



April, 1976 #34

Mozambicans,
Workers, peasants, and fighters,
Mozambican people,

In the name of all of you, at 00 hours today, 25th June 1975, the Central Committee of FRELIMO solemnly proclaims the total and complete Independence of Mozambique, and the creation of the People's Republic of Mozambique

President Samora Machel

Dear Friends:

We apologize for the long interval between the last News and Notes in November 1975 and this April issue. Many of us who normally devote time to the work of CFM have been very active over the last few months in the campaign to stop US intervention in Angola and to build support for the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) in the United States. As Comrade President Samora Machel of Mozambique said in an interview last November at the height of the US, South African, Zaire penetration into Angola: "the outcome of the revolution in Africa is being determined right now in Angola." The recent political and military victory of the MPLA is one to celebrate; although the struggle which lies ahead, for both Angola and Mozambique, to build a new life for their people and to support efforts to bring national independence to all of Southern Africa, will be difficult indeed.

The decision in March 1976 by Mozambique to close its borders with Rhodesia is an exemplary act of international solidarity which furthers the national liberation of Zimbabwe from the illegal racist and minority regime of Ian Smith. The immediate economic cost for the Mozambican people will be great. One way that we in North America can demonstrate our support for the important step Mozambique has taken is to contribute financially to the Mozambican effort to develop a new society which will not be dependent on links with the

present governments of either the Republic of South Africa or Rhodesia. Our campaign to raise funds for agriculture equipment to be used in the communal villages will assist in the national reconstruction of Mozambican society. Participation in this campaign is both a political and a material demonstration of your support for the Mozambican people.

This News and Notes has cost us almost \$250 to put out. We received about that amount in response to our financial appeal of last September which has enabled us to finance this News and Notes. Thank you for those contributions; however, they must be repeated if the work of our Committee is to be maintained. We believe that the continuation of the work of our Committee at this time is very important for several reasons. Given Mozambique's geographical and political positions, the progress of its national reconstruction will be extremely important to the national liberation struggles of those areas of Southern Africa not yet free from white racist and fascist rule. Thus a continuing source of information on Mozambique for people in North America is important.

Early in March, CFM received a letter from the Internal Security Section of the Justice Department asserting that CFM "has been acting as an agent of a foreign principal," and requiring that we register as a foreign agent.

We in the New York working group feel that CFM, as a committee of independent U.S. citizens which has provided support to FRELIMO in its struggle for independence, has never acted as a "foreign agent." FRELIMO, which throughout its history has strongly believed that groups such as CFM should develop their own program of activities consistent with their beliefs, has never dictated and would never dictate or control any of our activities.

CFM is contesting the registration order, and will be legally represented by Michael Davis and Peter Weiss of the Center for Constitutional Rights.

We feel it is significant that CFM has come under Justice Department action at a time when liberation movements in Southern Africa have been successful and U.S. policy to stem the tide of freedom in that part of the world has failed. There are indications that other support groups working for the liberation of Southern Africa are also under investigation by the Justice Department and that such investigation might well be part of a concerted effort by the Justice Department to censor or repress the activities of these groups.

As a Committee which has worked and will continue to work to build support for the just struggle of the Mozambican people for national independence and national reconstruction, we hope you will continue to support us.

A luta continua
A vitoria e certa

The Committee for a Free Mozambique

N.Y. Working Committee & Pledgers

Barbara Barnes
Martha S. Bean
Patrick Cheatham
Virginia Dike
Dorsett Edmunds

Mimi Edmunds
Lawrence Frank
Nancy Frechafer
Nick & Gayle Garin
Nancy Geai

Ellen Gesmer
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Tim Smith
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STEP BY STEP REVOLUTION IN NEW MOZAMBIQUE

by Bill Minter

MAPUTO [AN] At the time of Mozambique's independence, some predicted a future of rash and doctrinaire revolution, leading to chaos. Others foresaw a bowing to "reality," and the development of comfortable ties with neighboring white-ruled South Africa. The experience of eight months of independence has borne out neither prediction. Rather, it has followed the pattern of FRELIMO's ten-year war against Portugal's colonial rule—a pattern of step-by-step advance towards radical goals, after carefully preparing the terrain in advance.

The transitional period before independence last June saw the beginnings of a FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front) presence at all governmental levels, and the organizing of "dynamizing groups" around the country. When the Portuguese left, the way was clear for concrete measures to stimulate development and to transform a colonial society.

Educational and health services have always been basic to FRELIMO's program, and FRELIMO-controlled areas during Portuguese rule had a rudimentary system of schools and medical services. (Elsewhere in the country was a confused mixture of private, state, and mission facilities, which left most Africans without access to either education or medical care.)

One month after independence, on July 24, 1975, Mozambique's president, Samora Machel, announced the nationalization of schools, medical services, and land. Results are already beginning to be seen. Last month a new school year began, with more students than ever before. During the vacation, more than 3,000 primary school teachers received a short-term training course. University and advanced secondary school students are helping to off-set the teacher shortage.

The major health emphasis is on preventive medicine, with pit-latrines campaigns, vaccination, and distribution of anti-malaria medicine all high priorities. Medical personnel are being distributed around the country, to counteract the concentration of specialists in urban areas of the south.

Land nationalization is designed to promote the rapid development of agriculture—an urgent need as Mozambique currently faces famine in several of its ten provinces. New regulations allow large landholders to continue working, with use rights on land actually under cultivation. But idle land is now being made available to local people. The cornerstone of the program is the encouragement of collective villages, along with agricul-

tural projects at each military camp, school, and hospital.

Despite gains, however, the food situation will be critical for some time to come. The abandonment of farms by settlers, coupled with disastrous floods for the last two seasons, pose tough problems for the FRELIMO government.

Another problem facing the new administration is the stratification of urban areas into wealthy, mostly white centers surrounded by slum shacks of Africans—the "cement city" of businesses and comfortable dwellings and the "cane city" of slums. As President Machel put it, "The people still live in the city's back yard." This year, misery of shanty-town life has been heightened by the disruption of flood-waters.

Practically, the nationalization of housing, announced on February 3rd, makes available a large number of vacant property for immediate use. The many dwellings left behind by owners headed for Portugal or South Africa, as well as un-rented holdings by landlords, is a step towards changing the colonial pattern. FRELIMO recognizes, though, that implementation of the measure, including structures for administering the buildings and communal organizations to oversee them, is a complex process that will likely take some time.

Another important February 3rd announcement was the creation of a "solidarity bank," to which all people earning over \$300 a month are expected to contribute one day's wage a month. The vast majority of others will contribute a lesser percentage. One bank purpose is to help cushion the effects of national disasters, such as the cyclone which struck southern Mozambique earlier this year. But it will also be used to support African liberation movements.

Today, Mozambique faces a difficult future. The economy is in bad shape. There is an acute shortage of trained personnel. Delays and inefficiencies common to all underdeveloped nations are also found here, exaggerated by the complex colonial bureaucracy left by the Portuguese. Yet still it is difficult at every point to create new structures, rather than to simply use the old existing ones.

Strangely, though, the feeling one gets in Mozambique today is not one of frustration, but of determination and patience. It seems to be a legacy of the discipline of the long war years, when the motto was readiness for a long march, that had to be approached step by step.

[Reprinted from *Africa News*, March 8, 1976]

Committee for a Free Mozambique members Bill and Ruth Minter and their son Sam have spent the last two years working with FRELIMO. They taught at the FRELIMO secondary school in Bagamoyo Tanzania, helped to organize its move to Ribaué Mozambique shortly before independence last June 25 and worked at Ribaué until February 1976.

MOZAMBIQUE CLOSURE of RHODESIAN BORDER NO EASY MOVE

by Bill Minter

[Last week, only a few days after Mozambique revealed its decision to close its border with Rhodesia, the national radio station broadcast a program of "solidarity with the Zimbabwe liberation struggle"—a program which hailed the armed struggle of Africans in Rhodesia to win their freedom, just as Mozambicans had fought ten years for theirs.

But despite its ideological appeal, the decision to shut down the rail traffic from Rhodesia to Mozambique's two ports was not an easy one for the government. FRELIMO—the Mozambican Liberation Front—which led the armed struggle, has had to make a quick transition from guerrilla army to ruling party in the nine months since independence. AN correspondent Minter, who has lived in Mozambique for nearly a year, describes the difficulties that nation is facing now.]

MAPUTO [AN] Even before Mozambique became independent last June, political commentators had been asking when the FRELIMO government would institute United Nations sanctions against the white minority regime in Rhodesia. On March 3, Mozambique took that step—a drastic one for its economy: and one that required elaborate preparation.

The primary impact of the closure is being felt at the ports and along the railway line, where thousands will become unemployed because of the loss of Rhodesian freight (estimated at about 3 million pounds annually—nearly half of Rhodesia's exports and four-fifths of Mozambique's transport.) Before sanctions could be imposed, a number of conditions had to be met.

The Mozambican people had to understand why it was necessary to sacrifice so that Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) could be free. The Zimbabwean nationalists themselves had to be making a significant impact in the military struggle against the white rebel regime. There had to be a plan to deal with the expected unemployment. Zambia and Botswana, Rhodesia's other neighbors, had to be consulted and agree on a common approach. Mozambique had to have the administrative and military capacity to police the closure.

Now these minimum conditions have been met. Although there will certainly be difficulties, it is now possible to apply sanctions and make them stick. A Solidarity Bank set up last month expresses the Mozambican intent to put its money where its mouth is. The plans for communal villages are far enough advanced that the unemployed can eventually be integrated there. Last month's meeting in Mozambique of the Presidents of

Botswana, Zambia, Tanzania and Mozambique firmed up relationships among these key countries, in spite of existing differences over Angola. And the Smith regime itself has helped mobilize the Mozambican people by repeated attacks on the Mozambican border.

President Samora's speech announcing the border closure dwelt in considerable detail on these attacks. He mentioned first the Rhodesian collaboration with the Portuguese colonial regime, including active participation by Rhodesian troops in the infamous Mucumbura massacres. Since independence, he reported, Rhodesian border incursions have been frequent and widespread. They have touched the provinces of Tete, Manica and Gaza, from the Zambezi River in the north to the Limpopo in the south. The attacks have involved ground and air forces, and have resulted in death or serious wounds to scores of Mozambicans, both civilians and FRELIMO combatants.

The most recent attacks were aimed at the villages of Pafuri, on the Limpopo River, and Mavue, on the Save River. Jets, bombers, artillery and infantry participated in the attacks on February 23 and 24. Eight Mozambican civilians were killed, as well as two FRELIMO fighters. Mozambican forces shot down one jet and one helicopter. Rhodesian planes were reported as having approached from South Africa (Pafuri is near the South African as well as Rhodesian border). This is interpreted in Mozambique as part of an attempt by the Smith regime to provoke a generalized war in Southern Africa, drawing in South African support for a major conflict with Mozambique.

Mozambique's response, apart from the border closure, will include a campaign for construction of air raid shelters and for intensification of production—to cope with economic difficulties and to give concrete aid to Zimbabwean freedom fighters. Measures will be taken to reduce non-essential imports. Mozambique in turn expects support from the world community which has called for sanctions against the white minority regime in Rhodesia, and pledges of assistance have already been sent by Nigeria, Ethiopia, Uganda, Algeria, Tanzania and Britain.

Mozambique faces both economic problems and continued attacks from Rhodesia. But it is determined to defend its territorial integrity and to continue its internationalist support for the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe.

Reprinted from African News
March 15, 1976

Samora Machel

Following is an interview with President Samora Machel of Mozambique published in the March 28 London Observer. The interview was conducted following the recent meeting in Zambia between Machel, the presidents of three other black African nations and leaders of the Zimbabwe liberation movement.



What new strategy evolved from the Lusaka summit with your colleagues from Tanzania, Zambia, Botswana and Rhodesia [Zimbabwe]?

We decided to intensify the armed struggle, because [Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian] Smith's arrogance shows that it is impossible to negotiate. And we decided to consolidate unity in the midst of the armed struggle; to re-define the enemy, and that is very clearly Ian Smith; and, finally, to decide what targets to aim for.

The breakdown of the Smith-Nkomo talks showed everyone, especially the British, that Smith is incapable of understanding. So the only thing for Britain now is to support the armed struggle.

The armed struggle is not against whites as such. Our strategy has a lot of respect for life, a lot of respect for human beings. No children will be killed because they are whites, no women will be killed because they are whites, no farmers will be killed because they are whites, no civilians will be killed because they are whites.

In Zimbabwe, it will be a people's struggle and it will be protracted. It will allow Zimbabweans to transform the present nationalist struggle into a revolutionary struggle that implies profound changes in the society. This will allow the people of Zimbabwe a complete divorce from the system of capitalism. So we would like the struggle to be a long one in order to liberate the mentality of Zimbabweans.

The British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Callaghan, has said that Mr. Smith must accept elections leading to majority rule within two years. Would that be an acceptable time scale?

I do not know if Britain is the administrative power which can fix time limits to Ian Smith. Nor do I know if the foreign secretary's proposals followed consultations with Ian Smith and Joshua Nkomo about a time scale. But my answer is this: Time is a two-edged sword. Give time to the reactionary forces in Rhodesia and you give time to Ian Smith to be better prepared. And this would imply negotiations with Mozambique to reopen her border. Who would this help? Mr. Smith or the majority?

And what does Britain think of the third force, the guerrillas who are waging the armed struggle? It is the main force in Zimbabwe.

When Ian Smith's regime declared UDI [unilateral declaration of independence from Britain in 1965], they did not need a transitional period. Here once again is this paternalistic attitude toward blacks: that they need time to qualify. If Britain wants to make Rhodesia her responsibility, it should be eight months, at most 12, for transition, because time is very dangerous and there is a war situation in Rhodesia.

Can you explain the timing of your decision to close Mozambique's border with Rhodesia on March 3 and apply United Nations sanctions?

Essentially this move is to destroy Ian Smith's economy. We have closed the roads and railways which support Rhodesia's economy. But for those who are for freedom, Rhodesia's borders are not closed.

We did it at this precise moment because the freedom fighters and the people of Zimbabwe are organized to fight

against the Smith regime, so the conditions were ripe for the application of sanctions. We do admit there is an economic crisis in Mozambique but we have applied sanctions nine months after independence after studying Mozambique's economy and because this action will now not divert attention from the Angolan struggle.

When we closed the border, we were well aware of the economic consequences. But for Mozambique it is a temporary setback, even if it lasts five years. What we imported from Rhodesia we can import from elsewhere. But Rhodesia cannot replace these routes. In the final analysis, they will suffer most.

Since the Angolan war, Dr. Kissinger and others in the West have expressed fears that Cuban troops may fight in Rhodesia and South West Africa. Would you allow foreign troops to travel through Mozambique to fight in Rhodesia?

These fears are essentially the myth that exists among the whites that the blacks are not capable. But who brought down Portuguese colonialism which was the representative of Western civilization in Africa? Was it the Cubans, the Russians, or any other foreigners? For 10 years we fought in Mozambique and we defeated Portuguese colonialism. We were able to transform the armed struggle into a revolution and we took power by force. We are leading our state in a revolutionary way and making profound changes in our society.

When I was a child and went to church, white priests used to say that God was white and that blacks did not go to heaven when they died. So now they say that blacks cannot beat the whites without the help of other countries, without the active participation of whites. They must not ignore our capacity. The Zimbabweans will defeat Ian Smith without Cuban participation. [Machel and others in the region have noted, however, that armed South African intervention in Zimbabwe—an unlikely circumstance—could change the nature of the struggle.]

We would like Dr. Kissinger and the American government to worry first about getting rid of the illegal Smith regime. Then they would have the support of the whole world. But I believe they are trying to find a new zone of tension. We believe that Dr. Kissinger's main motive is to try to transfer the tension from the Middle East to southern Africa and, having established that tension here, to find an excuse for bases in the Indian Ocean.

Is it the task of the West to perpetuate crimes and wars of aggression? This is what they should answer. They must not ask about the Cubans and the Russians. They must not try to divert attention from what is happening in Rhodesia. This is a case of an illegal, minority, racist regime and the choice is between supporting those who oppress and those who want freedom.

What happens if an outside force like South Africa intervenes militarily to support Mr. Smith?

South Africa will be defeated. The people are very strong. And in Zimbabwe it is a people's struggle.

Because Smith defines his struggle as racial, he will lose and is already losing. This is a situation of agony and desperation on the part of Smith. But it is not too late: there is still time for him to correct his policies, dissolve his government and transfer power to the majority.

You have said that Mozambique's government will 'destroy the basis of poverty' by the end of the decade. Yet in more than a decade of African independence no country has achieved that. How do you define the basis of poverty and how will you destroy it?

We will destroy poverty by a correct economic strategy based on the needs of the people. We know what the people want and our central problem is to destroy the colonial structure which is so deeply rooted. So we have to liberate the minds of the people, liberate their creative initiative.

So we have defined the communal villages as places where people will be organized, carry out defined tasks, be programmed and where they will correctly utilize their own forces. Development will begin in the countryside and be supported by industry. We know that you in the West never wanted to industrialize Africa because that is the secret of eliminating poverty.

Reports on the BBC and elsewhere talk of massive forced labor, political repression and concentration camps

in Mozambique. Will you comment on this?

Since we created the new republic we have closed prisons, not opened new ones. In addition we have destroyed the concentration camps, the so-called strategic hamlets, and liberated 1,500,000 Mozambicans. They lived in concentration camps and were brutalized. So now who do we have in prison: the tramps created by colonialism—drug addicts, thieves, prostitutes, criminal elements, con men, smugglers and so on. We have to reintegrate them back into society.

Before, these arrests only affected blacks. But now the world reacts because we also arrest whites who have never been arrested before and who are being arrested by blacks. Once again you come to this white complex.

We serve our people and our interests are antagonistic to the capitalist interests. People ask us if we are communists. Our answer is that we are Mozambicans and we are revolutionaries and consequently we are against capitalism, discrimination and humiliation.

from The Guardian, April 7, 1976

MOZAMBICANS PUT DOWN RIGHT WING VIOLENCE IN MAPUTO --DECEMBER 1975

Last December an armed uprising took place in Maputu (formerly Lourenco Marques) Mozambique. While order was quickly restored by the FRELIMO government, at least a dozen people were killed and many more were injured.

The violent outbreak was not an attempted coup against the FRELIMO government as reported in the Western press, but was primarily the work of new FRELIMO recruits and others in the Party who had not internalized the political perspective of FRELIMO. Many of the participants in this abortive uprising had not experienced the years of intensive political training and discipline that FRELIMO members actively engaged in the national independence struggle had received.

Behaviors by these new FRELIMO members such as abuse of civilians, drunkenness, disregard for authority, drug abuse, etc., which were beginning to give FRELIMO a bad name among the people, led Party cadre and soldiers of the People's Forces to take action against them. Shortly before the December outbreak, many of these same people who were to participate in that outbreak were individually reprimanded or expelled from the Party for corrupt behaviors deemed potentially threatening to the revolution itself. As a result the December violence must be seen as a last ditch bid for power by counter revolutionary elements who had already been politically discredited as individuals.

Investigations by FRELIMO after the incident have also made clear that the source of the trouble was not solely internal. Outside counter revolutionary forces encouraged this attack on the revolutionary aspirations of the Mozambican people.

MOZAMBIQUE BRINGS RHODESIA QUESTION TO SECURITY COUNCIL

Immediately following his historic message to the nation on March 3, Mozambican President Samora Machel addressed a telegram to the Security Secretary-General of the United Nations informing him that "in order to support the just struggle for national liberation of the people of Zimbabwe against the racist minority regime, in keeping with the relevant decisions of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, the People's Republic of Mozambique, as of 3 March 1976, has imposed sanctions against the British colony of Southern Rhodesia." The telegram ended with an appeal to the Secretary-General to "make the necessary approaches to Member States to support our country, which is the victim of racist aggression."

Expressions of support for the measures taken by Mozambique and calls for international assistance to Mozambique were sent to the United Nations by organizations representing most Third World countries, in particular, the Organization of African Unity, the Non-Aligned Group, and the Commonwealth. The Government of Nigeria declared in a message to the Secretary-General that "Africa will not be cowed by the threatening stick of multinational monopolies and big Powers" and that Nigeria was sending an envoy to Mozambique to ascertain in what areas they could be of help to the peoples of Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

On March 10, Foreign Minister Joaquim Chissano formally requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider the serious economic situation faced by Mozambique as a result of its decision to impose sanctions against Rhodesia. Chissano appealed to the Council "to take the necessary steps to help the people of Mozambique defend itself by every means against the aggression to which it has been subjected by the rebel Ian Smith."

The Council, which adopted sanctions against Rhodesia in 1968 and later compensated Zambia for economic damage suffered because of the sanctions, was bound to be sympathetic to Mozambique's request for help, at least as far as economic assistance was concerned. (The Council, of course, has always refused to take concrete measures to enforce the sanctions.) Britain's acclaim for Mozambique's decision to close the border with Rhodesia, while it may have been hypocritical, further ensured that the Council would take a positive decision.

The Council held three meetings on March 16 and 17. In a forceful speech at the opening meeting, Chissano declared that Mozambique saw the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe as part and parcel of its own struggle, and was ready to do its utmost to support it. "We in Mozambique believe that our liberation will not be complete while other brother peoples in Africa and in other parts of the world continue to be dominated, humiliated and exploited. We shall therefore not fail to support the people of Zimbabwe in their struggle until victory is won," said Chissano. He then described the severe economic difficulties faced by Mozambique as a result of colonial rule and the transformation of its economy into a service economy for the racist minority regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa. He pointed out that sanctions involved shaking the country's entire structure, and that Mozambique needed help not only to overcome the immediate effects of sanctions, but also to convert its economy within the general plan of national reconstruction.

Chissano requested that a study be carried out by the United Nations together with the Mozambican Government to devise "the most adequate technical and financial ways and means of implementing projects that may allow us to create new structures and new employment." For the immediate term, however, Chissano stressed the urgency for the Council to guarantee to Mozambique an annual compensation of at least \$57 million to cover losses sustained following the closing of the border with Rhodesia. Of this amount, \$42 million would be to cover the annual volume of revenues from the ports and railways services which came from Rhodesia; \$2 million to compensate for the purchase of maize previously imported from Rhodesia at higher world market prices; \$5 million to cover the equivalent of all revenues from the usual exports from Mozambique to Rhodesia; and \$8 million to compensate for the debts owed Mozambique by Rhodesia for services rendered by Mozambique ports and railways. Additional amounts would be needed to compensate Mozambique for having to acquire on the international market a range of products previously supplied by Rhodesia, and for the loss of jobs by workers engaged in servicing the various aspects of trade with Rhodesia and by those workers presently employed in Rhodesia.

On March 17, the Security Council adopted unanimously a resolution requesting the Secretary-General "to organize, with immediate effect, all forms of financial, technical and material assistance to Mozambique to enable it to overcome the economic difficulties arising from its application of economic sanctions against the racist regime in Southern Rhodesia." The resolution also appealed to all states to provide immediate financial, technical and material assistance to Mozambique, and requested the United Nations programmes, organizations and specialized agencies to assist Mozambique in the present economic situation and to maintain the country's needs for economic assistance under review.

Following the adoption of the resolution, a four-man mission was dispatched to Mozambique to examine the country's needs for financial, economic and technical assistance. The team, which is due to arrive in Maputo on 2 April, includes Assistant Secretary-General Abdulrahim Abby Farah, Sir Robert Jackson, Advisor on Special Economic Operations; Adebayo Adedji, Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa; and Kurt Jansson, Resident Representative of the UN Development Programme.

from Southern Africa, May 1976

The People's Republic of Mozambique recently appointed its first ambassador to the United Nations, Jose Carlos Lobo, a member of FRELIMO since 1964. Comrade Ambassador Lobo received a B.A. degree from the University of California at Long Beach, served as a militant in FRELIMO's Department of Defence, and most recently was the headmaster of the FRELIMO secondary school in Tanzania and then in Mozambique.