Dear MSN Member:

Enclosed are the minutes for the remarks from Foreign Minister Mocumbi to the MSN membership on Friday, October 7, 1988, and the Fall 1988 meeting on Saturday October 8, 1988.

Special thanks to Bill Minter, Chris Root, and Kathie Sheldon for taking minutes at Saturday's meeting. I am sure that you will find the compilation of these notes to be an accurate account of all business discussed and a wealth of information concerning Mozambique. Also included is a letter from Kevin Danaher with excellent advice on how to write articles.

Five working groups were formed to send in completed papers to the National Office before the Spring meeting: Material Aid Group (Medea Benjamin), Cultural Task Force (Stephanie Urdang), Task Force on Media Strategy (Mackie McLeod), PRE Paper (Kevin Urdang), and the U.S. Agenda for Mozambique and Angola (Lisa Brock).

Finally, an important reminder to send in your ideas for the MSN Mission Statement to the National Office in care of the Executive Committee. I am honored to serve as your National Coordinator. I look forward to seeing you and to talking with you in the near future.

A Luta Continua!

Lisa January
National Coordinator
Proposed Agenda MSN National Coordinating Committee


Friday, October 7 (6:30-9:00pm)
1. Meeting with Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi, Minster of Foreign Affairs

Saturday, October 8

Morning Session (8:30-12:00)
1. Brief summary of the history of MSN (10 min.)
2. Introduction of representatives of various MSN nuclei (20 min.)
3. Introduction of MSN staff (10 min.)
4. Update on current situation on Mozambique (30 min.)
5. Discussion of Draft Mission Statement (30 min.)
6. Discussion of Proposed National Structure (90 min.)

Afternoon Session (12:30-4:00)
1. Report on activities of MSN nuclei around the country (60 min.)
2. Report on delegations coming from and going to Mozambique (30 min.)
3. MSN Relations with anti-apartheid and liberation support groups in this country and abroad. (30 min.)
4. The current situation on the Hill (45 min.)
5. New Business and Establishing Spring Date for Next Meeting. (45 min.)
Friday, October 7, 1988

Minutes for the remarks from Foreign Minister Mocumbi to the MSN membership and an open discussion immediately following the presentation. Convened 7:00pm. Chairing the meeting was Roberta Washington.

The meeting was held at 110 Maryland Avenue, Washington D.C. thanks to the kind cooperation of the Washington Office On Africa and Bill Minter.


Prexy Nesbitt followed with announcements concerning mechanics of the meeting, entrance and exit arrangements, lunch arrangements, and washroom locations for the MSN meeting scheduled to begin at 8:30am the next morning. The Chair requested volunteers to take minutes for the Fall meeting scheduled for the following day. After having only women volunteers, a short discussion ensued concerning why men failed to volunteer to take notes. Chris Root, Kathie Sheldon, and Bill Minter volunteered to take minutes in shifts.

Remarks from Foreign Minister Mocumbi:
Greetings from Mozambicans and President Chissano. The President requests that MSN continue to build-up the support network. Experience shows that governments will pass, but people remain. MSN work has had results. The perception of Mozambique in the United States is better that two to three years ago. There is a new atmosphere about Mozambique. We hope that atmosphere will remain positive.

Support from the United States government to Mozambique is the most important. Support to Mozambique is approximately $14.5 million. $20 million in aid is expected for 1989. It is important to note that the United States is giving $15 million in aid to UNITA. It is important to continue MSN to avoid decrease in aid from the new administration.

Recent developments in Mozambique include the reorganization of the army, and help from Britain, France, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe in better training from the army. The army has cleared the previously occupied territory of Zambezia. The area is not completely out of danger, but transportation has been facilitated. President Chissano is currently in Nampula. The situation is improving, but it is still difficult. The economy has shown a 5% increase, agrarian production has increased 11%, agrarian commercialization has increased 12%, food...
production has increased 4%, services are up 4%. Agrarian production is beginning to stabilize due to a better organized military, incentives to peasants to produce more, and availability of goods to peasants who increase production for surplus.

Problems that Mozambique has been experiencing are delays in raw materials and spare parts, and sabotage. The recovery programs have covered new problems such as obsolete equipment, management problems, and the lack of a clear development policy in the industrial sector.

Recent political and diplomatic events include the implementation of the amnesty law from which over two thousand Mozambicans have benefited, the creation of the Association of Founders of Frelimo, and the 'encounter' with P.W. Botha. The Mozambican people are waiting for P.W. Botha to fulfill the commitment to the Nkomati Accords. The meeting was not a signing of new accords. The attitude of the South Africans was much different than in 1984. There is a growing consciousness among white South Africans concerning their situation after the withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia and Angola. The regime did not succeed in silencing the voice of oppression. The delegations discussed migrant Mozambican laborers in South Africa and the Cabora Bassa. Also, the visit from the Pope was positive and well received. He did not bring up controversial issues, such as talking to terrorists. The Catholic bishops expressed their wishes to work with the government. Maureen Reagan visited, bringing a supportive message from her father for President Chissano, but expressing disapproval of repatriation of Mozambicans displaced outside of the country. The U.S.S Ferris docked at Maputo. The Mozambicans beat the Americans in a basketball game.

Visitors to Mozambique expect to find chaos. They are surprised to find Mozambiquans committed to fighting terrorists.

Thank you very much for listening.

The Chair opened the discussion to questions and comments.

The Foreign Minister opened the discussion by thanking the MSN and encouraging the membership to spread the MSN so that they would have friends around the country. He also expressed the importance of maintaining current relations after the new administration and the importance of communicating with the U.S congress.

Q1) In what sense was the meeting in Tsongo different from the meeting in Nkomotí?

A) The scenario and the setting was different. The meeting took place in two phases. First, the two presidents had a tete-a-tete with no one else in the room. The second phase
was a plenary between the two delegations. The South Africans were much less arrogant than in 1984. It was not a celebration, it was all business. The South Africans seem more committed. A reason for commitment is the change in the regional and international environment. If they fail, they risk international exposure. By renegotiating the Nkomoti accords, the South Africans acknowledged violations. Also, it is hard to wage a guerilla war without a favorable border. If the war effort is not reduced by the "bandidos armados", we will know that South Africa continues to violate the accords.

Q2) Is the change in atmosphere in response to sanctions? Should we intensify demands for sanctions in the United States?

A) Yes! Opening relations with South Africa will retrocede Mozambique - South African relations. South Africa spends about $2 billion per year for their military. Can they continue the war effort with sanctions? The South African economy is mainly based on raw materials. This is dangerous if prices drop. That is why South Africa wants to develop markets with African countries. Also, intellectuals must study for scenarios after apartheid. What should be the policies? Non-racial? Redistribution of wealth? What about those who may have honestly attained wealth?

Cmt) MSN has to practice 'spin control'(media term for giving political meaning to recent political media events). The United States, South Africa, and the media use the negotiations to show that the South Africans are being "good boys". We have to show that the South Africans are negotiating because of pressure being put on the apartheid regime by anti-apartheid measures.

Q3) What if South Africa does not immediately honor aid to MNR? Will they honor other parts of the agreement?

A) The Cabora Bassa is an economic and security issue. If the dam is secure, this means partial withdrawal of the terrorists.

Q4) Do you define South Africa's struggle as a civil war? And, What do you think of Perestroika?

A) We consider apartheid a crime against humanity. It is their decision as to how to eliminate apartheid. It is important for the USSR to adjust their own policy to fit their own situation. Perestroika has eased relations. The USSR is open to starting projects and tri-partite projects with non-socialist countries. Better U.S. - USSR relations has also eased pressure.
Q5) What was the significance of the meeting between President Chissana and P.W. Botha?

A) We hope that it does not harm initiations between the frontline states, Cuba, and South Africa.

Q6) What is the PRE's (Economic Rehabilitation Programme) relationship with the World Bank?

A) PRE's main objectives are to increase production of food and exportable goods, repair and rehabilitate roads and ports, and adjust social values to realities, for example taking loans and then giving goods away. This is bad policy.

Q7) What can friends and MSN do for Mozambique? Should we concentrate on one sector? Two of three sectors?

A) Concentrate on rural development, seeds and implements. Also, medicine. We have developed a list of medicines needed for the most common diseases. Also, soap, pencils, and books.

Q8) The return of the amnestied people must be a burden on an already burdened infrastructure. What kind of resources do you need?

A) The same as emergency aid.

Closing comment from the Foreign Minister: "This has been like a family meeting."

Respectfully submitted,

Lisa January
National Coordinator
Saturday, October 8, 1988

The fall meeting of the Mozambique Support Network convened at 8:40am. The meeting was held at 110 Maryland Avenue, Washington D.C. thanks to the Washington Office on Africa and Bill Minter. The chair for the morning was Allen Isaacman.

The agenda:

1. Brief summary of the history of MSN

Lisa January will begin working in the MSN office as a full-time coordinator in mid-November.

4. Update on current situation in Mozambique:

Prexy reported some of his observations based on a trip made in September.

a) The army is reorganized and is at a new level. The emphasis on people's militia is having an effect in training people and building the militia. They need equipment, and have offers of help from China.

b) Preparations for the Fifth Congress (to be held in 1989) include debates over the direction of Mozambique. People are searching for a new "visage" in light of the war and recent international changes (in Angola and Namibia).

c) More discussion on the question of race - what does it mean to be a non-racial society. Lots of residue never cleaned up, so debate and struggle continues on that issue.

d) Stress on the importance of our work in the U.S. - perhaps given too much importance by Mozambique, given our limitations in actually changing policy.

Allen stated that President Chissano was very clear that they see the U.S. as an essential terrain of struggle (for example, a ministerial committee debated for three hours over the issue of Cameron as lobbyist). Mozambicans really want our assessments and input.

Bill questioned the impact of the Economic Recovery Program (PRE), especially the human impact, and strategies for dealing with the World Bank.

Prexy replied that that analysis was not yet done. Crucial
elements need analyzing - for instance he is sceptical about the reaction of Mozambican youth to IMF demands. There is also scattered evidence of class developments, and divisions between old Frelimo people and newer bureaucrats. The MSN office is trying to get copies of the IMF and World Bank documents.

Ann Evens - just returned, worked with Foreign Ministry and Health Ministry for several months. She stated that the IMF program forces Mozambique to make major economic policy changes in order to foment income growth. Currency has to come in line with expected exchange rate. Growth expectations, due to war conditions, mean Mozambique may get unfavorable IMF evaluation. Most people realize that some changes had to be made. Health care now has minimal costs, and the metical is exchanged at 580/$1.

Julie Cliff, said that a health care visit now is 100 mts., but the real problem is charges for medicines. These can cost many contos (1 contos = 1000 meticais). For instance, a diabetic who requires insulin regularly could spend up to 300,000 mts. a year. Health services have dropped, though many are simply not collecting the new fees; only 1/10th are being collected. The collection of fees at the local level was supposed to reduce dependence on the central Ministry of Health. There is pressure for privatized medicine, and for companies to have their own doctors. The IMF does not suggest privatization.

Bill - need for devaluation to avoid black market, and need adjustments in face of the huge debt and lack of income. The question is which are necessary changes, and which are imposed by outside forces. Mozambique is not helpless here, nor without it's own agenda.

Allen - $80 million in exports expected in '88; it was $280 million in 1980. Food and emergency aid contribute to an expected $330 million in humanitarian aid. In order to get bilateral aid, they had to join the IMF/World Bank programs. Italy, over the next four years, will provide $800 million in bilateral aid. So Mozambique is between a rock and a hard place, and it is hard to understand the contradictions while the process is still ongoing. There is much debate on all of these issues in preparation for the 5th Congress. One slogan is that "You can't have socialism on an empty stomach."

We as MSN will formulate a document for internal discussion, 3-5 pages, to be written by Kevin Danaher, Anne E., Merle, and Bill.

Lisa Brock asked how Frelimo is perceiving the difference in the U.S. approach to Mozambique and Angola.

Prexy said that Angola has different uses to the U.S., and that organizing on a popular basis in the U.S. regarding Frelimo has had an impact. After the election, there may be more problems with U.S. policy toward Mozambique. He would like to gather a
dossier on U.S. real interests and agenda in Mozambique.

Mackie commented on some recent events in Mozambique:

a) The docking of the USS Farus at Maputo is connected to interests in gaining a foothold for a base in the Indian Ocean; Mozambique is not interested in militarizing the Indian Ocean.

b) There is a demand for precious metals by the U.S. Esso is currently doing studies.

c) The link with Zaire is a CIA asset. The Zaire ambassador is interested in the Beira Corridor, as a possible benefit for Zaire.

d) The role of the CIA in the MNR is not clear. It fits their "low-intensity" war program (see Veil by B. Woodward.)

Allen - regarding Mozambican mineral wealth, a U.S. Geological team in Zambezia found $2 billion in tantalite (used in jets) and heavy sands. U.S. mining capital is now penetrating. The docking of the U.S. frigate occurred only after much debate in the government, and it was decided that it was desirable. They emphasized their non-aligned status; some did not want foreign ships. It took two years of negotiating to get the U.S. to agree. While the sailors were there they put in a water system in the hospital, and another group built a playground.

Roberta - we need to give our view of U.S. policy here, not just trail along. U.S. has the same objectives in Mozambique and Angola, but they support UNITA because they see the Angolan military as stronger. Mozambique's weakness means they don't have to intervene in the same way.

Herb - Zaire is playing a role in shifting power within the front line states and in SADCC. As the South African role declines, the U.S. role may increase as mediator, establishing 1st economic hegemony. Frelimo leadership has some concerns about a Dukakis takeover of this process as humanitarian move.

Kevin - mentioned that 26 other African countries have instituted forms of PRE, and in terms of the suffering of the masses, Mozambique is on the good side of the spectrum.

We will make a discussion paper on the differences in the U.S. approach to Mozambique and Angola; Lisa Brock, Roberta, Amy, Bill, Mackie, Dwayne, will work on this.

Bill - disagreed with many of the comments made on this - there is not a unified U.S. strategy, different parts of the U.S. government have different programs, we must link Mozambique and Angola solidarity. UNITA is trying to make that split, we need to show that we don't take two different positions on Mozambique and Angola. UNITA is the thin edge of the wedge, Renamo follows in.

Paul asked for more information on changes in housing and education due to PRE.
Julie mentions that the distribution of text books is now in the hands of private merchants, but since there is no large profit, books are sitting in warehouses in Nampula, and are not being distributed.

Goncalvez (Mozambican journalist) - Since the introduction of PRE in early 1987, it was seen that the government should keep rents low, but APIE (the national housing authority) needed some income for maintenance of buildings. People's Assembly debated on the amount of rent increase. The increase was a percentage based on location and type and size of house, not related to a percentage of a worker's salary. The Sommerschild neighborhood in Maputo now has rents of 30,000 to 40,000 mts./month. Since the minimum agricultural salary is now 12,500/month, and urban workers make about 16,000/month, clearly some houses are reserved for an elite, (often a foreign elite).

Merle raised the issues of class and race regarding who is living in the city center. Now government organizations are buying houses for cooperantes.

Julie comments that many people prefer to live in the suburbs where they can have a plot of land for a garden.

Goncalvez said that there are private exchanges of housing between people who can afford better and those who can't afford where they are. Foreign ministries can afford the rent. The government says that it is not a big increase, and people can appeal rent increases.

Mackie commented that people were told by APIE to do repairs on their buildings. There has been a dramatic increase in the presence of NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations) and other delegations; from 60 or 70 in February 1988 to over 100 and perhaps as many as 150 over the summer. He raised the issue of charities and their role in stopping socialism through their economic and political impact.

Allen agreed that Mozambique is losing autonomy.

Prexy pointed out that there are contradictions in Mozambique like everywhere. The MSN office will soon have a kit from Canada, put out by all of the Canadian groups working together- "Mozambique, Apartheid's Second Front." We might want to use that as a model for a project here, though they did have Canadian government funding.

Anne comments that housing does cost money - usually foreign exchange - to maintain, and there is some advantage to foreign groups putting money into maintaining Mozambique's limited housing stock.

Kevin commented that in terms of foreign aid, the Scandinavians
do the best. As a counter example, Ghana increased their basic food supply but at the expense of crushing their trade unions. We need to explain the contradictions without portraying Mozambique as a basket case.

Allen agreed that we need to avoid both cynicism and triumphalism.

5. Discussion of Draft Mission Statement
Jen: Disturbed that the statement does not reflect Mozambique's effort to move toward socialism.
Allen: Statement is minimalist and nonsectarian. A first draft, open to criticism.
Prexy: It is very important at this time to have a minimalist document. Our role is to mobilize support, and to transcend race and class questions, to reach further than the anti-apartheid movement often has. Reaching out to the black and white middle class requires minimalist language. Also, harassment of people with radical views in the US is on the rise.
Kathy: Suggested acronym "MoSupNet" instead of MSN.
Lisa Anderson: I need a minimalist statement for work in Idaho, where there are significant forces ready to attack people who do this kind of work. This is also the case in Masula and Salt Lake City.
Allen: Jen's and Prexy's statements represent the two poles for discussion.
Herb: These two points of view are not necessarily in opposition; the issue is how to communicate ideas. Mozambique is in a stage of struggling for survival, and requires broad mobilization. We need to organize in the US in the same way as was done against facism in Europe, i.e., not breaking into factions.
Kevin: There might be two documents, or even altering of statement for local conditions. At the same time, we must not be opportunist, pandering to lowest political level and not trying to move people politically at all.
Lisa January: I am not concerned about pushing a particular ideology or about supporting poor people in Mozambique, but about supporting the Mozambican revolution, recognizing that Frelimo may make many changes in its line. Favor a more minimalist document.
Stephanie: Many of us supported Mozambique because of its socialist agenda. This agenda hasn't been achieved yet, but the core and vision is still there. This document sounds like it could be support for almost any African country. There are concrete ways of talking about socialism that are not threatening, and that can open people's eyes.
Martin: Moved by Stephanie's comments; this perspective shouldn't be lost. On other hand, Mozambique needs good relations with US government as well, so we should not be more explicit in our language that is Mozambique in its talks with US government.
Stephanie: Note that Nicaragua support groups do talk about Nicaragua's vision, not just aid for the contras.
Bill: Agree that Mozambique's vision needs to be in the document in a less bland and boring way. Suggests talking more about the substance of socialism. Need to be clear about our core constituency -- those we are attempting to mobilize -- and use language in the mission statement appropriate to that group. Other
constituencies we hope only to influence.

Medina: The "bottom line" stressed by Central American support groups is non-interventionism ... recognition of the right to self-determination concerning a country's vision and policy. This is missing from Mission Statement.

Roberta: May need two statements, a longer internal one and simpler public one.

Allen: There seem to be four contending approaches (which may not all be mutually exclusive): (1) remain with minimalist document, stated in more interesting language; (2) have two different documents; (3) include more discussion of Mozambique's socialist agenda, but not necessarily with explicit language; and (4) be more explicit about Mozambique's commitment to a socialist agenda and our support for that. All 4 positions are legitimate; our organization is non-sectarian, so it is understandable that there are many different ideas.

Lisa Brock: We don't want to be accused of having a hidden agenda (in a second, internal statement). Disagree with minimalist position. If we have a bland, liberal statement it will attract a liberal constituency.

John: Second paragraph of statement should include more on Mozambique's vision and also on effort to build non-racial and non-tribal society, and about opposition to apartheid.

Mark: If there are two documents, there certainly should be no contradictions between them.

Lisa Brock: We don't want to be involved in red-baiting.

Kathy: Avoidance of the word "socialism" is so obvious in document. You can't get away from the issue; in speaking to group, people raise questions about one-party state, state-controlled unions, etc. One can talk about socialism in a non-threatening way.

Jen: The experience of the anti-apartheid movement is that it is dangerous to be too vague and too general. That is how we lost a Congressional vote on CIA support for UNITA one week after winning a vote on South African sanctions. I oppose two documents, because of perception of a hidden agenda. Agree that self-determination is useful framework and one that most Americans agree with.

Amy: Agree that it's not a good idea to have two documents.

Carter: Use of word "socialism" is problematic because it means different things to different people. Better to support self-determination.

Roberta: The idea of two documents is just to have one longer and a second with extracts from the first; not two politically-different statements.

Allen: Let us try to gain consensus on having 1 or 2 documents.

It was agreed by a show of hands to have only one document.

Allen: Executive Committee will need to edit now. It is very important for people to send to MSN office specific suggestions for language, especially on issues of self-determination and Mozambique's accomplishments and vision. Turn discussion now to minimalist vs. more explicit language.

Herb: Do not favor a minimalist statement that is "all things to all people." We should meet the challenge of taking the vision of Mozambique and translating it into terms that are not tied to a narrow ideological position.

Kevin: Statement should clarify that we are not talking about charity toward Mozambique. State how we as Americans benefit from solidarity with Mozambique.
Allen: There are perhaps 3 positions now: (1) edit minimalist statement only; (2) elaborate on transformations in Mozambique, but not using socialist language; (3) explicit discussion of socialist agenda. 
Herb: (2) and (3) are not necessarily mutually exclusive.
Medina: Need to address how we will use the Mission Statement, i.e. to send to key organizers and local nuclei; not to accompany funding proposals. The brochure is the document for public use. But the Mission Statement will be made public; we must expect this.
Lisa Brock: We will want to use statement in the public domain. Some people you try to organize will ask to see fuller statement about organization than is in the brochure.
Allen: We must not become victims to red-baiting, but also not make it easy for our enemies to attack us.
Paul: Do not forget an initial point about relating Mozambique's non-racialism to the situation in South Africa. This speaks to many Americans.
Bill: Following on Herb's point, the statement must do two things: (a) not alienate people who can be mobilized and must be minimalist in that sense (non-sectarian); (b) say more than just support for "development" and "independence"; talk of development that benefits the majority of people, not an exploitative minority, and that Mozambican's call this socialism.
(Bill also stated in prior discussion at meeting that Mission Statement should include a statement that MSN supports Angola for the same reasons it supports Mozambique. Solidarity work with Angola is more difficult than with Mozambique, but we should not allow ourselves to be split on this issue. Also, politically work in US by MNR follows on inroads made by UNITA, so the work from our side is inter-related.)
Allen: The Executive Committee will write another draft, with consultant and staff, but language suggestions are needed from you. New version will be distributed at least 6 weeks to one month before next meeting, so we can try to complete discussion at next meeting.
Prexy: People in MSN have poor record of sending in drafts. Please respond within the next week. Send to Lisa January at office.
Lisa January: Document should be minimalist in words but not ideas. Need short, careful writing, without emotional baggage.

Organizational Structure

Allen: Draft was prepared by Executive Committee, with a memo from Bill. Membership statement intended to balance openness and breadth with different levels of commitment.
Kathy: Concerned about relation between chapters and supportive organizations, especially in same city. Not good for supporting organizations to relate only to national office, and not to local chapter.
Prexy: As consultant, I have two hats: (1) reach out to everyone wanting to support Mozambique; and (2) support nuclei of MSN. As local groups get
stronger, I would like to have them set up my itinerary and that of other visitors.
Allen: This issue relates to turf questions, and relating to other anti-apartheid groups.
Lisa Brock: MSN chapters need to work in coalitions and not to compete with other groups.
Herb: Prexy has handled his ambiguous position well. Important for local chapters not to confuse the Mozambique Solidarity Office, which Prexy staffs, and the Mozambique Support Network.
Allen: With hiring of Lisa January as MSN staff, this ambiguous situation should become less of a problem.
Lisa Brock: Our vision has always been of a loosely co-ordinated network of groups.
Bill: "Membership" category is still unclear -- anyone on the mailing list, or specific group of people. Dues should be raised, with provision of low-income people.
Allen: Every member of a MSN nucleus should also be an individual member.
Stephanie: Agree that dues should be raised.
Bob: Members should receive lots of materials in return for their dues.
Julie: We have been getting much more than a newsletter -- many clippings.
Amy: Pamphlet needs to be clearer about categories. But do retain check-off for requesting more information about Mozambique. People who check that should receive personal letter with materials.
Allen: Dues should at least cover cost of mailings.
Bill: The National Co-ordinating Committee is the future definition of what is now loosely called the "core". This is the group that will receive more mailings.
Chris: Organizational statement of the role of members is good -- members have responsibilities to the organization. Perhaps there should be another category of "subscriber" or "supporter" (better) of people who want to receive information but are not expected to be active in behalf of MSN.
Bill: Disagree with this. Record-keeping system is not yet sophisticated enough to deal with so many different categories. How must work people will do once they pay dues and receive materials depends on how well we mobilize, so rigid distinction should be avoided.
Herb: Should chapters pay additional dues?
Allen: We thought not, because they also have to fund their local work.
Medina: Recommend a $25 membership fee, with provision for low-income rate.
Lisa Brock: Need to keep it low; people can't afford to join lots of groups.
Stephanie: Keep a low membership rate, and then mail fundraising appeals 4 times per year to raise more.
Allen: Do we have a consensus that membership dues should be low enough to keep MSN accessible but raise to cover more of actual costs.
Lisa January: Need to clarify how dues are collected. National office is responsible.
Bill: Contributions record and how long a person states on the mailing list are
not yet in the MSN computer system. It is needed. How long we have been in touch with people is important datum for organizing. Membership year has been defined as starting when you pay dues; national office must send out renewals at end of that year.

Membership dues of $10 were agreed to.

Julie: How does organization relate to Mozambican students in the US?
Prexy: There is no list of Mozambican students in US. Local people need to send in names of any students they know of. They should automatically be sent the newsletter gratis.

Bill: This raises a more general question. National office staff may have reason to send materials gratis to specific individuals and organizations, but this needs to be kept controlled and re-evaluated periodically.

Kevin: We need to have MSN pay for itself in the US; Mozambican people should not be paying for it.

Allen: Some good fundraising has been done. Our goal is to substantially reduce the indirect support by Mozambique within five years.

Lisa Brock: Chapters should consider having fundraising events for national MSN, by approaching people on the MSN mailing list in their area, among others.

Report on US Policy by Damu Smith, Director of Washington Office on Africa

House Vote for SA Sanctions: Popular organizing was very important to success of bill -- getting bill through eight committees and full House vote. Senate is obviously more difficult. Senate allies have not cooperated well; there was no energy or planning until after House vote on August 11, which was too late.

Situation in Senate is bad. Republicans Lugar and Kassebaum (then chair of Foreign Relations Committee and of Africa Subcommittee) supported sanctions in 1986, but send that bill was definitely as far as they would go. We have no moderate Republican support this time - Republicans are disciplined block against sanctions, except for Senator Weicker. Some moderate and conservative Democrats will also oppose, so friends in Senate are quite pessimistic.

Majority Leader Robert Byrd is solidly opposed and vote count is not good. Nevertheless, getting strong bill through the House and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is important; we will have to build on that next session.

Important to continue "peoples' sanctions" campaigns, whoever wins the White House. Also need to counter propaganda that sanctions are a failed strategy. Fact that SA is not on TV means people aren't reacting as emotionally anymore; this is a problem for organizing.
In terms of specific legislation related to Mozambique - there is nothing now. Next year there is concern regarding aid levels to Mozambique and to SADCC. We need to fight restrictions, including restrictions to private sector only. We need to increase aid and end the limitations. In general Congress does not want to aid Africa.

Prexy asked about the names and politics of specific senators. For instance Paul Simon talked about introducing a bill on non-lethal aid to Mozambique, but it was withdrawn due to right wing senators who were prepared to end all aid to Mozambique.

Damu said that is difficult to get such legislation through. Congress is more conservative on Mozambique than the administration. But withdrawing legislation in that situation is chicken, we must have the fight on the House and Senate floor. The right wing is really using Congress to formulate foreign policy.

Real crazies are Helms, DeConcinis, Burden, friends are the Congressional Black Caucus, Wolpe, Solarz, Kennedy, Cranston, Weicker.

Wolpe (house chair on African Affairs) has tough fight for reelection, as Kellog's (cereal) has targetted him for defeat, put in a lot of money. He is in a Republican district, and the right wing has a "decent" candidate in opposition. Kellog's has gotten involved because of Wolpe's sanctions stand.

Mackie asks if there is a way to go after those fundraising for the MNR through the neutrality act; there is evidence that individuals have given upwards of $50,000 to the MNR.

Damu says that MSN and others have helped put the right wing on the defensive with regard to MNR, with help from MNR atrocities. Jesse Jackson should also get credit. Damu was in a meeting with Crocker, Jackson, Gersony, and Whitehead. Jesse got Crocker to join him at a press conference where Jackson spoke specifically about Mozambique, and Crocker was there.
12:50 p.m. reconvened, chaired by Roberta.
Continuation of discussion of national structure proposal, having dealt in morning with individual and chapter memberships, supportive organizations.

-National Advisory Board
H. Shore - should not be listed under "membership," rather in separate category. Agreed.

People should send in suggestions for names to the national office. Also: send in own membership to national office ($10)

-National Office
proposal presented by Roberta as in suggestion
Amy: important for local groups to send things to national office; clippings, reports on activities, etc. Only in this way can national office be effective.
Material sent out for resale needs to be reimbursed. W. Minter suggest that bills be sent. Agreed.
Mackie: suggested need for more systematic public information unit -- need to go on offensive vis-a-vis press coverage, local, national; organize this in systematic way.
Bill: reminder that should be press category on mailing list, to receive special mailings
Importance of letters to the letter. Lisa J.: suggestion that packet of how-to info be compiled, sent out.
Discussion of info unit, how to implement. Consensus no capacity for funded staffed separate unit at present; working group to study; Mackie, with aid of Bob, Herb, Rachel, Andy, Stephanie
Matonse: appeal for names to be sent to Embassy of good people to add to Moz Update mailing list.
Issue raising of coordinating national art tour - initiative in Boston. Role of national office an issue, how much can do. Serve to coordinate information and involvement. Prexy cautioned that nat. office could not take on too many major projects at once. Need to choose priorities. This does not preclude one local taking initiative and coordinating with others with help of national office.

-National Coordinating Committee
-how to be chosen: add to proposal in IA: elected from each chapter, 1B selected by National Coordinating Committee.
-all members of national advis. board welcome to attend, only three voting members
-also other members of MSN can/should be invited to Nat. Coordinating Committee - chapters not yet formed, ex-cooperantes, others who might usefully participant. But participation does not mean official voting members of NCC(National Coordinating Committee)
-add as Point D: Supportive organizations may also send reps to be non-voting participants at NCC meetings.
-add as Point D: Other members may be invited to attend as non-
voting participants.

- Executive Committee
  - need for regular consulation, conference calls, sometimes travel. Suggestion from Herb that 3-year terms should be staggered so that not all come up for reelection at same time.
  - issue raised of need for travel pool for NCC, to be discussed later.
- ExecCom elected from membership, not necessarily previously members of NCC, become ex-officio part of NCC.
- when should new structure start -- to be finalized as to how to by Spring, go into effect in Fall 1989; until then continue as is

-beginning of official afternoon agenda, with reports from nuclei

  Boston: delegations led by Zubaida & Mackie in Feb; Mackie in Aug; 15-20 people attending chapter meetings; focus on injecting Mozambique into UN-YMCA Africa Focus in Boston - 5 different committees, trying to establish Beira/Boston Connection. Much work on involving media. B. Globe reporter on Med. visit.
  [reference to North American-Mozambique Health Commission -- heavily funded by BandAid and by UNICEF, one doctor sent to Manica province so far]

  Idaho: Lisa the one person involved, has to deal with South Africa even in order to explain Mozambique, much right-wing hostility, involvement of South African consul from Beverly Hills, radio & TV debates; visit by Shadrach (Xandreque Paulino) very good & intense. Needs support and help from others to overcome isolation, lack of resources.

  Chicago: reaching out to Black churches, getting some interest, trying to decide what to do with this interest, one project with Black Methodists, upcoming Mozambique Sunday. Many members on paper, few who really work. Even in conjunction with Nicaragua Solidarity Committee; Seeds & HandTools campaign, seeds to be purchased in Zimbabwe

  Twin Cities -- very "liberal" context; twin city with Lawaiikamp in South Africa

  NY: not yet formal chapter; last Friday first program aimed at general public: 120 people at City College; for the future possibility of mobilizing new people; ongoing issue history of many groups, complex rivalries, etc.

  DC: decision earlier not to form a chapter, concentrate on networking with many national and local orgs with an Africa interest, important not to arouse rivalry or to diminish their involvement but rather enhance it: possibility with new people in area (Wendy, Mackie, Zubaida) of more active nucleus, has to be worked out carefully. Ruth Minter (with UCC) active work on Mozambique, Potomac Conference.

  MSN Activities in East Lansing, Michigan

We still do not have a chapter; two Americans and a Mozambican student are active.

Focus has been on churches and organizing outreach for Mozambicans. In churches, held educational forum and took up special collection of $776 for Mozambique (to Church World Service) at local United Church of Christ. Invited
various church people (including some who have visited southern Africa) to hear Mozambican student and arranged speaking for him at a Presbyterian Church. Gave briefing for Mich. State Univ. CROP Walk on Mozambique, part of whose proceeds went to Mozambique (via CWS). Arranged radio talk show and faculty luncheon for Ambassador Ferrao to compliment speaking engagement organized by African Student Union. Have spoken at statewide Church Women United meeting and statewide coalition of women's organizations (Women's Assembly) on southern Africa.

Chris Root wrote paper on impact of South African policy on hunger in Mozambique and Angola for World Food Day (Oct. 16) which was distributed nationally to campuses and some churches and civic groups.

more general discussion of material aid. Prexy stress should get away from focus on shipping things to Mozambique, clothes, etc. Much more focus on money and on political organization. Kathy S., note that can raise money, even at small events, money for MSN itself. Julie C.: even when raising clothes in Maputo, transport problems to Inhambane. Never underestimate problems of transport. Fund in Ministry of Health people can contribute cash. Jennifer - still political issue of giving people something concrete to know where money goes. Paul - mentioned contribution of medical journal subs as a possibility. Lisa J.: possibility of national office focusing on one or two specific projects (not to preclude other local efforts). Kevin D.: mentioned Africa Exchange, making people-to-people contacts in Mozambique, Zimbabwe et al. Allen: Mozambique Education Fund can be used as tax-exempt channel for contributions if purpose is related in some way to education.

-need to learn from previous material aid campaigns, by MSN or others, esp.: Central Amer. groups; need to maintain communication through national office, not produce chaotic proliferation (mess!)

Prexy-church involvement: Methodist & UCC have both made Mozambique a priority. Need to use Pope's visit to now appeal to Catholic churches. Also to involve union organizations, CBTU has already passed strong resolutions

-Suggestion for regular article(s) with simple advice on material aid, in newsletter.

-Chris suggests subgroup to work out guidance on material aid, maybe suggest one or two national campaigns. Medea to chair. Allen, Wendy, Julie, Paul membership

-Chris -- suggested that various groups (including E. Lansing) really didn't get time to report. Suggest more productive use of time if written reports sent in on local nuclei activities in advance of meeting, & sent out by nat.off. General agreement that good suggestion.


-mention of activities of TAMOFA, possible fundraising in U.S. (Renee in touch). Prexy caution that Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Tanzania concerned to coordinate properly with Mozambique's own efforts in U.S. and orgs such as ZIMOF & TAMOFA. MSN should wait for clarity from meetings going on among the three.

*ZIMOFA - Zimbabwe Mozambique Friendship Association

**TAMOFA - Tanzania Mozambique Friendship Association
- Reports on delegations (possible, few plans finalized at this point)
  Graça Machel, maybe in March, contacts in Boston, National Assoc. Inden. Schools, Nat. Assoc. Rel. Educators; possible Spelman
  Marcelino dos Santos - maybe Feb, especially to meet with solidarity groups
  Minister of Health expected to tour the U.S. in November.
  Malangatana and Chissano - to be in residence at one or more universities, produce art -- money must be raised on this side. Confusion in past, didn’t work out at Boston, UCLA, Ill. Need to coordinate
  Cultural task force to talk about such issues - Stephanie chair, Zabaida, Rachel, Bob, Herb
  ECASAMA meeting in Bonn Dec 8-10. MSN could probably pay half the cost for a rep. Exec. Comm. to consult with volunteers on who, financial details.
  Conf. coming up in Boston on Anti-Communism, wide attendance, issue of right-wing support for MNR must be raised.
  -Educators’ delegation - Mackie working on this; also new working medical delegation thru Tecnia

- report on financial situation at present $8800 current bank balance, but $5,000 of outstanding loans due
  Among recurrent expenses: $330 for 3,000 newsletters (printing only), $150/month telephone; $700 travel subsidies. Major expense for coming year Lisa's salary, strong commitment to this. Some grant applications outstanding, hope to raise maybe $20,000 this year.
  -Want to transfer more financial responsibility to MSN from MSO office -- Total cost of two combined now c. $70,000 a year. This therefore is our target. If achieved then MSN could completely replace MSO. Fundraising committee: Allen & Mikel, some successes. Much work to do as yet.
  -Donors’ visits to Mozambique set for Jan-Feb; attempt to broaden base for support for southern Africa work, get new people. Had more interest than could accomodate for visits. Conditions in Mozambique not allow trips more than 12 people absolute maximum

- Spring meeting - tentatively set for April 8-9; nat. off. to explore with LA, SF possibility of hosting
  -issue of travel support discussed - so that costs roughly equalized. Two ways: travel pool, or rotating meetings. Decision for now to stick with rotating meetings. If people have special difficulties, possibility for nat. off. subsidies on an ad hoc basis.
  -next meeting should be slightly longer, opportunity for more informal socializing, exchange of views. Therefore to begin Saturday morning (people arriving Friday night), continue through Sunday 1 p.m. Saturday night dinner together.

-meeting adjourned.
Discussion of Mission Statement and Organizational Structure, plus Damu Smith's report (part)

Mission Statement

Jen: Disturbed that the statement does not reflect Mozambique's effort to move toward socialism.
Allen: Statement is minimalist and nonsectarian. A first draft, open to criticism.
Prexy: It is very important at this time to have a minimalist document. Our role is to mobilize support, and to transcend race and class questions, to reach further than the anti-apartheid movement often has. Reaching out to the black and white middle class requires minimalist language. Also, harassment of people with radical views in the US is on the rise.
Kathy: Suggested acronym "MoSupNet" instead of MSN.
Lisa Anderson: I need a minimalist statement for work in Idaho, where there are significant forces ready to attack people who do this kind of work. This is also the case in Masula and Salt Lake City.
Allen: Jen's and Prexy's statements represent the two poles for discussion.
Herb: These two points of view are not necessarily in opposition; the issue is how to communicate ideas. Mozambique is in a stage of struggling for survival, and requires broad mobilization. We need to organize in the US in the same way as was done against fascism in Europe, i.e., not breaking into factions.
Kevin: There might be two documents, or even altering of statement for local conditions. At the same time, we must not be opportunist, pandering to lowest political level and not trying to move people politically at all.
Lisa January: I am not concerned about pushing a particular ideology or about supporting poor people in Mozambique, but about supporting the Mozambican revolution, recognizing that Frelimo may make many changes in its line. Favor a more minimalist document.
Stephanie: Many of us supported Mozambique because of its socialist agenda. This agenda hasn't been achieved yet, but the core and vision is still there. This document sounds like it could be support for almost any African country. There are concrete ways of talking about socialism that are not threatening, and that can open people's eyes.
Martin: Moved by Stephanie's comments; this perspective shouldn't be lost. On other hand, Mozambique needs good relations with US government as well, so we should not be more explicit in our language that is Mozambique in its talks with US government.
Stephanie: Note that Nicaragua support groups do talk about Nicaragua's vision, not just aid for the contras.
Bill: Agree that Mozambique's vision needs to be in the document in a less bland and boring way. Suggests talking more about the substance of socialism. Need to be clear about our core constituency -- those we are attempting to mobilize -- and use language in the mission statement appropriate to that group. Other
constituencies we hope only to influence.
Medina: The "bottom line" stressed by Central American support groups is non-interventionism ... recognition of the right to self-determination concerning a country's vision and policy. This is missing from Mission Statement.
Roberta: May need two statements, a longer internal one and simpler public one.
Allen: There seem to be four contending approaches (which may not all be mutually exclusive): (1) remain with minimalist document, stated in more interesting language; (2) have two different documents; (3) include more discussion of Mozambique's socialist agenda, but not necessarily with explicit language; and (4) be more explicit about Mozambique's commitment to a socialist agenda and our support for that. All 4 positions are legitimate; our organization is non-sectarian, so it is understandable that there are many different ideas.
Lisa Brock: We don't want to be accused of having a hidden agenda (in a second, internal statement). Disagree with minimalist position. If we have a bland, liberal statement it will attract a liberal constituency.
John: Second paragraph of statement should include more on Mozambique's vision and also on effort to build non-racial and non-tribal society, and about opposition to apartheid.
Mark: If there are two documents, there certainly should be no contradictions between them.
Lisa Brock: We don't want to be involved in red-baiting.
Kathy: Avoidance of the word "socialism" is so obvious in document. You can't get away from the issue; in speaking to group, people raise questions about one-party state, state-controlled unions, etc. One can talk about socialism in a non-threatening way.
Jen: The experience of the anti-apartheid movement is that it is dangerous to be too vague and too general. That is how we lost a Congressional vote on CIA support for UNITA one week after winning a vote on South African sanctions. I oppose two documents, because of perception of a hidden agenda. Agree that self-determination is useful framework and one that most Americans agree with.
Amy: Agree that it's not a good idea to have two documents.
Carter: Use of word "socialism" is problematic because it means different things to different people. Better to support self-determination.
Roberta: The idea of two documents is just to have one longer and a second with extracts from the first; not two politically-different statements.
Allen: Let us try to gain consensus on having 1 or 2 documents.
It was agreed by a show of hands to have only one document.
Allen: Executive Committee will need to edit now. It is very important for people to send to MSN office specific suggestions for language, especially on issues of self-determination and Mozambique's accomplishments and vision. Turn discussion now to minimalist vs. more explicit language.
Herb: Do not favor a minimalist statement that is "all things to all people." We should meet the challenge of taking the vision of Mozambique and translating it into terms that are not tied to a narrow ideological position.
Kevin: Statement should clarify that we are not talking about charity toward Mozambique. State how we as Americans benefit from solidarity with Mozambique.
Allen: There are perhaps 3 positions now: (1) edit minimalist statement only; (2) elaborate on transformations in Mozambique, but not using socialist language; (3) explicit discussion of socialist agenda.

Herb: (2) and (3) are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

Medina: Need to address how we will use the Mission Statement, i.e. to send to key organizers and local nuclei; not to accompany funding proposals. The brochure is the document for public use. But the Mission Statement will be made public; we must expect this.

Lisa Brock: We want to use statement in the public domain. Some people you try to organize will ask to see fuller statement about organization than is in the brochure.

Allen: We must not become victims to red-baiting, but also not make it easy for our enemies to attack us.

Paul: Do not forget an initial point about relating Mozambique's non-racialism to the situation in South Africa. This speaks to many Americans.

Bill: Following on Herb's point, the statement must do two things: (a) not alienate people who can be mobilized and must be minimalist in that sense (non-sectarian); (b) say more than just support for "development" and "independence;" talk of development that benefits the majority of people, not an exploitative minority, and that Mozambican's call this socialism.

(Bill also stated in prior discussion at meeting that Mission Statement should include a statement that MSN supports Angola for the same reasons it supports Mozambique. Solidarity work with Angola is more difficult than with Mozambique, but we should not allow ourselves to be split on this issue. Also, politically work in US by MNR follows on inroads made by UNITA, so the work from our side is inter-related.)

Allen: The Executive Committee will write another draft, with consultant and staff, but language suggestions are needed from you. New version will be distributed at least 6 weeks to one month before next meeting, so we can try to complete discussion at next meeting.

Prexy: People in MSN have poor record of sending in drafts. Please respond within the next week. Send to Lisa January at office.

Lisa January: Document should be minimalist in words but not ideas. Need short, careful writing, without emotional baggage.

Organizational Structure

Allen: Draft was prepared by Executive Committee, with a memo from Bill. Membership statement intended to balance openness and breadth with different levels of commitment.

Kathy: Concerned about relation between chapters and supportive organizations, especially in same city. Not good for supporting organizations to relate only to national office, and not to local chapter.

Prexy: As consultant, I have two hats: (1) reach out to everyone wanting to support Mozambique; and (2) support nuclei of MSN. As local groups get
stronger. I would like to have them set up my itinerary and that of other visitors.

Allen: This issue relates to turk questions, and relating to other anti-apartheid groups.

Lisa Brock: MSN chapters need to work in coalitions and not to compete with other groups.

Herb: Prexy has handled his ambiguous position well. Important for local chapters not to confuse the Mozambique Solidarity Office, which Prexy staffs, and the Mozambique Support Network.

Allen: With hiring of Lisa January as MSN staff, this ambiguous situation should become less of a problem.

Lisa Brock: Our vision has always been of a loosely co-ordinated network of groups.

Bill: "Membership" category is still unclear -- anyone on the mailing list, or specific group of people. Dues should be raised, with provision of low-income people.

Allen: Every member of a MSN nucleus should also be an individual member.

Stephanie: Agree that dues should be raised.

Bob: Members should receive lots of materials in return for their dues.

Julie: We have been getting much more than a newsletter -- many clippings.

Amy: Pamphlet needs to be clearer about categories. But do retain check-off for requesting more information about Mozambique. People who check that should receive personal letter with materials.

Allen: Dues should at least cover cost of mailings.

Bill: The National Co-ordinating Committee is the future definition of what is now loosely called the "core". This is the group that will receive more mailings.

Chris: Organizational statement of the role of members is good -- members have responsibilities to the organization. Perhaps there should be another category of "subscriber" or "supporter" (better) of people who want to receive information but are not expected to be active in behalf of MSN.

Bill: Disagree with this. Record-keeping system is not yet sophisticated enough to deal with so many different categories. How must work people will do once they pay dues and receive materials depends on how well we mobilize, so rigid distinction should be avoided.

Herb: Should chapters pay additional dues?

Allen: We thought not, because they also have to fund their local work.

Medina: Recommend a $25 membership fee, with provision for low-income rate.

Lisa Brock: Need to keep it low; people can't afford to join lots of groups.

Stephanie: Keep a low membership rate, and then mail fundraising appeals 4 times per year to raise more.

Allen: Do we have a consensus that membership dues should be low enough to keep MSN accessible but raise to cover more of actual costs.

Lisa January: Need to clarify how dues are collected. National office is responsible.

Bill: Contributions record and how long a person states on the mailing list are
not yet in the MSN computer system. It is needed. How long we have been in touch with people is important datum for organizing. Membership year has been defined as starting when you pay dues; national office must send out renewals at end of that year.

Membership dues of $10 were agreed to.

Julie: How does organization relate to Mozambican students in the US?

Prexy: There is no list of Mozambican students in US. Local people need to send in names of any students they know of. They should automatically be sent the newsletter gratis.

Bill: This raises a more general question. National office staff may have reason to send materials gratis to specific individuals and organizations, but this needs to be kept controlled and re-evaluated periodically.

Kevin: We need to have MSN pay for itself in the US; Mozambican people should nto be paying for it.

Allen: Some good fundraising has been done. Our goal is to substantially reduce the indirect support by Mozambique within five years.

Lisa Brock: Chapters should consider having fundraising events for national MSN, by approaching people on the MSN mailing list in their area, among others.

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Report on US Policy by Damu Smith, Director of Washington Office on Africa

House Vote for SA Sanctions: Popular organizing was very important to success of bill -- getting bill through eight committees and full House vote. Senate is obviously more difficult. Senate allies have not cooperated well; there was no energy or planning until after House vote on August 11, which was too late. Situation in Senate is bad. Republicans Lugar and Kassebaum (then chair of Foreign Relations Committee and of Africa Subcommittee) supported sanctions in 1986, but send that bill was definitely as far as they would go. We have no moderate Republican support this time - Republicans are disciplined block against sanctions, except for Senator Weicker. Some moderate and conservative Democrats will also oppose, so friends in Senate are quite pessimistic. Majority Leader Robert Byrd is solidly opposed and vote count is not good. Nevertheless, getting strong bill through the House and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is important; we will have to build on that next session. Important to continue "peoples' sanctions" campaigns, whoever wins the White House. Also need to counter propaganda that sanctions are a failed strategy. Fact that SA is not on TV means people aren't reacting as emotionally anymore; this is a problem for organizing.

(continue Damu's presentation with Kathy's notes)