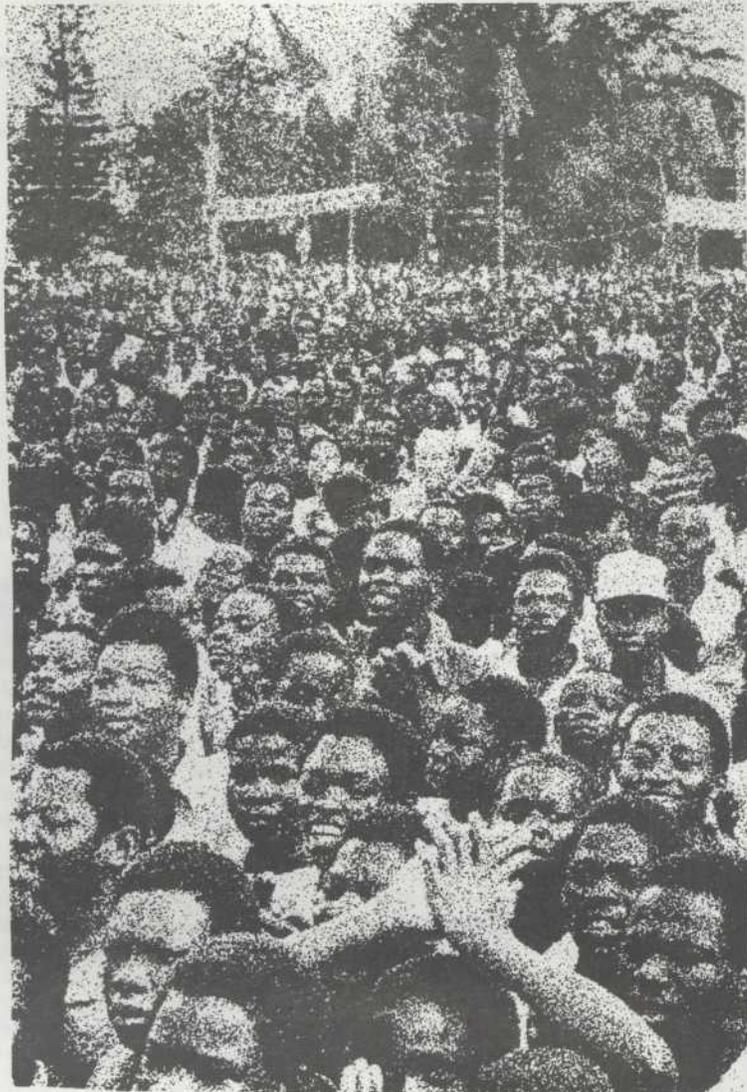
The lecture was sponsored by AMASP (the Mozambican Friendship Association) and the ANC.

(continued on page 16)

SEARCH FOR KIDNAPPED TECHNICIANS CONTINUE

A body believed to be that of an Italian technician was found by a unit of the Mozambican army near an armed bandit base in Moamba district. 29 year old Leonardo Del Vescovo worked as a mining technician for an Italian firm involved in the construction of a dam in the area. He and another Italian technician were kidnapped on September 12 by the MNR. In October an eleven year old Mozambican youth who escaped from the MNR camp reported having seen them there. Intense Army searches began with the youth and two other escapees from the camp participating.

The camp was found deep in a wooded area and appeared to have been vacated the previous day. The body, thought to be that of Del Vescovo was found with the hands tied behind the body. Searches continue for the other Italian and two Portuguese technicians believed kidnapped by MNR bands on October 7.



ALTERNATIVES FOR MIGRANT WORKERS SOUGHT

On October 20, the 6th session of the Southern Africa Labor Commission ended its three day meeting. During the meeting in Maputo, representatives recommended the creation of more work posts within each country to "reduce the migration of a labor force to South Africa." The final communique stated that the principal concern was to study carefully the methods necessary to change the current situation of economic dependence on South Africa. The communique pointed out that member countries must create new work in the areas of agriculture and industry as alternatives for those who currently go to the South African mines. The talks stressed the need for creating better conditions, in the areas of salary, housing and social benefits, for the intergration of miners who return home.

The commission is made up of the nine countries who are members of the SADCC.

Zimbabwe's Director of Employment Services observed that alternatives were necessary because South Africa used the migrant workers as a weapon in the destabilization process.



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