

Mozambican Notes

Number 6

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STUDIES IN CONTRAST THE MEANING OF U.S. AID TO UNITA

In October 1985, Mozambique's President Samora Machel paid an official visit to the United States. He was well received by President Ronald Reagan and cabinet members including Secretary of State Schultz. The administration expressed its support of the Mozambican government under the leadership of President Machel and its desire to see the South African government respect the Nkomati Accord. Many ultra-conservative groups strongly protested the red carpet treatment given to President Machel. In July, the Reagan administration offered the Mozambican government a little over \$1 million in non-lethal military aid (later blocked by conservatives in Congress).

The offer of military aid and the welcoming accorded the Mozambican delegation would tend to suggest that the Reagan administration backed the Marxist government of Mozambique and is opposed to the South African-backed guerrillas who are known as the MNR or RENAMO.

In February 1986, Jonas Savimbi, the head of UNITA, an organization backed by the South African government which is fighting to overthrow the legitimate government of Angola, visited the U.S. He too was well received by President Reagan and cabinet members including the Secretary of State.

The administration expressed its strong support of the armed group which has fought with South African backing, against the Marxist Angolan government since 1975. During that time South Africa began moving troops across

(Continued on page 15)

NKOMATI ACCORD — IS IT DEAD?



The need for a large, strong Mozambican defense force was not diminished with the Nkomati Accord as Mozambicans had hoped.

Last August 28, the Mozambican Armed Forces with Zimbabwean air support, took over the largest known Mozambican National Resistance (MNR) base inside Mozambique. The base, located in Central Mozambique in the province of Sofala, provided more than a two year's supply of weapons and a look at life inside a MNR command base. The takeover also provided irrefutable evidence that South Africa had continued its support of the armed bandits known as the MNR.

On March 16, 1984, the governments of Mozambique and South Africa signed a non-aggression accord at a bordertown called Nkomati. The accord pledged both countries to not support groups involved in violence against the other. Throughout the year following the accord, South Africa assured Mozambique that it was doing everything within its power to stop the MNR from receiving aid from supporters inside South Africa. South African government officials

assured Mozambican leaders that they too only wanted peace in the region. But documents captured in the attack proved without any doubt that while Mozambique suspected the South African government was stockpiling the MNR and dropping supplies to them, the South African regime was in fact guilty of these violations and more.

Documents Show Complicity

Volumes of documents, including diaries, minutes of meetings and copies of communication with South African command showed how the South African government systematically continued their support of the MNR.

One of the documents showed that in February 1984 - a month before the Nkomati-Accord was formalized - but when both countries were negotiating - one of the bandit leaders was called to Pretoria... "in order to have conversations with the South

(Continued on page 3)

President Machel Visits the U.S.A.

During ten days in September, President Samora Machel and a delegation which included several ministers, paid an official visit to the United States. President Machel's last visit to the United States was made in 1980 when he spoke at the United Nations. The purpose of the most recent visit was to address the U.N. on its 40th anniversary and also to lay the foundations for the further development of bilateral relations with the United States.

The delegation was met on its arrival by Chester Crocker, the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs and was officially received by Secretary of State George Schultz. President Machel described the internal situation in Mozambique and explained the nature and activities of the MNR to Secretary of State Schultz when they met. Mr. Schultz is reported to have assured him that the U.S. government offers no support or sympathy to the MNR. Mr. Schultz also assured President Machel that the U.S. government supported the Nkomati Accord and would do what they could to see that the agreement was respected.

Prior to the arrival of the delegation, the Washington Post carried a story which implied that the purpose of the visit to the United States was to discourage sanctions. In fact, Mozambique and other countries

or the Front Line States support the use of sanctions against South Africa. In his talks with George Schultz, Samora Machel is said to have asked that the Administration not let the effect of sanctions on neighboring countries be the a principal consideration in considering sanctions. What Mozambique and the other front line states want is that those countries which are in a position to take measures against apartheid, do so - while also doing what they can economically for the Front Line States.

President Machel met with Vice-President Bush, as well as Deputy Secretary of State Chester Crocker and the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Frank Wisner. Events and politics of the southern African region dominated the conversations.

President Machel had a two-hour meeting with President Reagan, once again dominated by discussions of the southern Africa region. Later in the day, President Machel addressed the Foreign Affairs Committees of both Houses of the Congress. In his talks Machel stressed that the U.S. "should put pressure on South Africa for the elimination of apartheid." He explained that several areas for cooperation existed between Mozambique and the U.S. and that Mozambique needs

ECONOMIC PLAN FOR 1986 PRESENTED

During the presentation of the budget and the central state plan for 1986, Rui Baltazar, the Minister of Finances, reported that the main economic aim for 1985 - stopping the decline in economic activity - had not been achieved. Instead the economic activity for the country declined by 20% over 1984.

"Our income in foreign exchange declined, both from exports and from invisibles and this provoked huge difficulties for us as regards to imports and other expenditures in foreign exchange," explained the Minister. The result of the decline has meant less goods, clothing, fuel, medicine and food for the country's 13 million plus people. Goods such as radios, batteries, material for clothing and bicycles provide incentives for peasants to increase production. At present peasants are paid for their crops but can't find the goods they want to buy.

The main reasons for the current slump are two-fold: the targeting of economic projects by the MNR as a way to destroy the country's economy and the morae of the people and the lack of parts and raw materials vital to the smooth running of any factory.

The 1986 plan calls for a 13% increase over that of 1985 which would bring the overall production to 90% of what it was in 1984. The plan seeks to increase by 29% the amount of produce marketed by peasants. While farmers will be encouraged to grow more rice and vegetables, there will also be an emphasis on the production of cashew nuts and other crops which can bring in foreign exchange. A projection of a 40% increase on the food supply includes planned imports and food donated by international organizations.

The plan also suggests an eight percent increase in the enrollment of the nation's schools, while the main objective of the Ministry of Health will be to rebuild as many of the MNR-destroyed health center as possible and (Continued on page 7)



President Machel with Randall Robinson and members of the Black Caucus in Washington.

NKOMATI ACCORD

(Continued from page 1)

African generals, at the invitation of the latter..." The meeting resulted in the promise of a massive influx of weapons within eight weeks. The infiltration of arms and men occurred just a short time before the signing of the Accord.

The Mozambican government revealed in the news conference at which they announced the discovery of the documents they had had what they called a 'gentleman's agreement' with the South Africans to not use the period between their 1983 meeting and the signing of the actual accord to infiltrate men or material across the border.

Documents show that the South African government used this period to reorganize the bandits for the post-Nkomati phase, re-arm and re-supply the bandits to keep them for a six month period, train men to be infiltrated into Mozambique (including parachutists, instructors, radio operators) and to organize a clandestine network between the MNR bandits in Mozambique and the South African army.

'Technical Violations'

The Mozambicans, in meetings with South Africans after the Accord was signed, asked for information about the location of MNR bases. "The South African delegation always refused to give us any information, continually asserting that they had parted with the bandits on bad terms," the Mozambican official explained.

While the South African government publicly took credit for setting up radars on its border supposedly to detect violators of Mozambican airspace, the South African Air Force itself continued to violate that air space.

When the Mozambicans protested that their territorial waters were being violated, the South Africans volunteered to help from their side. At the same time they used submarines and boats to

deliver supplies to the MNR inside Mozambique.

On September 16, the eve of President Machel's departure for the United States, he confronted South Africa's Foreign Minister Botha with the evidence. Three days later the South African Minister led a delegation to a bordertown in South Africa where they met with a Mozambican delegation led by Minister of Interior Oscar Monteiro and Minister of Security Sergio Vieira to respond. But the truth had been revealed the night before at a press conference in Pretoria.

Foreign Minister Botha reported that the South African Commission of Inquiry appointed to investigate the validity of Mozambique's charge found that on one occasion weapons had been delivered to the MNR inside Mozambique. He explained that the weapons had been necessary to protect South Africans sent to build a landing strip at a MNR base.

At the press conference, Minister Botha stated that MNR chiefs had been brought to South Africa and taken back to Mozambique again by submarine; that radio contact had been maintained with the MNR. These and other clear violations of the spirit and the letter of the non-aggression accord were reluctantly admitted, but classified as mere "technical violations". It was implied by Mr. Botha that much of this activity had taken place as South Africa worked behind the scenes to convince the MNR to negotiate with FRELIMO.

In October, the Mozambican government suspended its participation in the Joint Security Commission established after the signing of the Nkomati Accord and the South African government refused to investigate any further charges from Mozambique that the Accord was still being violated.

A Return to Pre-Accord Days

In November, the South African Broadcast Company aired a news segment which stated that Mozambique was amassing troops and material on its border with South Africa. A South African

commander appearing on the program explained that South Africa would have to defend itself against the "Soviet Threat" coming from Mozambique and Angola. In response, Mozambique's Minister of Information issued a communique denying that there was ever such a build-up and pointing out that South Africa has the greatest military strength in the area and that their activities include "the recent escalation of destabilising actions against the People's Republic of Mozambique through systematic violations of the borders ... particularly in Maputo province." Mozambique feared that with the collapse of the Nkomati Accord, South Africa would revert back to its pre-Accord days of direct bombings and invasions.

As South Africa's internal poices bring the country closer to violent revolution, the apartheid regime searches for ways to gain more support for its external policies. Just as the South African regime is determined to portray the African National Congress as 'terrorists' controlled by the Soviet Union, it also attempts to portray Angola and Mozambique as 'Soviet threats'.

Fighting Continues

In Mozambique the fighting continues. Bases which are captured by Mozambican Armed Forces one month are reoccupied by the MNR the next month, only to be cleaned up by the army later. The capture of MNR bases in Inhambane have made it possible to travel on that province's main roads again. Over two hundred bandits were reported killed in eight military operations against bases in that province and the army recaptured a principal sugar processing town from bandits who occupied it for seventeen days in January.

Also in January, a landmine derailed a freight train traveling from Maputo to a South African bordertown. In February another freight train was attacked as it crossed the border from Swaziland into

(Continued on page 15)

The Gorongosa Story

On August 28, Mozambican and Zimbabwean troops began their bombardment of the base which was the headquarters for MNR operations inside Mozambique. The base known as 'Casa Banana' and as the 'General Staff Base' by the MNR, was located in a zone known as Gorongosa in the central province of Sofala. Before independence, Gorongosa was best known as the site of one of the best animal reserves in southern Africa. Because of the zone's proximity to Zimbabwe's border, it was considered unsafe to travel through during the struggle for Zimbabwean independence.

The Ian Smith regime first set up MNR camps in this area in 1976. The first large MNR base in Gorongosa was destroyed by the Mozambican armed forces in 1979. The

existence of this latest MNR base was known by both military personnel and civilians for several years, but logistically was difficult to take. The main base was located at the foot of a huge flat topped mountain which provided excellent look-out for the MNR.

The bombardment was followed by the landing of 85 Zimbabwean paratroopers. The principal MNR leaders fled. The man referred to as the 'supreme commander' Afonso Dhlakama of the MNR is believed to have escaped by motorcycle to the north.

The actual move to take over the base began with the capturing of smaller MNR bases in the area in early July. On August 20, Mozambican and Zimbabwean forces took over what was known as MNR's

'Central Regional Base' in Manica province. This was the base used by MNR bandits in their attacks on the Mozambique-Zimbabwe pipeline and against the power line which carried electricity to Mozambique's second largest city Beira. In the attack on the Gorongosa base an estimated 100 MNR members were killed in ground fighting and another 400 were killed by helicopter artillery.

Resettling the 'Recuperados'

More than 10,000 people who lived in the Gorongosa area had been forced to live under MNR domination - many for more than four years. Four large reception centers were set up around Gorongosa for 'recuperados' - those recovered from MNR control.

"They (the MNR) convinced many peasants that they would be killed by the Mozambican authorities. Such was the fear and distress of the 'recuperados' that the authorities in the centers decided to ask them no questions beyond those absolutely necessary - where they came from, their name and their ages," commented one official assigned to the camp.

They came in slowly at first, but after several weeks the camps grew to capacity. Many of the people, especially the women, appeared traumatized weeks after their liberation. The most desperate needs of the residents of the Gorongosa were clothing and food.

After the army takeover of the Gorongosa base, President Machel visited the Gorongosa area in Sofala and two districts of the Manica district, including the capital Chomoio. In Manica province he was received by large crowds excited about the news of the MNR headquarters being destroyed.



Mozambicans turn out to greet Samora Machel in Chimoio after the taking of the MNR base at Gorongosa.

Joint Action

The decision to use a joint Mozambican-Zimbabwean offensive against the MNR was made at the meeting in Harare in late June between President Samora Machel of Mozambique, President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe. Although Zimbabwean troops provided some protection for the oil pipeline which brought oil from the Mozambican coast to Zimbabwe, the decision taken at the meeting meant that the three countries would begin cooperating more closely among themselves, especially in military actions against the armed bandits.

During an inspection visit to Gorongosa on September 5, President Machel presented gifts to Zimbabwean officers who commanded the paratroopers and recalled the bond which existed during the struggle for Zimbabwean independence. In 1979, more than 5000 Mozambican soldiers crossed into Rhodesia to fight along side of ZANU guerillas to overthrow the Smith regime. These Mozambican internationalists remained in Zimbabwe until talks for independence began. "Ian Smith mixed the blood of our peoples. We intend to continue defending each other," Machel declared. "The solidarity that existed between Mozambique, Tanzania and Zimbabwe is not something new. So we met in Harare and we decided to fight together."

The Zimbabwean Prime Minister, speaking in February at a funeral for two flyers killed in a helicopter crash in Mozambique stated that sending troops to fight with Mozambicans was only one form of standing up to the South African strategy of regional destabilization.

The Gorongosa Notebooks

The documents left behind - a diary and two notebooks - provided Mozambicans officials with a wealth of information. The most important fact proven by the information is that South Africa's military and intelligence community began planning even before the Nkomati Accord was signed how they would continue their support of the terrorists while their government claimed



Samora Machel with the Zimbabwean paratroop commander who led Zimbabwean participation in Gorongosa attack.

compliance with the accord.

The documents also showed how the MNR was kept informed of the talks leading to Nkomati and talks between the Mozambicans and South Africans after; how high officials in the South African Armed Forces and Military Intelligence worked as advisers and supporters of the MNR; how these and other high officials (including South Africa's then Deputy Foreign Minister, Louis Nel) made frequent clandestine visits to the MNR base in Gorongosa; how the MNR leaders traveled to meetings in Europe on passports arranged by the South Africans and how MNR 'soldiers' trained by the South African military to fight against FRELIMO were used by the South Africans in Angola and Namibia.

Denials

South Africa's President P.W. Botha speaking at his party's congress in October declared that "South Africa kept faithfully to the accord." Speaking of passages which referred to Colonel Viljoen, the chief of the South African Armed Forces, he declared, "He denied it and assured me that he kept to the government's decisions."

And President Botha continued, "I believe General Viljoen. No communist attempt to discredit him or Mr. Louis Nel will succeed." The leader of an opposition party called for a full scale investigation. If "even half of the documentation presented to journalists in Maputo on September 30" were true, they declared, this "would be a devastating comment on the ability of the executive to control its armed forces." The South African president refused to take any action against those named in the documents.

"The government cannot have it both ways", declared an editorial in the South African newspaper, the Star, "If it did not authorise the dubious adventures and intrusions of these military men, then the corollary must be true: elements in the defence force are out of control and think that they can do what they like." South African officials later admitted their 'technical violations'.

Excerpts from the documents published beginning on the next page provide the most convincing arguments on the complicity of South African officials. ■

DIARY EXCERPTS

The writer is believed to have been the private secretary of Afonso Dhlakama, the so-called president of the MNR. Dhlakama is referred to throughout the text as 'His Excellency'.

JANUARY 11, 1984

H.E. receives Vanika and Johany with Secretary General to deal with organizational matters and the substance was as follows:

1. Release of all Russians* at S. A.'s request, for diplomatic reasons.
2. S.A. confirms its total support to Renamo until the total elimination of Machel.
3. S.A. under pressure from the USA, will ensure negotiations between Machel and Renamo before November.

JANUARY 21, 1984

Colonel Vanikav went to Malawi to talk to president Banda about the Russians and to take them to RSA. At the request of Prime Minister Botha. This decision was a matter of disagreement with Renamo, since they did not give prior knowledge.

JANUARY 23, 1984

The Soviets leave today from B/R No. 8 West for Lojas de Tengani where they will be freed.

FEBRUARY 2, 1984

Our fighters must not talk to the people about our friends, so that the enemy should not find out; in the event of our friends being seen by the people, it will be the fighters' duty to inform the people that they are the captured Russians.

Inform our fighters that our friends are or came from England.

Our friends must always speak English and not Afrikaans, to avoid the soldiers finding out, as we have many fighters who were formerly workers in RSA.

*The Russians referred to in this text were Soviet geologists kidnapped from a Mozambican coal mining camp where they worked.

FEBRUARY 7, 1984

H.E. left for Pretoria at 3:00 with the Secretary General for talks with the South African generals, at their invitation. The meeting with the general settled the arms supplies: huge for 8 weeks because SA is going to stop giving logistics.

FEBRUARY 22, 1984

On 2/23/84 at 10:00 there was a meeting in Pretoria between H.E. and the general of Military Intelligence; general of the Special Forces; Brigadier of Military Intelligence; and Colonel Vaniker of Military intelligence.

Objective: Planning the war in the face of the situation taken up by the South African Republic.

The previous plan made at the meeting is still under consideration.

-We soldiers will continue to give support without the consent of our politicians in massive numbers so as to win the war. Machel can only fall immediately through a cut in the economy and the communications routes.

FEBRUARY 24, 1984

The 100 men should enter Maputo in small groups via the Libombos, with pre-determined aims and targets for each group.

-Two RNM men will be trained in ultra-secret communications between RNM and Pretoria.

-The General will ensure resupply even after the agreement by S.A. with the communist Machel, especially ammunition and radio transmitters

-Railroads, Cahora Bassa; cooperatives, and other targets of an economic nature, SADCC.

-Definition of targets that force FRELIMO to talk to Renamo.

-Apologies for the release of the Russians without the complete agreement of Renamo - pressure from the USA.

-Fate of the two Russians still in Renamo's hands.

-Good relations between Renamo and SA are desired, leaving aside the matter of the Russians, which was a shameful attitude of the South African Government.

FEBRUARY 27, 1984 (memo)
Renamo

1. Our 100 specialist soldiers who are in the hands of SA.
2. Possibility of putting them into Maputo.

General of Spec. Forces:

1. Despatch of 6 technicians to Gorongosa to receive the ship with material.

2. Of the 100 men:
2 died struck down by the Angolans

3 are prisoners
30 in Namibia
65 in Parabolwa (a base in South Africa)

out of 75 are parachutists they have been trained in various courses: security, WT, drivers, etc.

3. The general asks to keep 10 of our soldiers.

4. Method of infiltrating the 95 into Maputo.

AUGUST 16, 1984

We had a meeting with Brigadier Van Tonder and Colonel Vanikerke, at our request, where we explained our request for war material, in accordance with HE's instructions. They gave us the following reply:

As regards war material, AK-47 ammunition, we have this for you, and they said they will send it but at the moment there are transport difficulties. Since we can no longer use the C130 aircraft, as these aircraft are under Air Force control, nor can we use the Navy as there might be an information leak as well as involving many people. And in event of doing this when we were caught this would imply a heavy sentence for General Van Der West Huisen, Brigadier Van Tonder and Colonel Vanikerke, as it would constitute a serious violation of the Nkomati Accord, which is vital at this moment for our South African Government.

The Brigadier went on to say: To overcome this difficulty we

are going to use civilian aircraft that will land. So Colonel Vanikerke will go to Gorongosa on 8/22/84 to meet the President of Renamo so as to organize landing strips to make it easier to use civil aircraft that can land and not drop parachutes so as avoid under-using capacity.

As for material for urban guerrilla warfare we shall send this, but not all the kinds of material asked for, since there are some bombs that were assembled in S.A., and it would compromise us with the Nkomati Accord, so we shall send time bombs and timing devices to work with explosives.

September 7, 8 & 9, 1984

Commandant Mateus joined us on 5/9/84, coming from the field. 6/9/84 - at 5 p.m. we had a meeting with the chief of Staff of the South Africa Armed Forces, General Visloen; General Van Der West Huizen, Br. Van Tonder and Col. Vanikerke were present at the meeting. At the meeting the following was discussed:

1. General Visloen agreed to send us "humanitarian aid" in Air Force C130 planes.

2. He agreed with the evacuation of the generals.

3. He said he would do everything possible to have at least 1 hour on SABC, information about Renamo activities and other related questions.

4. He recommended that we not lose military strength and control, in the face of these negotiations.

5. He said that the cease-fire mustn't be effective, he agreed with the plan of two to three months maximum.

6. He recommended us not to accept the amnesty.

7. He suggested that the ceasefire should not enable economic agreements between SA and Machel, these should be suspended until the conclusion of the Final Peace Agreement in Mozambique.

8. He also said that he would facilitate our contacts with foreign countries especially African countries.

9. The General recommended that we not be fooled by the schemes of Pick Botha because he is a traitor, he even agreed with Chester Crocker's ideas of FRELIMO offering an amnesty to Renamo members.

(Continued on page 11)

NEW LABOR LAW ADOPTED

A new labor law was adopted in December at the 14th session of the People's Assembly which outlines in detail the rights and duties of Mozambican workers. In the law, each able-bodied citizen is guaranteed a job depending on the worker's ability, the job market and the nation's economic development. The worker is given the right and duty of participation in the production planning process in their area. Participation by workers in unions - both trade and professional - is encouraged and guaranteed. The law also states that the country's workers are entitled "to be treated correctly and with respect," and to "be rewarded in accordance with the quantity and quality of work done."

Where possible, the law states that workers should be paid according to the quality and volume of work produced instead of by the hour, with bonuses for exceptional work, increased volume and suggestions which economize material in short supply. The law stipulates fines, demotion and other disciplinary measures for workers who retard production or disregard normal work procedures, although the union must be contacted before any serious disciplinary actions can be taken.

Unions are responsible for protecting workers against

health and safety dangers in the workplace with employers having a legal obligation to provide medical care or disability security for injured workers. The labor inspector will have the job of overseeing all aspects of legality in the workplace. The inspector is expected to work closely with the unions and have the power to intervene in any workplace whether state-owned, private or cooperative.

A section of the law guarantees women rights equal to men in the workplace, while making special provisions for mothers. Pregnant women are allowed sixty days of paid leave and it is against the law for a firm to fire any woman because she is pregnant if she returns to work within a year. Women still nursing are allowed two thirty minute periods during the workday to breast-feed their child. There will also be a prescribed effort by the Secretary of State for Labor and the Organization of Mozambican Women (OMM) to find ways of more fully incorporating women into all levels of the workforce.

The new labor law, along with the various trade unions established over the last two years, could contribute significantly to the improvement of the work condition in Mozambique's factories and offices. ■

NUMBER OF REFUGEES INCREASES

More than 2,000 Mozambicans entered into Zambia, a northern neighbor of Mozambique, during a two week period in February. They brought to 9,000 the number of individuals who have crossed over to Zambia since 1985. The cause for the human trek is the action of armed bandits in the area of the border.

A Zambian official noted that Zambia does not have the minimal conditions necessary for hosting this number of refugees although diarrhea and

other serious illnesses are under control. Some refugees are already busy working land to grow food.

In January it was announced that FAO of the UN will provide food aid to support the Mozambican refugees in Zimbabwe. The emergency food aid is intended to provide for 23,000 Mozambican refugees for a six month period. These Mozambicans fled over the last two years to Zimbabwe because of the MNR activity where they lived on the border with Zimbabwe. ■

letters...tell their own stories

"The lack of batteries is a big problem in our country, and is felt by all Mozambicans. The greatest number of Mozambicans today have their portable radios put away due to the lack of batteries.

"All of us know that it is through the radio that we hear the national and international news. For those who know how to read and write, they can keep up with the news through the newspaper.

"Can it be that Tudor (the company which makes batteries) can not find a way to solve the problem? Or are the merchants removing the batteries from the stores to sell on the blackmarket?

"I ask whoever's job it is, to resolve this problem for us - one which causes many citizens to be left behind because we can't hear the news on our radios."

Zeca Lacualo
Maputo

"As all of us know who have lived in the People's Republic of Mozambique in these last years, the lack of transportation to the provinces in the Center and North of the country is epidemic. This dramatic situation causes, as a consequence, cases where citizens who you find working in other provinces don't have the chance to attend funerals in their family, spend their vacations with their families or have their families visit them because everything is connected to Maputo.

"For example - there are no connections between Beira and Lichinga, Nampula and Quelimane, Tete and Pemba and visa-versa.

"Those hurt the most are those who you find far from their place of origin and for whom it is necessary to have a credential signed by some responsible. But not everyone has that possibility.

"Now, what is the route for mail and how long does it

While the MNR terrorism rages on and the Army confronts the MNR where they find them, life in Mozambique goes on - although 'normal' it is not. While war is not the sole preoccupation of Mozambicans, it has for some time affected just about every other aspect of life. Mozambicans want what people in other countries want - decent homes, clothes, schools for the children, enough food to eat and jobs to earn what they need. The majority of Mozambicans did not have these things during Colonialism. And life since Independence has not been easy. War, once again, is one of the main deterrents to a better life.

These are the things that Mozambicans write letters to the editor of TEMPO magazine to discuss these days.

The letters column in the weekly magazine TEMPO has become a popular mirror of the nation's disposition. Readers from all over the country write (or get someone to write for them) about the things that bother them - lack of food or goods, policies or programs that don't work or agencies and officials who are unnecessarily bureaucratic. They also write to praise people and policies which do work. Sometimes the letters are about personal incidents. Others have been part of national debates about polygamy, brides price and the draft system. Some letters have sparked official investigations into charges of corruption. The letters column is read as consistently by government officials as it is by peasants. It is the Nation's open forum in which everyone can be heard.

The following is a sampling of short letters to the editors which tell something about life in Mozambique.

take a letter to arrive at its destination in one of areas with no connections?"

Zito Joaquim
Maputo

"The large part of the workers in the district of Morrumbene in the Province of Inhambane, or perhaps Mozambican workers in general, have as their salaries something close to 2,100 to 3,500 meticaís (about \$52.00 to \$87.00 a month).

"Here we see clothing sold only in the 'cantinas' in the districts: such as in Casa Anotonio Enes and in Casa Taruneat. A pair of pants of local fabric costs between 5,000 and 5,500 meticaís (about \$125.00), a skirt costs 10,000 meticaís (about \$250.00) and underpants cost 1,000 meticaís (about \$25.00).

"How many months is it necessary to work just to have this kind of clothing?"

Rodrigues Carlos Cofe
Morrumbene - Inhambane

passing through.

Otilia Neves
General Clinic Physician



that I'd have to bring a sack of cornmeal and 3,698.50 meticaís (about \$92.00).

"Can it be that cornmeal has no value in the purchase of blankets? In what year was the campaign started (refers to the campaign through which peasants could trade their products for goods at rural stores who the government would buy the crops from)?

"In how many districts was the campaign applied? What has become of it?"

Augusto Sansao Nhapuo
Quissico - Inhambane

"My father died on February 23 1984 while he was at work erecting the high voltage line of Alto Molocue - Murrupula. He drove a truck, which by chance, set off a landmine that caused his death at that very spot. He was a worker at the State Electric Company. He left me with four more brothers younger than myself.

"In this situation, I was very worried and I use to go sometimes to the company where he worked to see if they could help me to work out our case - but nothing came of it. My mother isn't able to provide for us.

"Can it be that the firm has done all they can? Or better yet, didn't they have insurance? An now, what can I do for my brothers? And the worst yet is that I'm still in school"

Miguel Ernesto Pauline
Alto Molocue - Zambezia

TEMPO Editor's Note: The alleviating of the problem presented by this reader depends on the sensibilities of the directors of the firm in question. Defending the Country also means to handle the situations of those mortally wounded by the enemy.

(Continued on page 10)



"Papa! The radio doesn't play."

"I, as a Mozambican Youth, have a duty to defend my country which is being attacked and exploited by aggressors. My friends say that it is better to go to the mines in South Africa to work to bring back big stereos and large motorcicles to have a better standard of living.

"In this case what are Mozambicans students abandon their studies for? Mozambican workers leave their jobs just to go behind their cousins who are in South Africa. Why? Looking for what?

"Our country finds itself in a very difficult situation due to the armed bandits. Who will defend the country if Mozambican youth go to South Africa? Who will defend the family of Armando if he is in South Africa? In Nassunji, young people who are registered for the draft desert just to go to South Africa to be 'magaizas' (local term for thoes who return from South Africa loaded down with goods)."

Macario Vasco Moremo
Quelimane

"I am in agreement with the Ministry of Defense on the fulfilling of draft requirements within the phase established by law. But there are some problems and I feel agitated when I think about this point.

"I have also been a soldier since 1978, fulfilling Law #4/78 (which requires military duty for two years from youths of a certain age). Why is it that I haven't been de-mobilized? I understand that it is our duty to defend the Country and consolidate our victories as national citizens, but it is also important to become de-mobilized and go to the reserves."

Antonio Alfredo Cuna
Chibuto - Gaza

"I am writing to TEMPO magazine in an attempt to express my thanks for the tremendous efforts demonstrated by Mama Simango who is a servent at the Military Hospital in Maputo. I am a member of Armed Force of Mozambique, stationed in Beira.

"During the days in which I was laying in the hospital, I observed all of the servents, but I never saw a servent as exemplary as her. Mama Simango is the only servent in the Military Hospital who really worries about the health of

the patients."

Joaquim Jacinto Guambe
Maputo

"We have been students of the Jecua Secondary School since 1983. When a 'cooperante' (foreign national who works for the government on contract) who worked in this school was transferred, he left his television set behind for the enjoyment of the students and the professors as a remembrance.

"However, the school's director has taken possession of the television set and this has caused many negative feelings. The television has now become for the personal use of the director. And when we ask him about it, he always answers - Wait a little while because I'm still looking at it.

"Why does he deprive us in this manner? Could it be that the person who left the television did something wrong? Why can he, as the director, not watch television with us as students and teachers? What will become of our television set?"

Students of Jecua Secondary
School

Jecua - Manica

ECONOMIC PLAN

(Continued from page 2)

concentrate on mother and child health care programs.

The fiscal deficit continues with a planned income of about \$487 million dollars and an expenditure of about \$667 million dollars. Forty-two percent of the expenditure amount goes to defense, an increase of nine percent over last year. Speaking of the large amount that must be spent each year to fight the MNR, Minister Baltazar said, "the country has to make this effort despite the heavy sacrifices involved, so that the life of our citizens can be restored to normal." ■

NOVA MANEIRA DE CANDONGAR



"Take it or leave it."

DIARY EXCERPTS

(Continued from page 7)

SEPTEMBER 14, 1984

9/12/84 Our head of delegation went out during the morning. In order to mollify the South African government, he requested a meeting with some Bantustan country.

SEPTEMBER 17, 1984

They will install microphones in the negotiating room to listen in on the talks between Pick Botha and the Mozambican delegation; it will be very advantageous for us. In this way, we will know Pick Botha's plan and FRELIMO's. This was guaranteed to us by Vanikerke, SS colonel in SA.

SEPTEMBER 26, 1984

At 2:00, H. E. had a meeting with Major Dunbry of the South African Military Intelligence for Mozambique. He gave a military briefing on their monitoring and information they have gathered. In particular Major Dunbry gave us the position of the foreign soldiers from the Eastern bloc who are in Mozambique, including Zimbabwean and Tanzanian forces.

GENERAL PLAN No 1 OF 24
FEBRUARY 1984

1. Destroy the Mozambican economy in rural zones.
2. Destroy the communications routes to prevent exports and imports to and from abroad, and the movement of domestic produce.
3. Prevent the activities of foreigners (cooperantes) because they are the most dangerous in the recovery of the economy.

MINUTES OF MEETINGS

Vanikerke: I am also bringing Mr. President a message from our Armed Forces Chief, General Visloen:

1. Greetings to His Excellency. I assure Mr. President that Renamo still has friends in the South African military. I hope that Mr. President understands the difficulties that we South African soldiers have with our politicians.

2. I also promise the president of Renamo that as for involvement of South African troops in Mozambique's internal conflict, I should say that as soon as we receive orders from my government for my troops to go and fight in Mozambique against Renamo, all the generals, my colleagues and myself will resign from the armed forces.

6. We, the South African Military, guarantee the passage of Renamo men in SA or transit, in case of need.

7. I am asking H.E. to inform me of the situation of the two Russians still in Renamo's hands; because lots of organizations are putting pressures on us and want to know the Russians' situation, the International Red Cross for example asking for the two Russians. And we South Africans are not able to explain the situation.

President:

H.E. gave an immediate reply on point 7, saying that he could tell General Visloen particularly for his own information alone and for NO ONE else: the Russians are dead-no longer exist. We can say don't think any more about the Russians because they aren't there, they have gone into the abyss, the triumph of Marxism-Leninism.

Charles:

For us South African military Louis Nel is the most honest of the South African politicians.

I would suggest to Mr. President that he doesn't let Louis Nel hear about the training that the doctors and Greling did here inside.

Louis Nel:

I shall tell him (Veloso) if they do not accept talks the war will go on for many years. I shall speak so as to leave the idea that Renamo has assistance abroad. I shall say that Renamo is a self-reliant movement. I shall say that I invited Renamo in order to know the current war situation in Mozambique.

- We are going to act as if Renamo has military support abroad,

-But Renamo has no foreign support but has the total support of its people. On this basis we are going to

negotiate with Renamo for peace in Mozambique.

- I shall not say that I was in Mozambique.

- I shall say that the President of Renamo is moving from one side to the other, we are going to negotiate peace, since the fact that South Africa has been supporting Renamo is not going to solve the problem, as we know that Renamo has international support and it is impossible to stop it.

- I shall mention the proposal of negotiations not saying that Machel refused the negotiations, since S.A. wants to play a very important role. We want to make FRELIMO enter into negotiations. This will make FRELIMO lose its diplomatic weight.

President:

The ANC having left Mozambique does not mean that FRELIMO doesn't support it, it supports it actively, therefore Renamo is a friend of South Africa's.

We were friends in the past and today we must be friends.

I will certainly follow the advice the minister gave me, our problem is diplomacy.

Louis Nel:

I shall meet with Evo and he will come on the 7/18/85. I will tell him how I spoke with the president.

President:

I repeat that I am very pleased, and shall take the message of these talks to our cadres.

Louis Nel:

The President should be discreet.

President:

Renamo is discreet. When I speak of cadres I mean those who are here. It means that I shall explain to them. So that they know we have South African friends.

Louis Nel:

I believe that good will come of it. ■

survivors * * * * *

PICKING UP THE PIECES

THREE YOUNG MEN CHANGED BY GORONGOSA

(Taken from articles by Jacinto Khossa appearing in TEMPO magazine)

Domingos Matchissa was born in Gorongosa District. In 1979 he was nine years old and was in the third grade. He climbed trees, played and led a life with his parents similar to young boys his age all over the country. Then came the bandits.

He saw a man his father's age killed because he refused to take food to the MADJIBAS (MNR collaborators) food he didn't have. The little food that his father gathered in his fields was taken by the MNR bandits. The armed bandits began to appear more and more frequently and life changed - for Domingos and the entire village. The days of climbing trees and playing ended.

And time passed. Things that happened changed him forever. One of these was seeing his girlfriend raped by one of the MNR bandits.

"I decided to escape because life was very bad. There was a lot of suffering. My mother and others cultivated crops and when they gathered their crops the bandits took it all. I was very hungry."

Without even saying goodbye to his parents he disappeared. He ran away to the Vila of Gorongosa where he received food and clothing. Even though he was free he couldn't relax because he remembered how the others were suffering. He left the vila and returned to the wooded area near the occupied village he had fled.

"When I arrived there I hid in the woods until night came. At night I went to see my father who I convinced to leave that night. We arrived at the vila in the morning time. I presented him to those in charge. They gave him clothes, food and a place to build. We already have a house here in the vila."

Even though he had succeeded in rescuing his father he wasn't satisfied. He knew that something more had to be done about the rest of his family. So he went to see the military commander and declared that he knew where the base of the bandits was located. He answered all of their questions and afterwards, led the Mozambican Armed Forces to the village where the MNR bandits hid out. When asked if he wasn't afraid to lead the way for soldiers who might have been fired on before they arrived, he answered, "Yes, I felt afraid. But I was also full of anger. Much of my family was still there and I wanted them to also come out alive."

As the lives of former MNR prisoners began to return to normal, Domingos' thoughts once again returned to school. He is now fifteen years old. As school started in February,

(Continued on page 14)



AIR CRASH KILLS 44

A military plane crashed after take-off from Pemba in Cabo Delgado killing forty-four passengers and the crew. The crash, which occurred place on March 30th, left five passengers alive but very badly burned.

The flight was headed to Mueda also in Cabo Delgado. Aboard were many government and party officials and their families, including many children. Among the dead was a member of the Central Committee, a member of the People's Assembly and Maria Chipande, wife of the Minister of Defense Alberto Chipande. General Chipande is also the Political Bureau member responsible for the province of Cabo Delgado.

The cause of the accident, which is being investigated, is thought to have been technical. ■

Children recently freed from MNR occupation return to school and play.

MOZAMBICAN NOTES

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NEW ELECTIONS

After several postponements and delays, it was announced that the second national general election will be held in 1986. Foreign Minister Joaquim Chissano made the announcement at the December meeting of the National People's Assembly. Elections should have been held in 1982, five years after the country's first election in 1977. The election was postponed in the hopes that the military situation in the country would improve and that people would be able to vote in an atmosphere of calm. But as prospects for quickly ending the conflict dimmed, it was decided that elections could not be delayed further.

In Mozambique, each locality votes on members of its community to serve as its representatives at the locality's People Assembly. In 1977, these meetings where the nominations were made were characterized by lively discussions and debate about the candidate's ability to represent his or her neighbors.

For many women who had made important contributions to their community it was an opportunity to be recognized by their peers as leaders. In some cases men who had assumed that they were the unofficial leaders of the village because of wealth or pre-colonial status found themselves out in the cold. The elections presented an opportunity for residents to reject and deny power to those who they felt did not have their best interest at heart. Although the elections were held during the time of raids by Smith's

(Continued on page 16)

Machel Visits the U.S.A.

investments, technology and the transfer of scientific know-how which could benefit the country's enormous economic potential.

On the next day, President Machel spoke before a group at the Center of International Strategic Studies at Georgetown University, where he stressed that "apartheid should not be reformed, but eradicated," and that peace could not exist in the area while the apartheid regime existed. In his speech before the United Nations, Machel again stressed the need for the world to concentrate on ending apartheid and securing the independence of Namibia to guarantee peace and development in the southern African region.

Many of the official encounters were with groups made up of some conservatives who were adamantly against Machel's welcome by President Reagan. But the trip also included meetings with southern African activists and supporters. In Washington, President Machel met with Randall Robinson, the Executive Director of TransAfrica, an African lobby group, as well as with members of the Black Caucus. In Atlanta, President Machel had long conversations with Mayor Andrew Young, visited the King Center and met with

businessmen to discuss investment opportunities.

In both Washington and New York, President Machel met with groups of long-time supporters. On the way back to Mozambique, President Machel met with Britain's Prime Minister Thatcher, the Italian President and Prime Minister as well as the Pope.

Mozambican officials generally considered that their meetings with Washington officials were positive and aided the groundwork for future bilateral cooperation between the two countries. But the visit and reception by the administration of Mozambique's president must be viewed in the context of the Reagan Administration's total southern African policy.

For the Mozambicans the question is not a question of an East-West conflict but rather if a small, young, Black country has the right to choose its own path, its own friends and defend its independence. While the Mozambican government seeks positive relations with the United States, they are not looking for new masters. As Samora Machel stated during a television interview following his visit, "I've only ever had one boss in my life, and that was Portuguese colonialism. I don't intend to have any other bosses." ■



President Machel with supporters in New York.

PICKING UP THE PIECES

(Continued from page 12)

he tried to pick up where he left off. But in reality after life with the bandits, things can never be quite the same.

Chico Dolis Toma is 25 years old. He was born in Sofala Province. He began teaching when he was eighteen years old. He was trained as an adult education supervisor and worked as a supervisor for a short time outside his district before asking to return to Cheringoma as a teacher. There was a shortage of teachers in his hometown.

Armed bandits from MNR entered the area on June 25, 1985. One of their aims that day was to capture Chico Dolis Toma, the teacher. The bandits searched for him but couldn't find him.

"The armed bandits burnt my house down. For three weeks I slept in the woods. With me were four couples. After this I managed to leave the zone. We headed towards Marromeu where we arrived four days later. In Marromeu we caught a boat which first took us to Luabo, and then on to Beira. We arrived in Beira on August 1, 1985."

Tomo went to the Provincial Office of Education in Beira and asked for new orders.

"I went to their office after the assault on 'Casa Banana' and received orders to come to Gorongosa where you find me today. There are 1,521 children under my care here. These are children - the majority of whom only know the name of the zone where they lived against their will with the armed bandits. For them, the world is this little piece of land."

"Actually we are giving classes now in political education and a little

TOURS TO MOZAMBIQUE

Our Developing World in California is organizing their second summer study tour to Mozambique. For more information contact Our Developing World, 13004 Pasea Presada, Saratoga, California 95070.

geography. The aim of the geography classes is to put things in a national context, so that they can understand that they are part of people whose domain extends from Rovuma to Maputo."

Most of the children are from 9 to 14 years old. Among them are children who until recently had never seen a white person. Few of them understand Portuguese, Toma observed. The children are without an understanding of their country or the world.

The government offers what assistance it can to Tomo. But the truth is that teachers like Chico Tomo are expected to be highly self-reliant.

"We have to gain time", Tomo commented, "these children are very behind. And after starting the school year, we have to organize classes in literacy and adult education."

For teachers like Chico Tomo there is always plenty of work in Mozambique.

"My name is Lucas Faela, I am 15 years old and I come from Canda. I studied up to the 3th grade. I lived with my parents when the bandits arrived and told my parents they wanted to take me with them. My father refused and they killed him. They took me to their base, but I escaped from there and returned home. In the day I stayed in the woods and only returned to the house at night. One day they returned to question my mother about where I was.

"She said I was not there. They told her to give them food. She said that she didn't have any. So they set the house on fire. I ran out in fear. They saw me and shoot my mother. She died exactly where she fell. I was fourteen then. They took me to their base and told me that I would be a 'madjiba' (collaborator) for them or they would kill me."

Lucas Faela is just one of the thousands freed with the capturing of Gorongosa. But life will never be the same for him and thousands like him who lived the terror of the MNR. ■



Moses Mabhida

MABHIDA DIES IN MAPUTO

Moses Mabhida, the Secretary-General of the South Communist Party of South Africa, Vice-President of the Congress of South Africans Unions (SACTU) and a member of the Executive of the ANC, died on March 8 in Maputo. The cause of death was believed to have been a heart attack. According to an ANC communique, Mr. Mabhida's health had not been good since last year.

During his 25 years in exile, he has held various positions of leadership in the ANC, including that of commissario of "Umkhonto we Sizwe", the military wing of the ANC. Mr. Mabhida is referred to in the communique as "one of the grande revolutionaries of South Africa". He was born in 1923 in the South African district of Natal and joined the trade union movement early. He joined the South African Communist Party in 1942 and was Vice-President of the ANC in Natal during the 50's.

Moses Mabhida left South Africa in 1960, with the objective of mobilizing international public opinion for the isolation of "apartheid". ■

THE MEANING OF U.S. AID TO UNITA

(Continued from page 3)

Namibia into Angola. Angola, feeling its existence threatened, called on friends - Cubans - to assist them. Many observers believe that it has been the presence of these troops which has prevented more extensive take-overs by South African and UNITA troops (although South Africa and UNITA forces have at times occupied as much as 30% of the country's territory).

Angola supports the Namibian freedom fighters - SWAPO. Although the independence of Namibia has been mandated by the United Nations since 1978, the South African regime, which continues to govern the country, has made the removal of Cuban troops in Angola a pre-condition to the independence of Namibia.

While the histories, geographical realities and economical situations of Mozambique and Angola are different, there are many similarities between the two governments. Both are governed by Marxist parties, which as liberation fronts, led their people's fight against Portuguese colonialism. Both countries are primary targets of the South African regime which have bombed, invaded - and in the case of Angola - actually occupied its territory. Both countries support the total liberation of southern African, have been vocal in pressing for the

total eradication of apartheid and have given their support to the principal liberation movements in southern African - SWAPO and the ANC. The peace and tranquillity of both countries has been shattered, with thousands maimed and killed each year by groups armed by South Africa.

President Reagan's conservative friends ask how it is that he is an enthusiastic supporter of all those other groups which they consider this century's new freedom fighters - the Contras in Nicaragua, the armed opposition in Afghanistan and UNITA in Angola, and neglect to support the MNR.

President Reagan is presently seeking \$100 million to give the Contras to aid them in their fight against the Marxist regime of Nicaragua. Shortly after the visit of Jonas Savimbi, the Administration announced that \$15 million would be made available to UNITA for covert action. But while there are several bills in congressional committees which propose giving the MNR \$5 million, the White House has not announced any support for these bills or plans of its own to provide support for the MNR in the near future.

Those who support Mozambique do not believe that the MNR is deserving of U.S. or other international aid. They

now have the rare experience of being on the same side of the issue as Reagan. Or are they? Remembering Grenada and the official policies towards Nicaragua and Angola, some wonder if the People's Republic of Mozambique is the one Marxist-Leninist country in the third world deemed worthy of existence by the White House and the State Department?

Perhaps it would be helpful here, to understand the differences between Mozambique and Angola. Mozambique has no oil or other sought after commodity which would allow it to hold out economically against a continual military and terrorist onslaught. Mozambique signed the Nkomati Accord with South Africa, which was strongly supported by the U.S. administration and ultimately cut back publicly its material support of the ANC. Mozambique, unlike Angola, has been the victim of some of the decade's most devastating natural disasters - floods and droughts.

In addition, Mozambique has deliberately sought to improve its relationship with the United States because it sees the White House as key in influencing South Africa's behavior. It may be that the Reagan administration sees Mozambique as ripe for that oft-spoken of 'turn to the West' without additional military pressure.

For Mozambique's government, the choices are few. The question becomes how to maintain its independence while cultivating a relationship with the United States which would encourage Reagan to support Mozambique's position vis-a-vis South Africa.

But when the Administration realizes ultimately that Mozambique can not be coaxed, battered, terrorized or bribed into following a script written by the White House, will Mozambique find itself fighting a U.S. equipped MNR?

What Savimbi's visit proves is that the U.S. administration is willing to do what it considers necessary - including prolonging terror and bloodshed - in order to topple a government it has decided should no longer exist. ■

NKOMATI ACCORD

(Continued from page 1)

Maputo. On February 24 seven people were killed and twenty wounded when MNR bandits attacked a bus on the road between Maputo and the resort town of Namaacha. Bandits also sabotaged power lines plunging the city into darkness. And in February a young man lost his foot and a seven year old boy lost his leg when they stepped on landmines placed near Maputo's popular Indian Ocean-front beach. The terror is no longer confined to the rural areas.

After months of official silence, South African officials went to Maputo in late February to discuss ways of investigating violations of the non-aggression accord. The

meeting was requested by the South Africans. According to the Mozambican News Agency, "the two sides analyzed the causes of the non-compliance of the accord and elaborated proposals to guarantee its actual implementation." It is assumed that the Mozambican delegation, headed by Minister Jacinto Veloso, presented new charges of South African violation of the accord.

In a radio interview back in Johannesburg, Foreign Minister Botha speculated that the Accord was "alive and well". But if the sabotage and fighting goes on as before there is little chance that the Mozambicans will again have faith in the Accord. ■

NEW ELECTIONS

(Continued from page 13)

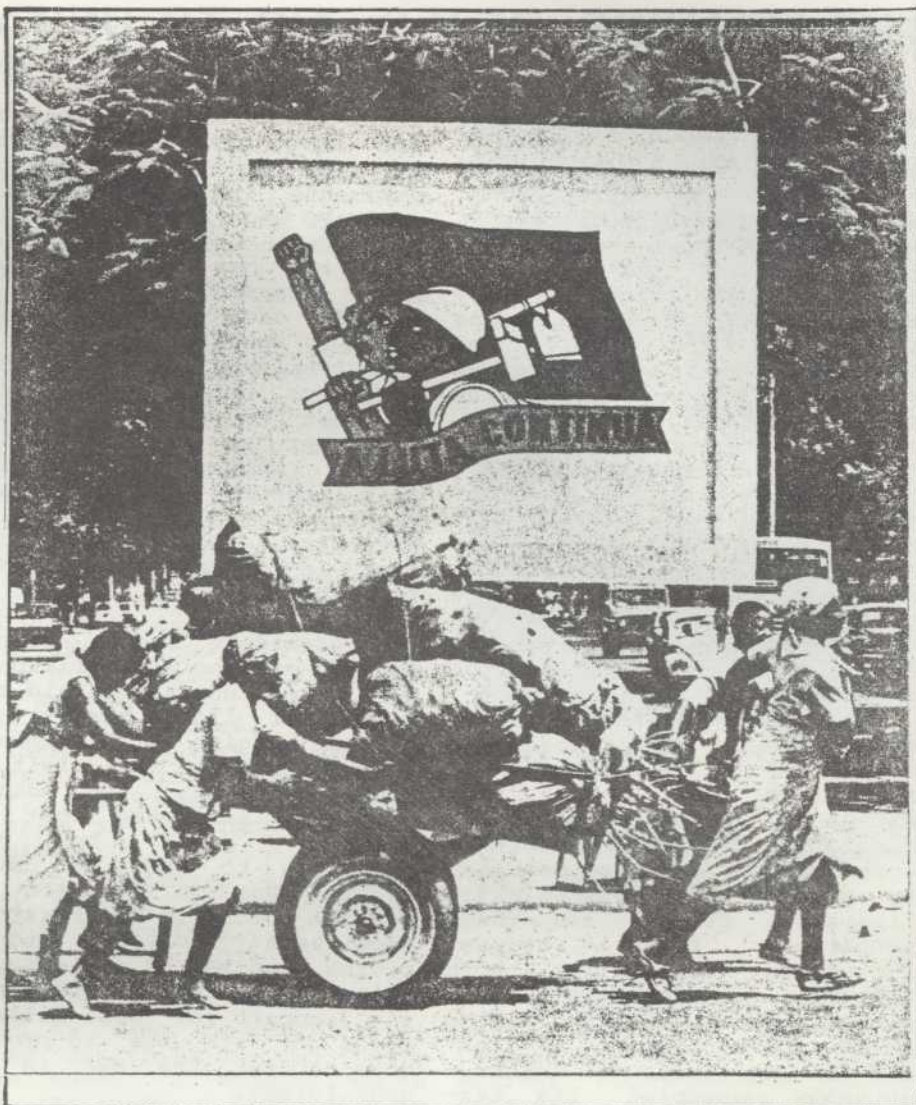
Rhodesian Army, the level of terrorism was not as pronounced or widespread.

Since that historical election some used the new local assembly groups to make badly needed changes and improvements in their communities. Those deputies who have been most vocal and visible became MNR targets. Local assemblies in other areas hardly function at all, with few meetings of the assembly being called and few of the decisions taken acted on. Without fresh elections there is no way to effectively insure the accountability of elected officials.

Those residents elected for the local assemblies elect from among themselves the representatives to the District People's Assemblies and in turn these representatives or deputies elect the members of the Provincial Assemblies. The deputies to the National People's Assembly are elected by the representatives to the Provincial Assemblies. It is the National People's Assembly which acts as an electoral college for the presidential election.

In President Machel's remarks regarding the upcoming elections he emphasized that they are "going to require a tremendous effort." He stated that in order for the elections to be successful, "there must be a generalized offensive against all bandits - armed and unarmed" (unarmed refers to black marketeers, speculators and others who benefit from the hard times at the expense of the majority).

A fourteen member national committee was appointed to supervise the upcoming elections. The chairman is Oscar Monteiro, the Minister of Interior. Two other ministers serve as officers of the committee with one representative from each province and Maputo City rounding out the committee. The President stressed his hope that the elections would not be a "mere electoral exercise" but would be a "high point" in carrying out the three slogans of the Fourth Party Congress - Defend the Country! Defeat Under-Development!



THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES

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