Mozambican Notes

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# Tenth Anniversary Celebration

Celebrations throughout the country on June 25th marked the passing of ten years since the independence of Mozambique. At independence no one could have predicted the years of struggle to follow - against drought and floods, invasions and destabilization attempts by neighbors and vivious saboteurs and assasins armed from outside. The dream then, as now, was for a life of peace, progress and dignity.

Weeks of local celebrations culminated with festivities throughout the country on June 25th. In the city of Maputo more than 150,000 people marched in a three hour parade with floats, banners and large contingencies of students, members of social and political organizations, soldiers and workers from various locales. Also marching were cooperantes - foreigners living and working in Mozambique - with banners proclaiming their solidarity with the Mozambican people. Members of the ANC of South Africa received a standing ovation from the reviewing stand as they filed past.

Inspite of all the problems faced by Mozambique today, the will and spirit still cry out for peace and the creation of a good life for all Mozambicans. The murders, the hunger and suffering have touched many Mozambicans, but the hope remains.

In delivering his message to the nation on the tenth anniversary, President Machel spoke for all the people when he described what the struggle is all about:

> "The children who are born now will live better than our grandparents, our parents and even us. It is for them, for our children, that we struggle and work.
>
> We want them to grow up free, under the flag of our independent country, citizens of a soverign country.
>
> We want them to have schools, where a patriotic and revoluntary conscience can be formed and knowledge gained.

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# THE FIGHT AGAINST THE MNR STEPPED UP

"Although we have not completely stamped out terror, sabotage and violence in general," declared Armed Forces Chief of Staff Sebastiao Mabote, "we feel that we have taken decisive steps forward in the dismantling of the armed reaction in our country." In a speech last December, Mabote reported that in the last six months of 1984, the Mozambican Armed Forces (FPLM) killed a total of 1,131 bandits, destroyed 101 MNR camps and took 225 prisoners. More than 4,000 people kidnapped by the MNR were released by Army actions.

The Armed Forces have gained the upper hand against the MNR in Inhambane and parts of Gaza provinces, but fierce fighting has increased in Sofala, Zambezia and Tete provinces and especially in Maputo province. Recent visits to Mozambique have confirmed that the FPLM has scored some strong successes in wiping out MNR bases in areas which only a year ago had been essentially under MNR control. But the terrorists continue to receive outside help and, as a result, continue to disrupt significant areas of the country and prevent development efforts.

In a meeting in late March, the Mozambican Council of Ministers declared again that defeating the MNR was "the decisive condition for the restoration of peace and tranquillity to our people and for the recovery and development of the national economy."

The MNR activities continue to center on disrupting transportation, destroying food supplies and terrorizing the local civilian population through acts of wanton murder and mutilation. In addition, the bandits in recent months have specifically targeted foreign workers and visitors in order to discourage support for Mozambique. Between September 1984 and January 1985 a total of 13 foreigners were killed.

The government's tactics for fighting the MNR have remained concentrated on building close cooperation between the military and civilian populations (see MOZAMBICAN NOTES, November 1984). The government has revived local militias and continues to arm the civilian population as part of the process. In his December speech, General Mabote again stressed the importance of establishing as atmosphere of trust and unity between FPLM and the population at large: "We

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CROWDS WATCH AS THOUSANDS MARCH IN INDEPENDENCE DAY PARADE IN MAPUTO.

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must help the people solve their problems and feel that they are being protected by us.". The Council of Ministers this March reaffirmed this priority when it decided to "step up the training and equipping of the People's Militias, implementing the principle established by our Party that an armed people constitutes the main guarantee of victory."

Information from a local peasant for example allowed FPLM fighters to wipe out a MNR camp near the town of Muembe in the nothernmost province of Niassa last December. Inhabitants of a communal village north of Maputo told Mozambican reporters that they usually accompany soldiers in tracking MNR bandits. Local residents also denounce informers who trade information for money or goods.

Further south, the Governor of Manica Province, Colonel Manuel Antonio reported that the Massica sawmill project is now secure from MNR attacks. The project, which is the largest sawmill in Mozambique, was in serious jeopardy in early 1983 when Swedish technicans withdrew because of the threat of MNR attacks. But the governor now reports that "the bandits cannot attack Massica." But Manica as a whole, remains a center of MNR activity. Since 1981, the MNR has destroyed or attacked most health posts and schools in the province.

Perhaps the most dangerous area in Mozambique a year ago was Inhambane province. The coastal city of Inhambane is located on a small pennisula and in the center of the province from a base to the south at Malaissa, the MNR was able to severely limit access to the city for over a year.

"Trucks carrying food were their number one target," the area District Administrator Jose Jasse told Mozambican reporters last December. The MNR also looted the roadside shops, destroyed communal villages in the area and raided the schools - kidnapping the pupils.

But shortly after the signing of the Nkomati Accord, the armed forces launched a major offensive in the area, wiping out the MNR base at Malaissa and replacing it with Mozambican army barracks to secure the roads.

"Nowadays," says Jasse, "the MNR are dispersed. They move about in small groups, of perhaps 5 or 6 bandits, mainly at night, attacking the local people, stealing their food." Traffic on the road is normal (although people still do not drive at night) and the large communal villages in the area which were destroyed by the MNR in 1982 were reopened recently.

Local commanders in the area attribute the army's success in large part to cooperation from the local population. The provincial military commander reported last November that 40% of the adult population had undergone courses of military training. "We cannot put soldiers on every bus," Major General Domingos Fondo told the Mozambican Information Agency. "The task of the army must be to annihilate the bandits in their bush hideouts. It must be the workers of Romos (the state bus company) who defend the buses." A Ports and Railways report stated that 150 railway workers had been killed since 1982 in incidents related to sabotage by South Africa.

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MNR activity continues at some level in all provinces. In the northern province of Niassa, the MNR bandits killed a member of the FRELIMO Party Central Committee. To the east in Cabo Delgado, MNR activity had disrupted a lot of development work and forced trucks to travel by convoy between the capital city of Pemba and the northern city of Mueda. But by most accounts activity in these provinces is small compared to the bandits' presence in Zambezia, Sofala and Maputo.

Zambezia province has been an area of heavy MNR activities. The Maputo daily newspaper, Noticias reported in March the details of a number of cases of MNR atrocities including the cases of women who were beaten and had their ears cut off by MNR bandits.

Sofala also remains a center of MNR activity. The bandits have what is believed to be their largest base inside Mozambique in the densely forested area of the Gorongosa National Park. The base is documented to have received supplies as recently as December 1984. And although FPLM forces stage regular attacks and wiped out two smaller bandit camps in Gorongosa district in January, they have been unable to dislodge the MNR from their heavily fortified hillside base. Recently, the governor of the province announced that all road, rail and air transport in the province was to be mobilized for the war effort.

"Right now, transport for us means war," the governor emphasized. The new war footing has most recently ended MNR activity along the coast of the province.

The heaviest MNR activity, however, has been in Maputo province. The MNR regularly sabotaged electricity power lines to the city and civilians traveling from South Africa and Swaziland to Maputo are often targets of MNR attacks. In the northern district of Manhica (50 miles northeast of Maputo), four buses were attacked in the first two weeks of January, resulting in 37 deaths. Bandit activity has been so intense in the district that 13 rural schools were forced to close.

Since the signing of Nkomati, the MNR is believed to have focused on Maputo province because of the great propaganda effect of operating around the capital and also because of its proximity to South Africa.

An army communique of February 27 reports that the MNR is still operating out of South African territory. The Mozambican military reports killing four MNR bandits that day out of a group of eight that crossed over the border from South Africa on Febuary 25. In addition, peasants in the area of a power line sabotage testified to government investigators that two white men were part of the sabotage team, which led Mozambican Information Agency personnel to speculate that mercenaries are now involved with the MNR inside Mozambique.

At a concert marking the end of Youth Week on May 12, President Machel told a crowd of 15,000 that "our economic resources must be invested in war, in buying weapons to defend the revolution instead of being used to build houses, cinemas or sport grounds." He stressed that "the country cannot regard as everyday, as normal, the destruction and murder" committed by the MNR bandits. Machel went on to declare that "the fundamental front of the struggle on the ground is to eliminate the bandits."

For the Mozambican army, the fight against the MNR has proven difficult to say the least. The army experiences many of the problems of the general population in regards to shortages. But more money and attention is being given to the army as Mozambique's economy is geared more to the war effort.

The habit of the MNR bands to force kidnapped women, children and old men to march, camp and live with them makes army attacks more difficult.

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# Nkomati Accord: The Violations

Mozambique was patient and gave the South African regime every benefit of the doubt before charging the apartheid government with violating the accord signed by both countries.

The accord pledged each country to prevent its territory from being used as a launching pad for military attacks against the other.

What follows is a listing of South African violations of the Nkomati agreement and a chronology of Mozambique's reactions to the mounting evidence as revealed in the Mozambican press.

March - June 1984 - According to Constantino Reis, a Mozambican defector who returned to Mozambique, two South African boats unloaded arms for the MNR off the coast of Sofala province five to ten days after the accord was signed. Reis also stated that military radio contact with MNR bandits continued as before for MNR groups in Sofala. He turned himself in to Mozambican authorities in July 1984.

July 1984 - A press release from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs commenting on the fifth meeting of the Joint Commission to carry out the provisions of the Nkomati Accord, reported that the Commission "took note of the effective steps that have been taken by both countries to realize the objectives of the Accord." It was also noted that "further progress has still to be made."

August 1984 - The South African Minister of Foreign Affairs stated at a press conference after a meeting between Mozambican and South African delegations: "We are in the midst of very serious discussions to resolve the security questions once and for all." Botha denied that there were forces inside South Africa who are violating the Nkomati Accord. He added..."if there is evidence to indicate that is the case, the South African government will not hesitate to act firmly in terms of the spirit and letter of the Nkomati Accord."

September 1984 - Simiao Fernando, a 16-year-old student, states that he was kidnapped by the MNR and given military training in August 1984. He stated that an airplane made three parachute drops of military equipment and uniforms which he helped to carry to the base. He statement was confirmed by the military commander for the province of Inhambane who stated that a similar drop had been made in June.

September 27, 1984 - The head of the Mozambican delegation in talks with South

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**In the forests of Manhica, army morale is still high although the fight is difficult.**

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While the soldier's life is not easy, morale seems to be the highest in some areas where the fighting is thoughest, as Mozambican journalists discovered while traveling with soldiers who carry out search and destroy operations deep in the forest in the Manhica distrcit of Maputo province.

Many have been in the armed forces much longer than their two year obligation. "Should I leave the forest just because I've finished my two years of obligatory military service? Should I let the enemy who wants to kill stay here just because I've finished my two years in the army? If I were demobilized leaving things as they are it would be a kind of defeat for me," commented a young soldier who had been in the army since 1977.

Other soldiers have been in the army even longer. Lieutenant Manuel Fobense joined FRELIMO as a soldier in 1969. After independence, he first come in contact with armed bandits in 1982, and has been fighting them ever since.

"Only someone who never participated in the war of liberation could say that these are the most difficult times. During the armed struggle, we had many difficulties. Now we have transportation. We have communications. We have water and many other conditions that didn't exist in that time. There are difficulties, yes. But they are of another type and we could overcome them if we had the kind of unity we had during the armed struggle. We always put the political aspect in the command. I love military life and I'll die in the army."

But for other soldiers and their families, the question of prolonged service itself is a major topic of discussion in a national debate about military service. Another problem has been the compulsory mobilization of citizens into the army. At the end of May, a Defense Ministry communique stated that some army recruiting officiers had made "raids aimed at arbitrary recruitment of citizens, which is manifested against defined norms and violated legality". Four overly zealous recruitment chiefs were arrested.

Working with local milicias, Mozambique's armed forces have been able to amass important victories against the MNR. For example, during 1984, ten MNR camps were destroyed in Tete, 356 bandits killed and 56 were captured. In December 1984, 230 MNR bandits surrendered in Nampula.

A View from Within

# Americans in Mozambique

# Doctors Talk About the Current Health Care Situation

The health situation in Mozambique today is at a critical point. After years of post-independence development, when the number of health posts went from 475 in 1977 to 1,122 in 1983, war, the drought and economic problems have resulted in a decline in progress in this sector. Between December 1982 and December 1984, for example, 311 primary health posts were destroyed by the MNR according to a report made by the Ministry of Health to the World Health organization.

Improvements in the area of health and education are two of the most important achievements of the FRELIMO government. To get a clearer understanding of the current health care situation and its future, MOZAMBICAN NOTES talked with two American doctors who work as cooperantes in Maputo.

Colin Wallace McCord has been in Mozambique for five years. He is the Director of Surgical Services for Maputo's Central Hospital, the largest in Mozambique. He was the Director of Cardiac Surgery at New York's St. Luke Hospital until 1971, when he and his wife (who works in Mozambique's Ministry of Education) left to work in India and Bangladesh before going to Mozambique. This interview was conducted in May 1985.

**MN:** What is the situation in Maputo right now?

**CM:** We didn't have a security problem in the Maputo area until just about the time of the Nkomati Accord. It was shortly before the signing of the accord that the first casualties started coming into the hospital. After the accord, they increased dramatically and each time there has been some kind of apparent move towards peace, casualties increased. For instance, in October, there was a supposed cease-fire - it turned out to be nothing - but at the time of that cease fire there was a dramatic increase in the casualties from 50 a month to about 100-150 a month. It goes up and down, but it's been steadily increasing since the time of Nkomati. We average now about 100 a month. Just before I left in April, it looked as if it had gone up again to the peak level of about 150.

**MN:** As a doctor, you see the people coming into the hospital. Can you give us any idea of what the MNR's tactics are? What kid of injuries are you seeing and what kind of conclusions are you able to draw from these?

**CM:** Well first of all, the wounded unfortunately are just the tip of the iceberg. In general, it seems as though the wounded that they can kill, they kill.

For instance, we had five patients from a bus attack last fall, whom I got to know fairly well because they'd been in the hospital a while. The driver was shot. The people who could get out, got out and ran away and all of them were killed. The five wounded people on the bus were robbed. After the bandits had finished that operation they were starting to set the bus on fire when the Mozambican army came and they ran away. And that's how we got five wounded. If they had been able to set the bus on fire, we wouldn't have had any wounded.

It's not uncommon that we get a call that there has been an attack in this or that place, we set up to receive casualties, and no one in brought in. We get only bodies.

**MN:** What led you to go to Mozambique?

**CM:** There have been at least half a dozen American health professionals working in Mozambique in the last four or five years. I think we fall into more or less the same catagory - Americans who are interested in what Mozambique has been trying to do to develop a health system for the entire people that uses the most efficient manner; that doesn't have a private practice sector. I think that a private practice sector would be very hard to have in a developing country where resources are so small.

I think that the system which exists in Mozambique is the best health system that I've seem in any of perhaps a dozen developing countries that I"ve had contact with. It really does seriously try to get health services to all the people in the country. And it does this under great difficulties.

**MN:** Can you give us an idea, on a local level, of why this is such a better health system than say Bangladesh or India?

**CM:** For example, Mozambique has a system of tuberculous control that reaches to every health center in the country. It's based on a system that was devised in India, called the Madras Program. But if you go to Madras today, you won't see the Madras Program. The

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Africans, tell the Mozambican Information Agency that if the violence in Mozambican does not end, the Nkomati Non-agression Accord between the two countries could be 'seriously endangered.'

October 1984 - Arnaldo Martins, a bandit captured in military operations in Manhica claimed that he was arrested while in South Africa during October for having no documents and handed over to the MNR for military training.

Addressing a meeting of religious leaders in Maputo, the Minister of Justice, Ossumane Ali Dauto attacked the South African regime for its failure to abide by the measures outlined in the accord. He stated that increased barbarity of the MNR bands since the accord showed that South Africa was not fully implementing the spirit of the agreement.

November 1984 - A plane was observed violating Mozambican airspace in Manica province.

December 3, 1984 - An unidentified aircraft was spotted by Mozambican army reconnaissance services flying over the district of Gorongosa in Sofala, where the largest MNR base is believed to exist. A captured bandit confirmed that the plane dropped supplies by parachute. A helicopter was also observed violating Mozambican airspace in Maputo province.

December 1984 - During the visit to Mozambique of Angola's President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos, an editorial in the daily newspaper Noticias predicted a hardening of positions on the part of Mozambique and Angola towards South Africa. Both governments, the commentary observed "have more than sufficient justification to complain that the Lusaka Understanding and the Nkomati Accord are not being honored." The daily predicted that the hardening of positions would take two forms - increased military operations against UNITA and the MNR to eliminate terrorist gangs who do not take advantage of clemency offers by the two governments and the use of diplomatic measures to presuade South Africa's Western allies to pressure South Africa to live up to the agreements signed by the by two countries.

January 1985 - FRELIMO party political bureau member Marcelino Dos Santos, speaking at a New Year reception, stated,

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Indian health system hasn't been able to get those drugs out to the peripheral health centers where they have to be if they are going to be available to the people.

Mozambique does. It is one of the few countries in the world that has such a system. In the area of immunation, Mozambique had an immunation program in 1978, I believe, that seems to have given the basic vaccinations to perhaps 95 percent of the population.

**MN:** Up until two years ago, the health system was considered a model. What happened in the last two Years?

**OM:** The budget for drugs and medical supplies used to be $10 million a year, which is less than a dollar per person per year. But that was enought to provide the distribution that I've been talking about. In the last two years that budget has gone down to about $2 million a year. Essentially all of this comes from donations. Sweden is perhaps the major supporter of purchases. So we've been living on the stores that have been built up in the past. And it's begining to hurt.

The other thing that is happening of course, is the very large number of health posts have been destroyed, attacked or burned. Health personnel have been killed. I think that more well over 200 health posts and centers around the country have been destroyed. And many others that I have seen have been shot up, with bullet holes in the walls and so on.

**MN:** What is the situation with surgeons in Mozambique?

**OM:** Let me give you an example. I worked in a provincial hospital in Quelimane in Zambezia...There were then three surgeons for two and a half million people. The two of us in Quelimane did 1400 operations in a year.

**MN:** Explain the program that you are involved with to train surgeons?

**OM:** The program you refer to is a program to train in Mozambique what is called 'technicos de surgia' (surgical technicains). These are people who have a ninth grade education, then three years of training in general medicine, then at least three years of medicine.

We've brought 13 of these 'technicos' down to Maputo. They are in the middle of the first year course in surgery - part practical, part theoretical. But they are starting to do operations now. In the second year, they will go out to the provincial hospitals where they will do a lot of operations under supervision. After that, they will go to the smaller hospitals where they will do the emergency surgery that has to be done because there is just no other way to resolve the problem. I'm pretty optimistic about the program. The people who've come down are really first rate people.

**MN:** What's the most rewarding experience you've had since arriving in Mozambique?

**OM:** I think without any question, it's getting these young people in Maputo - these technicos, and giving them the opportunity to become leaders in the medical community they are working in.

Remember, that before independence, the operating room was considered by the Portuguese as a place for whites only. There were plenty of black nurses in the country (Ed. note: President Machel was one of these). But black people generally didn't work in the operating room. White nurses generally monopolized this kind of work.

So, just ten years after independence, we're talking about putting capable, young, black surgeons in hospitals. That has a symbolic significance beyond the obvious need. For me, it has been very rewarding.

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**Lieutenant Fobense: "Only someone who never participated in the war of liberation could say that these are the most difficult times."**

Between January and May, more than 6 MNR camps were destoryed in which more than 164 bandits were killed in the Manhica province of Maputo district.

Between January and May, 1985, Three armed bandit camps were destroyed in one district of Manica Province which resulting in the freeing of 3,430 peasants who were being forcibly held. As a result of the improved conditions in the area, two communal villages were recuperated and a new one set up for some of the recently freed peasants.

On June 23, The Mozambican army launched a two-day attack to capture a large MNR base in Inhambane. The base which covered an area of 7 square miles was beleived to have been the strategic center for MNR operations in Gaza, Inhambane and Maputo provinces. Air force helicopters first attacked the area along with heavy artillery units to prepare the base for seizure by the infantry. Four counter-attacks by the MNR were sucessfully repelled by the army who found about 500 people in the base when captured. Included were many half-starved peasants who had been forced to live with the bandits.

On July 3, the army captured an MNR base camp in Maqude district about 112 miles from Maputo City.

The fight against the terrorism of the MNR continues across the country. ■

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**MN:** All things considered, what is the single most serious health problem in Mozambique today?

**GM:** The biggest health problem is the war. And it isn't just a question of the people who are killed with bullets. The famine is directly related to the war. The breakdown of the health system, which is happening in large parts of the country, is directly related to the war. I think that when we're all finished, we're going to see on the order of one half or a million deaths in Mozambique as a direct or indirect result of this war.

George Povey is a North American doctor who has worked in Mozambique for the past six and a half years. He is an obstetrician and professor of obstetrics at the Eduardo Mondlane University Medical School in Maputo. The interview was conducted during a recent visit to New York.

**MN:** Can you give us some background on the health situation in Mozambique?

**GP:** Mozambique has a population of 13.4 million, of which 10% is urban and 90% is rural. The infant mortality rate in 1984 was 114/1000 live births. As many as 40% of the children die before their 5th birthday. These figures reflect the severe toll taken by malnutrition and infectious and parasitic diseases - principally malaria, measles, pneumonia and diarrhea. The overall life expectancy of an adult Mozambican is 47 years. The largest single killer of adults is tuberculosis.

**MN:** How is the health system structured?

**GP:** At the village level, health care begins with a small health post staffed by a village health worker who has elementary training and a few medicines and dressings. Larger communities have health centers - small clinics with a nurse, doctor or medical technician in charge. The next level is the district hospital headed by a doctor or medical technician. There are also larger provincial hospitals as well as three national referral centers where those patients with serious problems can be referred. Medical care is socialized and care is free or given at very nominal cost (21¢ for an outpatient visit).

**MN:** Please tell us about the mother and child health program.

**GP:** Mother and child health (MCH) is one of the most important preventive and primary health programs of the Ministry of Health. Mothers and children under 5 make up 40% of Mozambique's population. But because of their greater vulnerability, they require 60% of the health services. MCH includes prenatal, delivery and postpartum care, as well as family planning, and care of the child under 5 years. MCH is based in the health centers, with specially trained nurse-midwives in charge of the programs.

**MN:** Do the nurse-midwives receive any special training?

**GP:** In 1982, the Ministry of Health launched a new nurse-widwifery training program. The focus is on producing nurse-midwives who will be both skilled in maternity care and also know how to adminster programs. The students are mostly in their late teens and have completed six years of primary school. The program, which is taught at the country's four Science Institutes, involves a two and one-half year course of studies. After graduation the nurse-midwives are posted to all parts of the country.

Another training program going on is the nurses' aid-into-midwife program, also begun in 1982. In each of the country's provinces.

women hospital orderlies with maternity experience have been given one year midwifery courses. At completion, they receive a diploma of elementary midwifery and are posted to work in one of the local maternity centers.

**MN:** What effect have these programs had on mother and infant health?

**GP:** There has been little improvement over the last few years in the health sector. The major stumbling blocks have been what they are for the nation as a whole: the drought, the war and the international economic depression.

**MN:** Do Traditional Birth Attendants play a role in Mozambique?

**GP:** Traditional Birth Attendants (TBA's) attend more than 65% of the births in Mozambique. However, most TBA's attend only a handful of births in their lifetime, and so have not developed the extensive skills of the TBA's, for example, in West Africa. They tend to be mature women in the family or community who may give prenatal advice as well as aid the mother in labor. Some are skilled at using local herbs to do things like control bleeding, expel a retained placenta or perform an abortion.

**MN:** Are the TBA's integrated in any way into the overall government program on mother and child health care?

**GP:** Within the Ministry of Health, the intention is to support TBAs with basic training in hygiene and identification of high risk pregnancy. In practice, they have very little contact with the public health sector. The government does encourage all women to come to the small maternity centers to give birth rather than remaining at home with a TBA. They feel this is the most effective way to organize the health service.

**MN:** What is the government policy and practice concerning family planning?

**GP:** National policy is pro-natalist, that is, that the country is underpopulated and needs to grow. Family planning is thus supported from the point of view of child spacing and family health. It is available in cities, and in some rural centers. Contraceptive methods used are IUD's birth control pills and female sterilization. Male contraception such as sterilization and the use of condoms is rarely practiced.

The best results have been in maternity care, especially in prenatal programs and improved management of labor and delivery. In the capital city of Maputo, for example, 90% of the women deliver in a maternity center and have at least one prenatal visit. The results in other cities and rural areas are of course much less, because of problems concerning security and lack of transportation. Travel is dangerous because of armed bands who attack travelers, destroy health posts and schools and burn ambulances.

**MN:** What is the midwife's role in health care?

**GP:** Although the intention of the midwife program is to emphasize prevention, in reality, the midwife is overburdened with extensive clinical responsibilities. The line of patients awaiting her services in clinic and in labor is very long; in practice, prevention comes after seeing all the patients.

**MN:** Has the war had an effect on the midwifery program?

**GP** Midwives have been wounded, kidnapped and killed by the guerrillas, like other health workers, teachers and government officials. Many health posts have been closed due to danger or because they were actually burned down. Midwives have fled the affected areas and taken up duties at larger hospitals in more secure locations.

**MN:** Is there a demand for family planning services?

**GP:** In cities, many women practice contraception, especially those working or in school. In the countryside, where child mortality is very high, large families (with many infant deaths) are the rule. While in general many practices exploiting women have been prohibited, traditional values continue strongly. For example, polygamy and bridesprice (lobolo) are still widely practiced in the countryside even though they are against national policy. Thus, traditional male dominance of reproductive desicions is still evident and the husband's consent is often required before placing an IUD or performing a sterilization.

**MN:** Where do you see the situation of health care in Mozambique heading?

**GP:** Future prospects depends entirely upon the resolution of the overwhelming national problems of hunger and disorder. The drought has been severe over the past four years and an uncounted number of people have died of hunger. The situation improved greatly in 1984, due to an infusion of foreign food aid. Increased rainfall at the end of 1984 and the begining of 1985 has given hope that the food situation will improve. ■

**Mother and child health is one of the most important programs of the Health Ministry.**

# The Portuguese Component

The first obvious signs of the complicity of certain Portuguese citizens in the MNR came doing the mid-October meeting of the commission established to carry out the four-point Pretoria Declaration of October 3 See MOZAMBICAN NOTES November 1984). The commission made up of a Mozambican delegation led by Minister in the Presidency Jacinto Veloso, a South African delegation led by Foreign Minister Botha and a MNR delegation led by Evo Fernandes, a Portuguese citizen who holds the title of Secretary General, met on October 8 for the second round of discussions.

But on October 11, the fourth day of the meeting, Fernandes received a long distance phone call which instructed him to agree to nothing until he returned to Lisbon. The caller was described by Mozambican sources as a "member of the Portuguese government" and a "top leader in the Portuguese Social Democratic Party (PSD).

Unconfirmed reports state that all participants of the commission were invited to continue their discussions in Lisbon, which was rejected on the spot by Mozambican commission members. According to Mozambican news sources, the phone call came at an advanced stage in the talks and because of the call which is believed to have expressed support for the MNR's holding out for more of their demands, the MNR delegation abandoned the talks and returned to Lisbon.

South African Foreign Minister Botha then made plans to visit Lisbon for talks with the Portuguese Prime Minister Mario Soares among others. Botha was reportedly already at the airport when he learned that his visit had been abruptly canceled by the Portuguese.

Alves Gomes, writing in Mozambique's weekly magazine TEMPO, reports that Portuguese army officials collaborated with the South African army before the signing of the Nkomati Accord. Several Portuguese officers went to South Africa and one of them, a lieutenant-colonel, wea taken by helicopter to Inhambane province where he visited a MNR base there. This base was, at the time, the headquarters for MNR activities in southern Mozambique. (The base was taken by the Mozambican army in August 1983.)

Since shortly after its inception the MNR has used Lisbon as its public relations headquarters. From Lisbon, MNR spokesmen have taken credit for MNR acts of terrorism and sabotage carried out in Mozambique. For instance, they announced in June 1984 that all foreigners in Mozambique, including Portuguese nationals, would be considered "military targets" by the MNR. Since that time attacks on foreign citizens have become more frequent, although many Portuguese were victims before then. Since 1982, more than 30 Portuguese citizens working in Mozambique have been murdered by the MNR.

In October, MNR spokemen in Lisbon claimed to have caused damage to the Portuguese-owned Cahora Bassa hydro-electric system in Tete worth more than $60,000.

The Portuguese directors of several private companies in Mozambique have received threats against themselves and their Portuguese employees. In at least two cases, the MNR sent letters and made phone calls to Portuguese businessmen which contained threats.

On the other side of the coin, there have been cases of Portuguese living in Mozambique being suspected of aiding the MNR. Last September, ten Portuguese who had been detained as suspected MNR supporters were released during the state visit of the Portuguese prime minister to Mozambique.

There are two known cases of Portuguese farmers having been accused by Mozambique security of collaborating with the MNR. Both cases occurred in the Mocuba district of Zambezia province. In June 1984, a farmer known as Farinha, was surprised by his employees as he delivered salt and grain to MNR bandits. In November 1984, another farmer known as Rosa was detained after a MNR camp was discovered on his property.

According to Mozambican sources, a Portuguese businessman, Manuel Bulhosa, who once owned an oil refinery in Maputo during the colonial era, is one of the central figures behind the MNR. The printing firm which he now owns in Portugal is believed to be the publisher of the MNR's glossy, English-language "news" magazine.

The first secretary general of the MNR was Orlando Christina, a Portuguese citizen who was formerly a senior officer in the Portuguese colonial secret police (he was murdered at a MNR base in South Africa in 1983). As Mozambique's President Samora Machel remarked in conversations with the Portuguese Charge d'Affairs last February..."the bandit leaders are Portuguese. And I'm not just talking about people like Evo Fernandes. They're just servants."

After the accords were signed in March 1984, the MNR's Lisbon representatives began to present a number of conditions for ending the terrorism. These included the denationalization of land nationalized after independence, as well as the denationalization of health and educational institutions. They also demanded that the system of tribal cheifs wherein chiefs were given their powers by the colonial government, be restored and that former Portuguese settlers be allowed to take over farms and other property abandoned when they left Mozambique. MNR spokesmen have called for the return to the free enterprise, capitalist society of colonial Mozaambique, with the former Portuguese settlers being granted controlling interests.

In an article in TEMPO magazine, it was reported that lists were circulated in Lisbon among 'returnees' (those Portuguese who returned to Portugal from formerly colonized territories) asking them to return to Mozambique where they were promised they could reclaim former property .

The fact that most of the MNR's propaganda machinery is based in Lisbon and that the MNR can openly call press conferences in Portugal, where they claim credit for the murders of Mozambicans and Portuguese nationals and announce further terrorist attacks against Mozambique - threaten to unravel the delicate relationship between the two countries. Only last September, Mario Soares, on a state visit to Mozambique seemed to stress his country's desire to usher in a new era of Mozambican-Portuguese relations.

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# THE MNR TERROR

There is good reason for the hatred and fear Mozambicans feel for the MNR terrorists. While MNR propoganda in Portugal portray the MNR as somehow fighting for the people against against communism, the reality suffered by the masses who have had the misfortune of coming into contact with the MNR shows the true picture of their banditry.

The killing of Mozambican civilians by the MNR has continued since the signing of the Nkomati Accord.

Attacks are so commonplace in some areas that most are still not reported in the newspapers. In the few accounts that follow 283 persons were killed and 255 wounded. How many people were actually killed by the MNR during this period may never be known.

August 4, 1984 - Zambezia

A small band of MNR terrorists entered a tea plantation at Gurue in the northern part of the province and pretending to be Mozambican soldiers, called the workers to a meeting. Once workers had gathered, the MNR bandits opened fire - killing 22 and wounding 20 others.

September 25, 1984 - Zambezia

A group of MNR bandits posing as FRELIMO soldiers mingled with a crowd of local residents who had gathered to celebrate the 20th anniversity of the begining of armed struggle. Once among those enjoying the festivities, the bandits opened fire, killing 49 people and wounding 40 other. Nineteen of the dead and wounded were children.

October 17 & 26, 1984 - Maputo

A MNR bandit group entered a village near Manhica during the night and murdered 17 people. Although they carried guns, they hacked their victims to death with axes and machetes. Villagers in some areas say that the bandits are afraid to alert army troops by shooting. A few days after the attack, two people were killed when they stepped on a land mine planted by the MNR.

October 29, 1984 - Moamba

Five men and a woman were beaten to death with a pestle used for pounding corn meal. The next day three more people were killed in the same manner. In the same district, the pick-up truck of a Portuguese citizen was ambushed by MNR bandits. The expatriate was driving from South Africa's border when he was killed.

October 29, 1984 - Zambezia

Twelve people were murdered and three wounded in a raid which took place at a communal village in the tea growing district of Gurue. Survivors say that the attack followed a visit by bank officials as part of national saving campaign. Led by an informer, eight armed MNR bandits appeared in the village early in the morning. Banging on doors, they went from house to house, demanding to know the reason for the meeting the night before. People were dragged from their house and shot.

November 4, 1984 - Zambezia

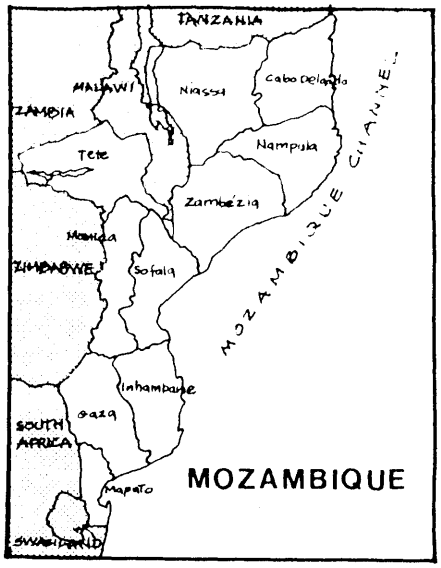
A Sri Lankan citizen, who had worked for 25 years as a tea-processing supervisor in Zambezia province, was released after having been held by MNR captors for two years. During his captivity, Cyril Punniyasoma was marched from base to base within Zambezia province. He saw other foreigners held by the MNR (including Bulgarians, Frenchmen and the Soviet geologists captured in 1983), although he only had an opportunity to speak with one - an Angolan youth who later escaped. He was held in several camps which were bombed by the Mozambican Air Force. He described his experience as a 'nightmare'.

November 26, 1984 - Manhica, Maputo

A Mozambican Roman Catholic priest was murdered by armed bandits in an ambush on the road 50 miles from the city of Maputo. A Portuguese nun and three other passengers were wounded. Father Samuel was the first Mozambican priest to be killed by the MNR. Three foreign priests were murdered in August 1984.

November 30, 1984 - Manjacze, Gaza

Ten peasants were killed, 11 wounded and others kidnapped by MNR bandits as the peasants collected cashew nuts. Three others were killed hours after the first attacks in another village in the same district where several women were also raped.




December 6, 1984 - Unango, Niassa

Thirteen people working at the Unango agricultural complex were murdered by MNR bandits. Eight of the 13 were foreign workers: seven specialists from East Germany and one from Yugoslavia. Two of the five Mozambicans killed were members of the militia.

December 15, 1984 - Namaacha, Maputo

Eleven people were killed when MNR bandits attacked four civilian vehicles traveling along the road from Swaziland to Maputo. The attack was thought to have been planned for a bus which passed earlier than expected. Two of the dead were foreigners working in Mozambique - a Portuguese citizen and a Swedish citizen. Also killed was the daughter of the governor of Gaza Province who worked as a veterinarian.

December 29, 1984 - Nampula

Five children were killed by MNR bandits when a column of trucks carrying cattle from the town of Nametil to the provincial capital of Nampula was attacked. Two other civilians were wounded. All the cattle was stolen and the trucks were burnt. The meat was intended for Nampula City to be sold in time for the New Year's Eve celebration.

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# The MNR Terror

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January 2, 1985 - Manhica, Maputo
Thee cars carrying shopkeepers returning from a New Year holiday at the beach resort of Bilene in Gaza Province were attacked by MNR bandits who killed 6 of the occupants and wounded 9 others. The band, which numbered about 17, stole jewelry, money and other items from the dead and wounded. When troops from nearby who heard the shots arrived, the bandits fled.

January 5, 1985 - Manhica, Maputo
A crowded bus traveling along the main north-south road was attacked at 11 a.m. by a MNR band who stopped the bus with machine gun and bazooka fire. Four passengers were killed and more, who are believed to have fled into the woods, are unaccounted for. The gang believed responsible was intercepted by the army who killed six of them. Local residents later caotured a bandit answering the description of one of the attackers, but he was clubbed and stoned to death before the authorities could arrive.

Another bus was attacked on another road in the same district while on its way to Gaza province. A group of about 30 bandits appeared on the road from the bush after the bus had passed a curve. The bus was machine gunned. As the passengers made a frantic attempt to escape they were gunned down. 23 passengers were killed and 20 were wounded - many seriously.

January 11, 1985 - Manhica, Maputo
A passenger bus traveling from Gaza to Maputo was attacked by the MNR resulting in the death of four passengers and the wounding of 34.

January 13, 1985 - Moamba, Maputo
Two British citizens entering Mozambique by car from South Africa were shot and killed about 2.5 miles inside Mozambique after leaving a FPLM checkpoint where they were reportedly advised to wait for three other cars traveling alone. Perhaps not clearly understanding, they proceeded. They were stopped by MNR bandits and ordered out of their car. As the other cars approached, they were ordered into the bush from where the bandits opened fire on the third passing car. When checkpoint soldiers reached the scene after hearing the shots, they found the bodies of the men and their looted, burnt-out car.

January 16, 1985 - Catemba, Maputo
MNR bandits attacked a cooperative in Catembe, a town directly across the bay from the city of Maputo at 10 p.m. The local defense and security forces had been alerted and were waiting for the bandits who forced about 300 local residents to march in front of them. When the shooting started, most took cover, but three were killed. The bandits escaped.

January 22, 1985 - Mavago, Niassa
A second member of the FRELIMO party Central Committee was killed by MNR bandits in this nothern district which borders Malawi. Assumane N'taula, 62, had been active in organizing the peasants to fight against the armed bands. Since 1965, N'taula had participated in the liberation struggle and was cited in the Central Committee communique announcing his death for "organizing and mobilizing the people for war on the eastern Niassa front." He also was active in the formation of agricultural cooperatives in Mavago district during the liberation struggle.

March 4, 1985 - Zambezia
Sixteen villagers were killed and another 18 wounded when MNR bandits opened fire in Coaxe where a large number of cattle was kept by the state-owned Sena Sugar Estates. 1200 head of cattle were run into the bush of which most were recovered later by SSE workers. A similar attempt the month before was driven back by a small platoon of government troops stationed there.

April 5, 1985 - Manhica, Maputo
Seven people were killed and five wounded when MNR bandits attacked a truck carrying 30 which was on its way from Manhica to Maputo. "The bandits opened fire with bazookas and machine guns against the truck", a wounded survivor told Mozambican reporters. Once the truck came to a stop, the bandits stole bags of rice and maize.

April 1985 - Changara, Tete
MNR bandits attacked a rural development center at Ntemangau murdering an agricultural technician. The center had been receiving U.N. support.

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# The Portuguese Component

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On November 2, the Mozambican Minister of Foreign Affairs issued a communique which charged "the Portuguese component of the global action of armed banditry constitutes one of the principal obstacles to a cessation of violence in Mozambique". The communique also revealed that the Portuguese ambassador in Mozambique, Paulouro das Neves, had been summoned to a meeting at the Foreign Ministry where Mozambican concerns about the involvement of Portuguese citizens in the preparation and direction of MNR activites was strongly expressed.

The communique warned that "the development, with complete impunity, of such criminal acts from Portuguese territory is contrary to the principles of normal relations between states and endangers the good relationship between our two governments."

Speaking at a mass rally in Manhica (a district in Maputo province) last December, President Machel spoke of the Portuguese component. He told those gathered that it was no surprise that some Portuguese, with the connivance of certain western countries, continue to sustain attempts to destabilize Mozambique. He described them as the group of Portuguese who had been among the previliged few in Mozambique. He accused them of never having been able to accept Mozambique's independence.

The principal enemies, Machel reiterated were not the bandits in the bush, but their creators and supporters in South Africa and Portugal. But he insisted that the key to the problem was still South Africa.

The head of Mozambique's delegation to the talks with the South Africans, Jacinto Veloso, explained the Portuguese component as a force that had existed since the time of the Lusaka Accords in 1974, when the end of Portuguese colonialism was recognized.

The so-called Portuguese component is a continuation of the attempt by powerful former colonialists to overthrow FRELIMO - an effort launched when it became clear that independence was imminent. Many of the principal MNR players were closely allied with Jorge Jardim, a powerful colonial businessman known for his attempts to derail Mozambican independence. He once owned the Beira daily newspaper.

Christina's sucessor, Evo Fernandes, chose Portuguese over Mozambican citizenship at independence and returned to

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## The MNR Terror

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April 19, 1985 - Manhica, Maputo
Five people were killed by armed bandits, including a member of FRELIMO's Provincial Committee and Secretary for Defense, Jaime Simango; Provincial Director of Finances Jose Nataniel Zefanias, and the Secretary for Economy of FRELIMO's Manhica's District Committee, Avelino dos Santos Nombora. The communique announcing their murder stated that they were barbarously assasinated by armed bandits while they fulfilled an assignment for the party and the government. Also killed was the driver of the vehicle in which they traveled and an employee of the District's party headquarters.

April 20, 1985 - Boane, Maputo
About sixty MNR bandits approached an army control post just after mid-night firing mortars and bazookas. Local people had been sleeping in dug out trenches at the control post out of fear of being attacked at their isolated homes. The soldiers returned fire fire, but later retreated under heavy fire. Thirty-seven civilians were hacked to death. Two militiamen and one soldier were also killed by MNR attackers.

May 7, 1985 - Moamba, Maputo
Eleven people were killed and seven wounded when MNR bandis attacked a village. The survivors said that bandits entered the village at dawn and forced them to march to the bush after tying their hands behind their backs. Once in the bush, where they joined other kidnapped victims, they were stabbed or beaten. Many of the survivors suffered stab wounds in the head. One yound child had a fractured skull.

June 3, 1985 - Lifidzi, Tete
Three Portuguese nuns and two novices were kidnapped by MNR bandits near the border with Malawi.

June 17, 1985 - Namaacha, Maputo
MNR bandits attacked a pineapple farm 3 miles from Namaacha which borders on Swaliland and South Africa. The farmer and his wife were killed. Four vehicles were burned in the attack and the bandits also opened fire on a secondary boarding school nearby but fled when militiamen and soldiers returned fire.

June 25, 1985 - Pataque, Gaza
Twenty-four persons, including a Chinese citizen, were killed when MNR bandits attacked a convoy of passenger buses and private vehicles, which was traveling from Maputo to Gaza. Eight persons were wounded and another twenty abducted in the attack. The convoy was being escorted by army troops.

June 29, 1985 - Pataque, Gaza
A machine gun attack on a convoy by MNR bandits resulted in the death of forty persons. Ninety of travelers were also wounded, fift seriously enough to require major surgery. Five passenger buses were part of the convoy.

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# The Need for Food Aid Continues

During the last months of 1983, the women of Changara District in Tete Province predicted that people in the region might be able to survive the drought if they were able to scavenge for enough tree bark, roots and insects to keep them alive. During 1984 thousands of local inhabitants died while others fled into Zimbabwe. Virtually nothing edible remained in the countryside. Without the food aid which arrived during 1984, far fewer would have survived the year. Despite the difficulties involved in Mozambique's obtaining food donations and transporting them to the worst of the drought and famine affected regions, it was vital to the lives of the people in these areas. The aid meant that the daily situation in Changara at the end of 1984 was fas better than at the close of the previous year.

Mozambican Notes contributor Mike Fleshman spoke with the women of Changara District while visiting drought-affected regions with other journalists last November. At that time, he was told by a local FRELIMO Party official that 100 tons of grain was available in the district for November. Another 50 tons were being held for December with no further grain available in the district. In order to fulfill WHO's recommendations of a minimum of nine kilos of grain per person per month under emergency conditions, the official estimated that the district required an additional 350 tons of grain monthly. Under normal circumstances, the district would consume 1000 tons monthly.

Angonia, a very productive agricultural area in the northeast of Tete unaffected by drought, had a normal harvest. Fleshman reports, however, that MNR activities on the roads of Tete Province prevented any of Angonia's surplus from reaching the hungry in southern Tete - including Changara. Peasants from Angon finally traded their surplus over the border in neighboring Malawi, where they obtained basic consumer goods not availab in most of Mozambique.

There was ample stockpiling of provisions for Tete in the port city of Beira. Because of road conditions and the lack of vehicles, it was only possible to send one armed convoy a mont from Tete to Beira and back for 350 tons of supplies for the entire province. Again, road attacks by the MNR made this route unreliable. Most of the food available in Changara came overland from Zimbabwe. At the time of the journalists visit that route was secure. However, in December, the MNR began attacks on the road between Zimbabwe and Tete as well.

In January 1985, the Ministry of Internal Trade published a document dire ed at the international community, which reviewed the food situation through 1984 and made specific requests for both continued emergency food aid and aid to improve local food production. The repor describes in statistics what the women of Changara knew: The food aid which had arrived and was sucessfully distributed saved the lives of an untold number of Mozambicans, but did not eliminate starvation altogether. Emergency food donations provided 58% of the 1984 food needs in drought-affected areas. At the same time, normal, non-emergency food supplies dropped and commercial imports of food fell drastically because of the lack of foreign exchange. This meant a serious shortage in supplies to the 3.3 million Mozambicans, mostly in large cities, who normally depend on imported and donated food.

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# Possibility of Malawian Connection Revealed

As the War against the MNR drags on, the existence of support for the MNR in heretofore unthought of quarters becomes more than a possibility. Only weeks after Nkomati was signed, Malawi and the Comoros Islands were first mentioned as countries used as intermediary logistics points in the delivery of South African supplies to MNR bases inside Mozambique. Evidence for Malawi's involvement as a supply staging point comes from eye-witness accounts of planes illegally entering from and returning to Malawian air space, the accounts of captured or surrendered MNR bandits who told of supply shipments coming from Malawi and the testimony of local villagers who live near the border.

Just as many Mozambicans settled in Malawi during the armed struggle, there were also many Portuguese settlers there both during and after the war against colonialism. Many worked, during the colonial era, for the Portuguese intelligence to trap FRELIMO sympathizers. Some Mozambican officials also suspect that there are MNR bases inside Malawi, although they are careful to publicly state that they do not believe the Malawian government are behind them.

In October 1984, Mozambique's President Samora Machel made his first official visit to Malawi. The four day visit said to have been at the invitation of Malawi's President Banda, resulted in the signing of a general cooperation agreement. While security must certainly have been discussed (General Mabote, the head of Mozambique's army and military commanders from Malawi also met during the visit), no security agreement was signed. Machel encouraged Mozambicans who live in Malawi (many since the late '60s) to inform the Malawian authorities of people connected to the MNR who cross into Malawi so that they could be returned to Mozambique.

The two governments issued a communique at the end of the visit which condemned MNR banditry as detrimental to the welfare of both countries. But as late as April, Malawian officials still publicly denied that their country was used as a ferrying point to fly supplies to MNR bases in Mozambique.

Malawi's High Commissioner to Zambia stated in March however that their airspace had on occasion been violated by high flying planes. He stressed that Malawian authorities have no way of knowing the contents of the planes.

For Mozambique's part, because Tete's airspace is crossed by scheduled airlines traveling to Zimbabwe and Zambia, Mozambican officials have difficulties in quickly distinqishing between small passenger planes and planes dropping materials.

Eduardo Arao, the provincial governor of Tete told Mozambican news reporters in May that "the actions of the armed bandits along the border (about 310 miles of border with Malawi) and our activity in confronting these little groups have given us indications that the bandits take refuge in Malawian territory. A 100 kilometer (62 mile) strip along the border qualifies as one of the most frequently attacked areas in the province."

He also stated that "despite the good intentions shown by the Malawian government at the time of President Machel's visit, these have not been translated into concrete results." Governor Arao was part of the president's delegation to Malawi which also included two other governors from provinces bordering Malawi.

In December, Maputo was full of rumors that the MNR teams responsible for the sabotage of electrical power pylons were trained by Israel. The increased sophistication of the sabotage techniques lent credence to the fact that specialists were involved but it is difficult to trace their origin.

Portugal's state-owned radio reported in a May broadcast that a captured MNR figther in Mozambique had admitted receiving military training in Israel. The radio correspondent quoted other sources as saying that Israel might be training MNR rebels inside Malawi. But there is no confirmation in the Mozambican press of suspected Israeli involvement.

In November, the South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha visited Israel and West Germany in what was reported to be talks directly linked to the implementation of the Nkomati Accord. Portuguese state radio called the visit an attempt to de-activate the 'Pretoria-Tel Aviv-Munich triangle' which backed the MNR.

If the Malawian or Israeli connection is proven to be instrumental in the continual MNR terrorism, it will mean that the international network of MNR support is much more widespread and interwoven that understood at the time of the signing of the Nkomati Accord. ■

## The MNR Terror

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July 17, 1985 - Maluane, Maputo
A Mozambican woman was killed and two others were seriously wounded when fifty MNR bandits attacked a convoy of private cars traveling from Maputo to Gaza. The attack which took place 30 miles from Maputo City was unique in that eyewitnesses reported that the attack was lead by a white man who spoke Portuguese.

July 29, 1985 - Luabo, Zambezia
Two foreign citizens, one British and one Irish were kidnapped by MNR bandits while repairing machinery at a sugar factory damaged during an attack by bandits in 1984.

July 29, 1985 - Luabo, Zambezi
A Mozambican pilot was killed when MNR bandits opened fire while the small state-owned air taxi plane was parked along the river bank. The co-pilot, a Portuguese citizen, managed to take off and crossed the river.

August 6, 1985 - Intaque, Tete
Mourners at a funeral near the Malawian border were attacked by MNR bandits. Thirty-three villagers were killed in the local cemetery attack.

August 8, 1985 - Maluane, Maputo
Fifteen bus passengers were killed and forty-seven injured when bandits attacked four buses going the Xai-Xai in Gaza province. The atack took place on the road about 50 miles from the city of Maputo. Troops escorting the buses returned fire and the bandits who were operating from the bush fled. ■

## The Portuguese Component

(Continued from page 10)

Portugal in 1976. He had been employed as a Deputy Director of the newspaper in the city of Beira which was run for a period after independence by Jardim.

Jorge Correia, a MNR spokeman in Lisbon, is a Portuguese citizen who lived for many years in Beira. Both he and Fernandes were employed for a time in Lisbon at the Livrania Bertrand Press owned by Bulhosa who was also a close friend of Jardim.

"We are sure that the Portuguese government is not involved in support of the bandits," Veloso continued. But he added that for many the question remained why the Portuguese government did not act against representatives of the bandits who kidnap and murder Portuguese expatriates and destroyed Portuguese state and private interests in Mozambique.

In explaining the influence of the Portuguese component in ending talks which might have led to peace, Veloso commented that "What we have seen is that the representatives of those who carry out terrorist activites in Mozambique have come up with a series of excuses that prevent the exercise being carried out. The Portuguese component has played a fundamental role in this blocking process."

The declaration released by 'The Five', an association of the former Portuguese colonies in Africa, at the fifth summit meeting of the group, condemns the involvement of Portuguese citizens in efforts to destabilize both Mozambique and Angola.

"The Portuguese nation desires one Mozambique, prosperous and strong. This is only possible with President Samora Machel at the front of your destinies," Portuguese President Ramalho Eanes declared during a three day visit to Mozambique at the end of April. He stated that the 'Portuguese connection', while supported by some Portuguese is not supported by the Portuguese government. The two presidents are said to have also discussed the possibility of military cooperation.

Both the Mozambican and the Portuguese governments seem to be trying to contain the negative effect that the discovery of the 'Portuguese component' will have on relations between the two countries. What Mozambique desires is that the Portuguese government backs up its verbal commitment to better Mozambique-Portugal relation with actions, such as a crackdown on MNR activites inside Portugal. It remains to be seen how far the Portuguese government is willing to go. ■

# U.S. Administration Offers Military Aid

One of the biggest surprises of 1985 from Washington was the announcement from the State Department that the United States "would provide limited military assistance to Mozambique." The offer of military assistance follows two years of what U.S. officials termed "major improvements in U.S.-Mozambique relations."

"The administration has therefore decided", a State Department spokeman explained "to seek to develop a limited military assistance relationship with Mozambique. This would be part of an effort to help professionalize the Mozambique armed forces."

Involved is the provision of a little over $1 million during 1985 in 'non-lethal' military aid, to be used for such items as uniforms, vehicles and communications equipment. Another $3 million was allocated for 1986. Mozambique would also receive about $30 million in emergency food shipments and about $8 million in USAID money earmarked for the revitalization and development of the private sector and farm equipment for green zones around Maputo and the Limpopo Valley.

On June 18 American ambassador Peter de Vos officially handed over agricultural equipment, including tractors, ploughs and animal-drawn farm implements worth $1.2 million to Mozambique's Minister of Agriculture. The equipment is part of $8 million promised last last year to aid the private farming sector. Seeds and fertilizers worth $1.2 millions , part of the same aid program were handed over earlier.

Until the time of the administration's proposal of military aid, Mozambique was barred from receiving any aid - except certain types of emergency aid - from the U.S. government. Mozambique was barred because of the administration's objection to the country's Marxist policies and its relationship to eastern bloc countries. Other countries on the list include Cuba, Angola, Vietnam and Nicaragua.

The new philoshopy on Washington's part is credited in the press to Mozambique's so-called "turn to the West" and the belief by the U.S. State Department that Mozambique now want to be non-aligned (which implies that they were not before). But in many ways, this explanation is too simplistic.

On the Mozambican side, Mozambican officials have not hidden the fact that they considered convincing Western countries with influence in Pretoria that they are a sovereign, independent thinking country whose policies are set in Maputo. They see this as an important part of their diplomatic strategy to prevent their becoming isolated in the southern African ideological battle. The Mozambicans clearly want to make it as difficult as possible for Washington to openly side with the Pretoria regime. They calculated that when the interests of Washington are pitted against the interests of Pretoria, the Reagan administration would promote its own interests.

In this case, what interests Washington about Mozambique is what they see as an opportunity to move it to the Western camp. In Washington where the world is considered divided into Soviet and Western camps, the concept of true non-alignment died long ago. Those countries which have shown their friendship towards the U.S. and demonstrated an understanding of the U.S.'s feelings for the Soviet Union are most likely to be considered non-aligned. For the former ambassador to the United Nations Jeane Kirkpatrick and others at the State Department, one of the truest tests of 'friendship' is how a particular country votes in the U.N. Mozambique and other countries barred from receiving aid are considered to have voted too often against the U.S. on matters that the U.S. deems important. So, what has caused the about-face in Washington's dealings with Mozambique?

In responding to criticism from the ultra-right on the administration's proposal to give military aid to Mozambique, Vice President Bush stated in a letter to the Conservative Caucus Chairman: "President Reagan believes that a military assistance program with Mozambique is in our national

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# U.S. Administration Offers Military Aid

(Continued from page 13)

interest and essential to the pursuit of policies that have thus far been highly sucessful in asserting U.S. influence in the region." Bush's letter goes on to point out " ...Our provision of a modest military assistance program ($1.15 million proposed in FY 85) will demonstrate that the Mozambicans need not rely on the East Bloc for their total security. Bringing some military officers to the United States for training will broaden our contact with this key element of Mozambican society and improve how we are viewed within the military."

The Reagan administration's history of dealing with small countries which dare to proclaim Marxist-Leninist governments has not exactly been one of tolerance (i.e. Cuba, Grenada and Nicaragua) . While Mozambique's distance and the difficulty the administration might encounter in convincing the American public that a country so far away is a national threat make direct military intervention unrealistic, there are many other ways for Reagan to influence what happens in Mozambique. The administration's support of South African's destabilization policy is one of these. At some point, though, the administration saw a chance to shift Mozambique to the Western column without the complete destruction of the country. But the destabilization process and the anarchy created by war were invaluable tools. Reagan's policy of 'constructive engagement' gave South Africa a free hand to not only devise methods to economically sabotage Mozambique, but turned a blind eye to South Africa's bombings and invasions as well.

The Reagan administration has not changed its sentiments towards young Marxist countries, but rather has a variety of tactics that can be used to accomplish its objectives. With Mozambique, it is something of the carrot and stick approach. The carrot in this case is the U.S.'s influence in restraining South Africa's aggressiveness and pressuring South Africa to respect the Nkomati Accord signed by Mozambique and South Africa. There ia also the promise of foreign aid, which would not have been so desperately needed in the first place if Mozambique had not been the target of South African destabilization attempts.

The stick is the ability of the U.S. to actively encourage South African aggression or do nothing to try to prevent it.

At this time it is not clear that Mozambique will ever receive a penny in military assistance as proposed by the administration. In May, Senator Helms of North Carolina proposed an amendement to the bill granting aid to Mozambique which imposes several conditions not likely to be accepted by Mozambique. His bill requires that in order for Mozambique to receive aid from the U.S. that President Reagan must certify to Congress within 30 days after enactment of the bill and each 180 days thereafter that the government of Mozambique; 1) complies with internatonally recognized human rights, 2) implements essential economic and political reforms including the "restoration of private property" and respects rights to engage in free enterprise in all sectors, 3) implements a plan by September 30, 1986 to reduce the number of foreign military personnel to 55 or less and 4) begins discussions with all "major political factions" in Mozambique and declares its willingness to hold "free" elections supervised by "internationally recognized observers" no later than September 30, 1986.

In describing the MNR's role in Mozambique, Helms states:"...The Mozambican National Resistance Movement is struggling for freedom in Mozambique. It is exactly the same type of movement as Jonas Savimbi's UNITA in Angola; the FDN and ARDE (ed. note: more commonly known as 'contras') freedom fighters in Nicaragua and the Afghan freedom fighters."

Helms goes on to compare the U.S. policy which once extended aid to Nicaragua to the new administration policy towards Mozambique. "This money was supposed to have moderated the communists in Managua and make them friendly to the United States". His point seems to be that the administration is planning to give money to another Marxist country that will not accomplish their intended goal of moving it to the Western camp.

While Senator Helms makes no secret of his preferance for seeing the MNR in control in Maputo, he would be satisfied at this point with seeing U.S. foreign aid denied. By setting preconditions such as the reduction in the number of foreign military personnel, the chance of Mozambique's acceptance is nil.

Helm's amendment passed the Senate and was passed by the House of Representatives in July.

Reacting to the news that the congressional vote would bar military aid to Mozambique, Foreign Minister Chissano explained that the military aid aid proposed by the Reagan administration was to be in the form of non-lethal equipment and was accepted by Mozambique as a symbolic gesture to demonstrate Mozambique's non-aligned posture.

In August, five Republican Congressmen made an 8-hour stopover in Maputo where they met with President Machel and two ministers. At a press conference before their departure, Congressman Parris of Virginia commented that he had supported the Helms amendment "on the theory that it's very difficult to justify assistance of any category to a communist, Marxist-Leninist type government."

To defeat the MNR, Mozambique will depend on its own forces and the assistance of friendly African and non-African countries. And while defence and security will receive about 37% of the state's budget in the next fiscal year, Mozambique may in the end be forced to call more on those countries with the resources and willingness to aid to provide military assistance. ■


## MOZAMBICAN NOTES

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# Maputo Suffers Electrical Energy Loses

A large part of the city of Maputo is in the precarious position of depending on transmission lines from South Africa to provide it with electric power. The electricity originates in Mozambique where it is produced at the hydro-electric dam at Cahora Bassa and carried to South Africa by high voltage lines, where it is stepped down and a portion returned to Maputo at a preferred rate. The arrangement for all of this was negotiated before Mozambican independence between the Portuguese and the South Africans. The line was constructed in 1972.

The transmission lines from the dam in Tete were frequent targets of MNR attacks before the Nkomati Accord was signed. Mozambique's army defended the lines even though a Portuguese company owned the hydro-electric plant and South Africa - MNR's backers - felt the effects when electricity was cut.

On April 5, 1984, just weeks after the signing of the accord, the electric power lines from South Africa to Maputo were sabotaged for the first time by the MNR. After that time, a persistent pattern of sabotage and repair began. FPLM guards were increased and methods for averting sabotage devised but the MNR's tactics changed as Mozambique found more ways to prevent their actions. For example electric lines repaired on January 27, 1985 which had been damaged on January 22, were sabotaged again on January 29. By mid-March, the lines had been downed six times.

Life without electricity required a great deal of adjusting to even in a city without the abundance of appliances Americans are accustomed to. A small coal fired power station was used to provide electricity during the black-outs. Because of its limited capacity, only a portion of the city could receive electricity at a time , with the entire city receiving four hours of electicity in the evening.

Without electricity high-rise apartments and office building elevators are useless; office and factory electric equipment can't be operated; telephone switchboards in offices are dead and toilets and faucets which depend on pumps for their water supply won't function. Refrigerators defrost and electric hot plates (which some city dwellers used because of a cooking gas shortage) could not be used.

More than half of the country's industrial facilities and Maputo's ports are hindered by the electric cuts. The few existing irrigation systems, which are desperately needed, are also affected.

To make matters more critical, a wind storm on March 26 caused massive damage to the Maputo-South Africa power lines. Jacinto Veloso, Mozambique's Minister in the Presidency for Economic Affairs told representatives of the diplomatic corps that $1.5 million would be needed for repairs, which were expected to take about three months, and an estimated $10 million of fuel is required (coal, diesel and jet) to provide Maputo and the southern region with electricity in the meantime. Veloso appealed to the international community for assistance.

The power station which has been supplying Maputo's electrical needs when hydro-electric power is not available from the South African lines has three coal fired generators (all over 23 years old) and two gas turbines. Because of their age they are expensive to operate but will have to be used in the interim along with the coal fired generator to provide power during the three months projected for repair.

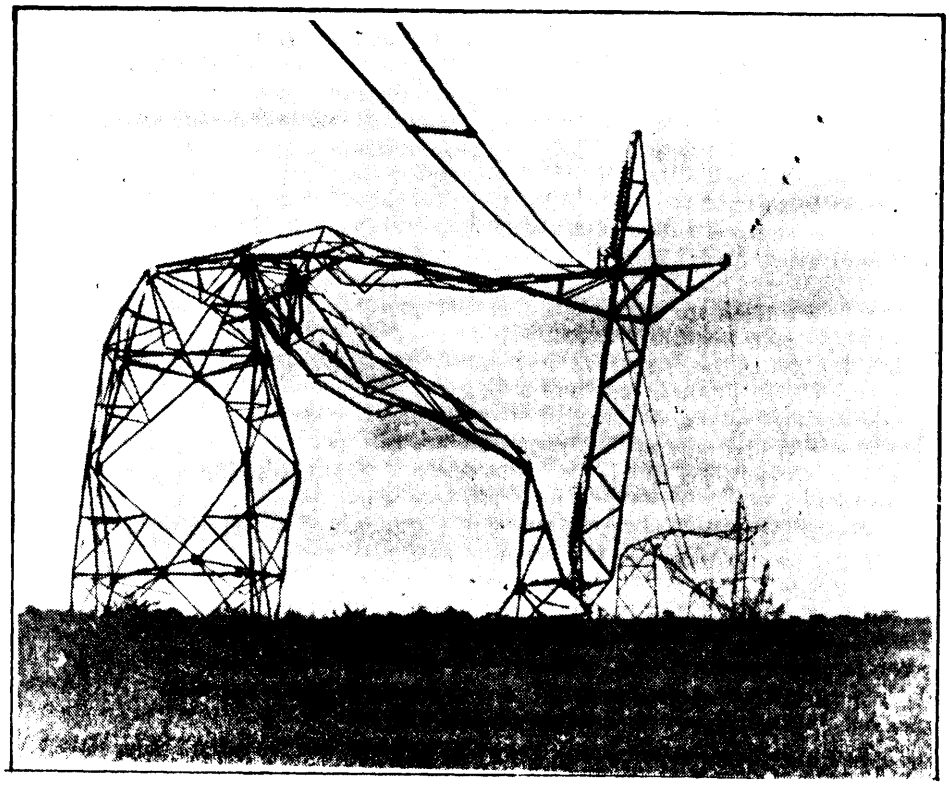
After the international appeal was made, the ambassador from the Soviet Union promised that his country would add money to an existing credit line to be used in part to cover the present emergency.

The American Embassy informed Mozambique that $250,000 would be available to buy coal. Although paid for, the shipment of coal ordered at the beginning of April from a South African company had not arrived in May. South African Railway officials only agreed to give top priority to the coal shipment hours after the railroad to be used had been sabotaged.

The EEC and Sweden also donated money to purchase fuel, while Italy promised $1.5 million to repair the 31 pylons. Switzerland promised $180,000 for maintenance of one of the turbines made by a Swiss company.

During the current emergency, very strict measures are being instituted against businesses and private citizens who abuse emergency regulations.

Life without electricity is difficult, but as Foreign Minister Chissano commented recently: During FRELIMO's long war against Portuguese colonialism "we fought without electricity and we still won." ■



ELECTRIC TRANSMISSION LINES DOWNED IN FREAK STORM.

# MOZAMBICAN TIMES:
# Glimpses of Life in Maputo

## BOGEYMEN

The most interesting new friend I made this trip was eight year old Maria. Maria was smart, alert and lively, although she seemed shy at first. She had studied Portuguese during her year at school, but she was reluctant to use it. We were together most of the mornings while the others worked at the home of friends with whom I stayed.

At first she tried to teach me Shangani (the local language ) and in fact suceeded in teaching me a few songs. But it was when she began to speak to me in Portuguese that I began to understand her life beyond the songs of her childhood.

As the youngest child, she had lived until recently with her parents in Magude, a town about a two-hour drive from Maputo city. When the bandits began to pay frequent visits on local peasants, Maria's parents knew that it was not safe to stay on, but didn't want to leave their home and fields. Where would they go? What would they do? And so, like so many families in what seems to us an incredibly hostile situation, they stayed on. But their life changed.

Every afternoon by 4 o'clock, they would have done their farm chores, eaten their last meal and retreated to the woods where they would spend the night. The good dishes and anything else they valued was buried when trouble first started in the area so that bandits couldn't steal them. If the MNR bandits stole the crops from the ground - well there really wasn't much they could do about that.

One day I asked Maria if she had ever seen any 'bandits'. She then told me a story using pantomime to support her limited Portuguese.

Yes, she said, once on her way to school she and her friends had seen them. The bandits had begun to come to the empty school building at night. One morning two classmates stepped on a landmine that had been set by the MNR near the school. One girl about her age was killed. After that her mother took her to Maputo to live with an aunt, while they stayed on.

As dangerous as the physical threat presented by the MNR terrorists, the psychological effect of the bandits on the children in Mozambique may be as serious.

"The bandits are dirty," Maria once told me while getting dressed one morning. "They don't take baths like you and me. And they carry big 'machetes' (large field knives) to cut up people. and," she continued, with her eyes growing big as her voice grew smaller, "they eat up little children like me." She shuddered and was still.

For the little children in Magude, the MNR bandits are the bogeymen of their worst nightmares.

## AISLES OF PLENTY

In Maputo, just about everything you can think of is in short supply - or simply not available at all - except in the Loja Franca. The Loja Franca stores were first set up to serve diplomats who by tradition are never obliged to suffer along with the populations who live where they happen to find themselves.

Before these stores existed, diplomats sent landrovers to South Africa or Swaziland to buy 'supplies' which included food, clothes, furniture and stereos, etc. For Mozambique, the stores were a good idea because they generated foreign currency and so they were expanded to include all foreigners. The present system accommodates just about anyone who has foreign currency. The stores are so popular that there are set shopping hours for foreigners and Mozambicans to cut down on congestion. But still the stores are always crowded.

After wondering through empty department stores, shoe stores and grocery stores in the rest of Maputo, the Loja Franca is a bit surrealistic. There are aisles and aisles of food, soft drinks and liquors at prices which sometimes appear wholesale by American standards. There is a whole section dedicated to chocolates and another for perfumes. There are appliances and even a snack bar. You can buy or rent a car as well as the gasoline to run it. You can buy clothes, a swimming suit, toys and film for a camera. Is there any wonder that Mozambicans would rather have dollars and rands to shop there than meticais?

As the people who run the Lojas will tell you, cooperantes as well as diplomats complainted before that there was no place to easily get food and other items. The store was necessary to keep technicians and make their lives more convenient. But as food and consumer goods shrink outside the Loja's doors, the store's volume swells creating a greater schism between the haves (cooperantes in this case) and the have-nots. Foreign technicians who go to Mozambique to aid in development, find themselves in the precarious position of being envied and resented at the same time. In a way their inevitable ability to step outside the misery and inconveniences lived by the majority of the people they came to aid means that the distance between the two will always exists.

But as a departing cooperante once told me in the pre-Loja Franca days - "I didn't come to Mozambique to get shot at or starve to death."

And so the need for the store continues, as does the mixed feelings towards those with the hard currency accepted there.

## TAXI

Most Mozambicans walk a lot. There is a gasoline shortage so even the people and government offices with cars can't use them half the time. To get to a program at the University, I walked with a friend for more than an hour before we were finally picked up by a friend

with a truck and driven the other five miles. Sometimes the bus didn't come so I'd walk to the shopping area or to the Post Office about an hour or more away. After a while I started taking the hilly foot paths traveled by 'O Povo' - some with babies on their backs and bundles on their head. Some of the clay paths like the steep rocky one behind the Hotel Cardoza require extremely good footwork.

It's not that I didn't use city buses whenever possible. I did. Actually I rode on a bus two or three times. Other times It wasn't so easy. When you arrive at a crowded bus stop and find 5 or 6 prospective passengers sound asleep under capalanas (those clothes women wrap as skirts, baby back carriers and shawls), it is a defeinite sign that no one is expecting the bus anytime soon.

One hot muggy high noon, I and a friend waited with dozens of others at a large bus terminal for what seemed like hours (in 95°+ heat all time gets expanded) for our bus. As we walked away from the stop having decided to walk, the bus pulled in and was immediately overrun by sixty or seventy other passengers. As we mourned our impatience, the bus came to a haul just a few yards from the stop.

The passengers filed out and we watched as passengers both old and young banded together to push the bus. They pushed up hill and then down and around corners. But the bus won't start.

We had a lot of company on the walk uphill that day.

When Independence became imminent, most of the Portuguese who owned taxis drove them to Rhodesia or South Africa. In 1978, the State bought 100 taxis, but two years later few remained. In a new experiment, twenty experienced drivers received taxis of which they will become the owners after paying for them. What I wanted to know was how do you call a taxi.

Well, my friends explained, you can't just call a taxi. You have to know some one who knows one of them. Luckily I had a friend who knew one of these most sought out individuals. She arranged for a taxi driver to call to schedule a time for him to come by. I figured out in advance what places I wanted to go so that I wouldn't waste this opportunity on trivia. When I finally spoke to the taxi driver, he explained that he was booked solid for the next week but would be free on the next Tuesday morning. Would that be alright? Of course, I assured him.

On the day he was to come, I waited past the time we arranged. I left for my first appointment in town, already late. As I walked past the gas station used by taxis, I couldn't believe my eyes. There was my taxi driver.

I ran to him relieved that maybe I wouldn't have to climb the long hill home. After all, this was our day, wasn't it? He hadn't forgotten our appointment, he explained apologetically, but he had no gas.

Could we start now, I asked remembering that friends had said there was always gas for taxis. Well not right now, the taxi driver responded. The gas pumps worked electrically and since this morning there had been no electricity. Maybe after two o'clock when power was usually restored to that sector.

But that day power was only restored at 5:30 So I spent that day as I did most others - walking. But it was alright because I learned a valuable lesson . In Mozambique nothing is as easy as it seems.

## DANCING IN THE DARK

The picture of Mozambique in the western media these days is of gloom and misery. When the country's economic difficulties aren't being examined, then the sorrow caused by the drought and war is spotlighted. All in all, Mozambique is not painted as place where one could find a lot of happiness. While it is true that most people seem to have more to complain about than cheer, in Mozambique as in other lands torn by war there are still moments when someone celebrates a child's brithday or a young couple in love gets married in the new Wedding Palace, when happiness is contagious.

In between standing in long lines for bread, there is an excursion to the beach at Costa do Sol where hundreds of families go each Sunday with lunches packed at home to enjoy the less than clear water and lay on the beach. Many never went to the beach before Independence. But on the beach with its crowds of children and adults, the war seems far away.

Movie theaters are as popular and crowded as ever, even though the movies are not new. Tickets to the 1950's version of "Body Snatchers" (with Portuguese subtitles) sold out in less than an hour with many tickets going to people who had already seen the movie more than a few times.

In the downtown area, only a few restuarants still are able to get enough food to remain open. Phone reservations are required to hold a table for lunch as well as dinner. When there is no electricity, patrons diners by the light of gas lamps or candles.

There is still a night life in the nightclubs. And just as many Mozambicans were familiar with American music in the forties, today's youth are also familiar with the songs and personalities of the eighties. On the beach, a large crowd gathered at midday. Inside the circle, two boys were break-dancing to Michael Jackson's Billy Jean. A popular nightclub held a break-dancing contest and attracted teens in jeans and sneakers from all over the city.

Holidays are the best times of all. Families come together and there is joy in the air. It is clear that it takes more than long lines, war on all sides and electrical cuts to dim the light in the Mozambican spirit. Behind the gloomy, desperate headlines of war and need are people who haven't yet given up on happiness. ■

# NEED FOR FOOD AID

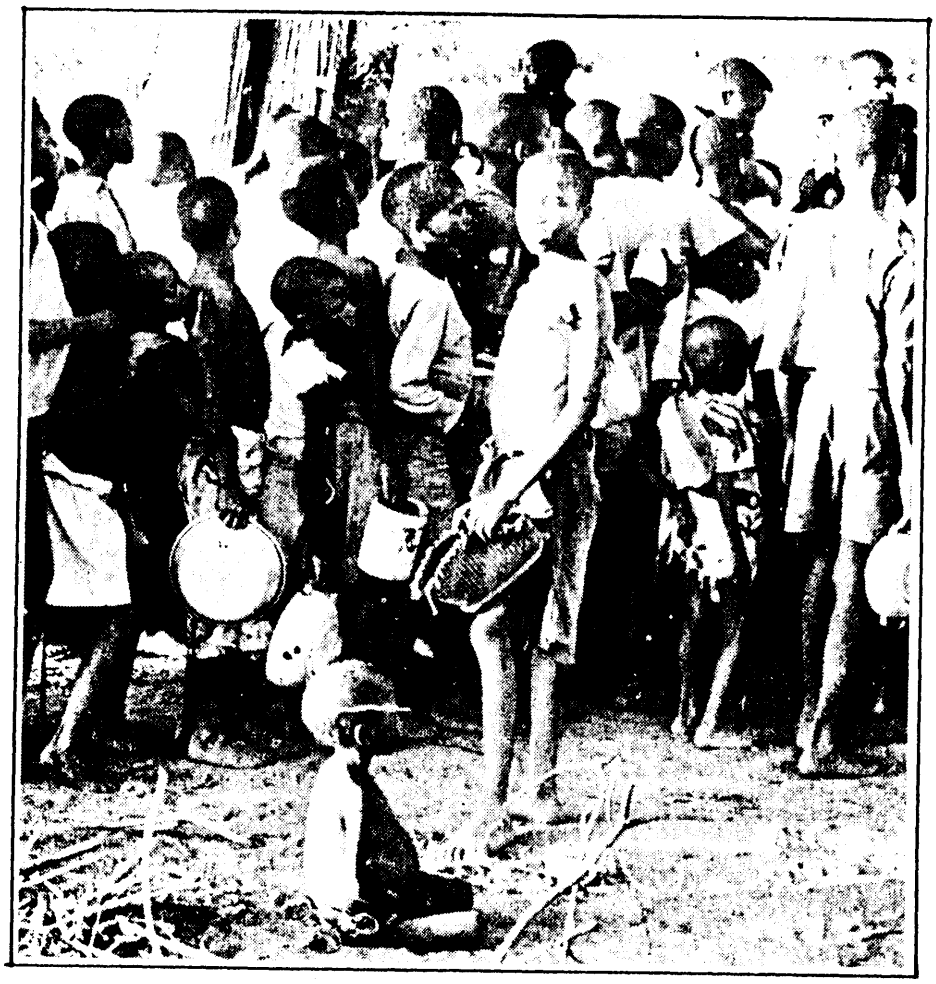
(Continued from page 11)

Specific requests for foodstuffs to substain Mozambicans though April 30, when some harvesting should have begun, were made for maize, beans, sugar and oil totaling $5.3 million, $160,000 fuel and two small cargo ships costing $1.2 million. One ship is needed for moving food from the northern coast of Inhambane province where there are many small towns unable to accommodate the normal coastal freighter. The other is needed for use on the Cahora Bassa lake in Tete.

Detailed requests for assistance were also made to improve local food production. No longer focusing on large mechanized farms, neither private nor state-run, Mozambique places its hopes for agricultural production on family farms. Seeds totaling $59 million (including seeds for drought resistent crops), farm implements and plows costing $1.3 million, and trucks to be used in both production and internal commerce totaling $9.5 million were requested. Irrigation equipment was also requested.

Mozambique recognizes the need to avoid the situation described above in Angonia, in which surplus produce was sold in Malawi. As a stimulus to families to produce surplus products and sell them inside Mozambique, $13 million in both finished consumer goods and materials for producing consumer goods in Mozambique was requested. An additional $2 million is asked for educational materials for rural areas. Exclusive of the irrigation equipment, a total of $85 million was felt to be needed in 1985 in order to rehabilitate local food production. We do not know at this time what percentage of these requests has been promised or delivered. The necessity of controlling the MNR in order to allow farming and internal commerce to proceed is of major concern, although not dealt with in this particular report.

In January 1984, it was estimated that 4.5 million Mozambicans lived in drought-affected areas. In December of 1984, more than 100,000 deaths later, with rainfall increasing in central and southernmost Mozambique, the at-risk figure fell to 2.5 million persons. As has happened before in Mozambique, the rain itself became a menance as severe flooding occurred during the early months of 1985. Rivers such as the Incomate, which were only dry beds in 1984, overflowed their banks and swallowed up newly planted crops.



**The food aid received saved an untold number of lives, but did not eleminate salvation altogether.**

Radio Mozambique reported in February that the Zambezi, Pungue, Buzi and Save Rivers in central Mozambique had all flooded, destroying 14,000 hectares of farmlands and depriving 130,000 people of their own crops and countless others of the hoped for surplus. Four persons were killed and thousands were forced to leave their home. Full accounts of the damage in all areas is not yet available but $500,000 was requested for the emergency repair of roads and bridges damaged by flooding in addition to $1 million requested for railroad repair.

Mozambique enters its fall season with continued drought in parts of Tete, southern Inhambane and Gaza. Severe flooding has occurred in Sofala, Manica, northern Inhambane and Maputo provinces. Despite Nkomati, MNR attacks continue. With this situation, the current rehabitation plans will likely be inadequate, and Mozambique will continue to require emergency food aid. ■

# THE VIOLATIONS

(Continued from page 5)

"Our enemy is called imperialism, and in this part of the world, its spearhead is South Africa. We are continuing to detect radio communications transmitting orders to the bandit gangs, and reports from the bandits back to their leaders." He added that "the bandits are still being resupplied by air and sea with military equipment by certain imperialist countries."

January 14 & 22, 1985 - Attacks are launched against electricity transmission lines which indicate more sophisticated techniques than previously. Local peasants testify that armed white men entered from South Africa at night on two occasions when transmission lines carrying power to Maputo were sabotaged.

(Continued on page 20)

# ECONOMIC RELAXATION MEASURES ANNOUNCED

On May 3 at a meeting with government officials, businessmen complainted about what they saw as excessive governmental interferance in their economic activities. Their concerns centered on pricing controls, salaries, taxes, support given to private businesses, import and export regulations, bank loans and armed terrorism.

A week later Jacinto Veloso, the Minister in the Presidency for Economic Affairs, reconvened the group to announce decisions made by the Council of Ministers which would relax some of the economic controls discussed at the first meeting. Areas covered are summarized below:

PRICE POLICIES - A new price list for farm and cattle produce was announced. For example, the price to be paid to producers of corn rose from 6 meticais to 13 meticais a kilo, while the cost to the consumer rose from 9 meticais to 17.5 meticais a kilo. The intent is to encourage producers to grow more. Although the previous price to consumers was much lower, there was not enough corn on the market to satisfy consumers. Other price increases are not as dramatic. The price for peanuts rose from 15 meticais to 20 meticais a kilo for the producer and from 26.5 to 30.5 meticais to the public.

Price controls were removed from fruits and vegetables as well as small game and turkeys. The prices of beef and chicken were increased. Provincial governments will be responsible for setting the prices of other items such as potatoes, goats, sheep and fish.

SALARIES - Mecanisms for establishing salaries will be more flexible "...so as to permit good work to be rewarded and bad work penalized." The more skilled or qualified workers will now be able to receive higher salaries and company directors will be able to adjust salaries to actual productivity.

TAX SYSTEM - More rigor is to excercised in setting tax rates and more help given to those companies which do not have organized accounting departments.

New tax incentives, including exemptions, are to be announced for businesses in zones of development defined as priorities.

STATE GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS - The distinction was emphsized between state-owned businesses and the government. The government is responsible for the supervision and leadership of the national economy and controls the activities firms, protects and provides incentives for national production.

The direct administration of any company, whether state-owned, cooperative or private, is the responsibility of the firm's directors. All businesses, including state-owned business must be run as businesses and not like a branch of a government department. They are expected to make profits which can be used to improve the company and the benifits of its workers.

THE CIRCULATION OF GOODS - The Council of Ministers stressed that goods must be able to circulate freely throughout the country in response to increasing difficulties faced by peasants and other traveling with food and other items to areas where the goods are not available.

INCENTIVES TO PRIVATE FIRMS - Incentives will be announced for private firms in areas having an "immediate impact on improving conditions of life", such as agriculture, light industries and food industries. Incentives will also be given to private firms which increase exports, reduce imports and increase overall national production.

DIRECT EXPORTING AND IMPORTING - Direct exporting and importing will be allowed when it results in increased efficiency and increased income for the national economy.

SMALL PRODUCERS - The State promised support and stimulation to family farmers and small arts and crafts producers. The support will include the promotion of selling and exchange programs which result in the development of the activity and the obtaining of foreign currency.

BANK LOANS - Banks were directed to urgently reorganize themselves so that rapid attention could be given to all loan requests, whether for private, cooperative or state-owned companies.

PRIORITY ZONES FOR INVESTMENTS The State will give priority and incentives to economic development projects which are located in 1) areas of the country liberated during the armed struggle, 2) border areas and 3) other rural areas cconsidered priorities. The production of food, consumer goods and products made for export are other areas considered for incentives.

Jacinto Veloso also announced improvements in the area of foreign currency use, and encouraged diversification of businesses, the elimination of unnecessary middlemen between producers and consumers, and the creation of business associations.

Businessmen, farmers, transporters and merchants were also encouraged to use creativity to resolve some of the present difficulties. They were remined that all activities must be carried out with strict adherence to laws and regulations and that the fight against speculation and blackmarketeering must continue.

"In this way, Minister Veloso concluded, "we all contribute to the elimination of terrorism and the violence of the armed bandits, to the creation together of a climate of peace and tranquility - the reestablishment of the normality of national life, an indepensible condition for the econmic and social development of Mozambique." ■

## celebrations

**(Continued from page 1)**

We want to have parks and playgrounds, museums and libraries, laboratories and institutes of scientific investigations, movies and theaters, where they can develop all of their physical and intellectual faculties.

We want all sectors of social, economic and cultural life to be institutions and companies where they can contribute to the society according to their capacities.

We don't want them to know hunger, nudity and war, and don't want them to have to face misery and unemployment. We want them to be able through their own work and intelligence to be able to have a home, bread, food, clothes, medicine, books in their ± country.

country.

We want them to live in a society in which the only measure of a man will be his dignity, his work and dedication to the people and the country.

This is the future that we want and are going to construct in Mozambique. This was the idea which motivated our heroes who fell on the battleground and this is the significance of the independence that we proclaimed ten years ago; it is the cement that united us and the basis for our determination.

With determination and courage the Mozambican nation enters their second decade. ■

## THE VIOLATIONS

(Continued from page 18)

January 14, 1985 - Two small unidentified planes were reported to have entered Tete province. They were seen by residents of Songa, the town where the Cahora Bassa dam is located. Mozambican anti-aircraft units opened fire on the two, at which point they altered course and flew into Malawian airspace. Several planes, also flying in pairs, were seen coming from and returning in the direction of Malawi. They are thought to have dropped supplies to MNR bases in the Tete area.

January 1985 - Samora Machel stated that there is evidence that the Nkomati Accord is being violated from South African soil and from the territory of other countries bordering on Mozambique. Speaking to the diplomatic corps, President Machel charged that, "violence and terrorism are continuing to claim lives and spread destruction in Mozambique" despite South Africa's claim to be implementing the letter and spirit of the accord.

May 1985 - A South African official admitted for the first time publicly that South Africa had, as Mozambique had charged all along, supported the MNR. Accounting to an article in the South African publication The Star , South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha stated that there was "naturally" a time when South Africa had aided the MNR and would do so again "in similiar circumstances". He justified South Africa's aid to the MNR as necessary on the grounds that Mozambique had become "the chief canal of ANC (African National Congress) terrorists."

July 1985 - Mozambique's Minister of Foreign Affairs Joaquim Chissano warned during an interview in London that because South Africa is breaching the terms of the Nkomati Accord, Mozambique "may be obliged to denounce" the accord. ■

MOZAMBIQUE: FROM COLONIALISM TO REVOLUTION 1900-1982 by Allen and Barbara Isaacman provides a comprehensive background for understanding events in Mozambique today. In addition to valuable historic information it also contains present day accounts of Mozambique's effort to build a new socialist society. Softback copies of the book are available to newsletter subscribers for $8.00 from the Mozambican Resource center.

# MOZAMBIQUE and THE SANCTIONS QUESTION

On July 29 President Samora Machel praised the French decision to make no new investments in South Africa. President Machel described apartheid as the most primitive form of rule in the world and said that the French reaction to the South African State of Emergency was "a position that should be shared by everybody, by all those who defend the right to live in freedom."

When France recently urged United Nation members to adopt voluntary economic sanctions against South Africa in protest to the State of Emergency declared by the apartheid government, the South African regime reacted by warning that if sanctions were applied it would be neighboring countries who suffered. South African president P.W. Botha's warning that migrant workers might be expelled expanded upon South Africa's most often used argument against sanctions - that is that sanctions will hurt black workers most, both internally and externally.

For the black independent countries bordering on South Africa, whose economies are tied into that of South Africa by history rather than choice, South Africa has always been in a position to negatively affect their economies.

Part of South Africa's stategy of 'destabilization' was based on that ability. It is an advantage South Africa has used frequently throughout the last ten years against Mozambique for its our ends long before any talk of international sanction. And there is no reason to believe that if no santions are initiated South Africa will not use economic sabotage against its neighbors when it wants for other reasons.

For example, South Africa has already cut back drastically on the number of gold miners recruited from Mozambique. Since independence, the number was cut from 120,000 to 50,000 in 1977. In 1982 the figure was 45,000. In addition to this, before Mozambican independence part of the miners' wages was paid to the government in gold at a lower than market rate which allowed the colonial government profit from the resale. This practice, which accounted in part for the stability of the colonial economy, was abandoned by South Africa in 1978.

Because Mozambique has been one of the most frequent targets of South African's brand of economic sanctions, the threat is taken seriously. There is also the concern that more MNR bandits could be infiltrated into Mozambqiue.

But the objective of the international drive for economic sanctions against the apartheid regime presents a moral question which is not easily resolved in terms of the economy of a particular country. Just as Mozambique lost more money than any other country when it complied with U.N. called for sanctions against Rhodesia during the height of the war for Zimbabwean independence, Mozambique's economy is again on the line.

At the recent summit of the Organization of African Unity, Mozambique supported the final declaration which called for international support for a dual strategy towards Pretoria - (1) economic measures to isolate the regime and (2) material and financial support for those neighboring states which would feel a negative impact from sanctions against South Africa. ■

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