

PEOPLE'S POWER

in Mozambique & Guinea Bissau

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The Mozambique and Guiné Information Centre

The Mozambique and Guiné Information Centre was established in August 1975 as an ongoing link and source of information about Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, two former Portuguese colonies in Africa.

The Centre has a valuable collection of documents, communiques and journals relating to the liberation wars as well as material on current developments. A wide range of pamphlets and posters are distributed by the Centre, including the FRELIMO English-language magazine, 'Mozambique Revolution'.

The Centre also runs a recruitment scheme for technical personnel, teachers and doctors for Mozambique. Further details about this scheme are available on request.

It is hoped that this new bi-monthly series 'People's Power' will be a useful source of information and reference, carrying English translations of major speeches and policy statements, articles on particular topics compiled from material sent direct to the Centre from Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, and, to a lesser extent, news items and comment.

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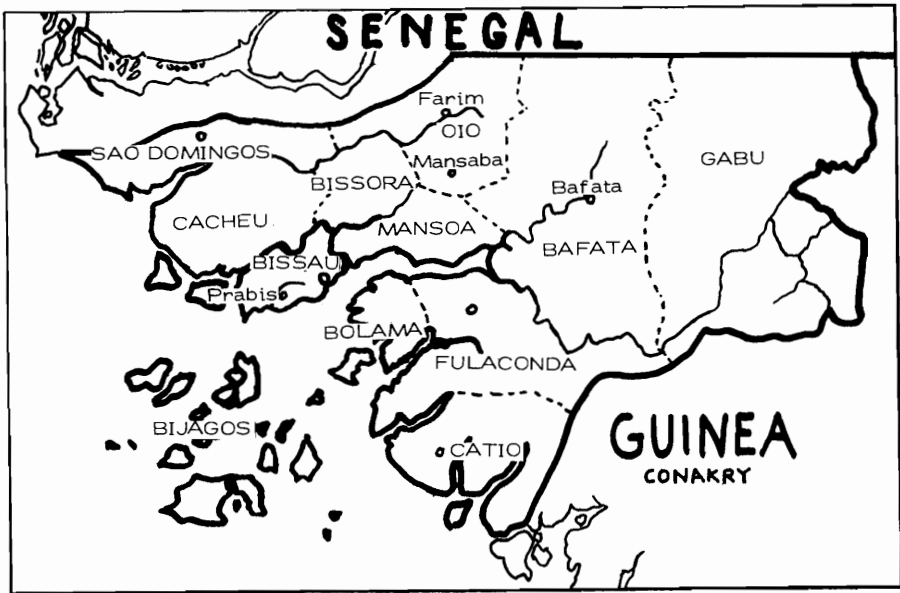
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Guinea-Bissau : on the ground

Agricultural problems in four regions

The economy of Guinea-Bissau is almost entirely agricultural. It was severely disrupted by the liberation war preceding independence, partly as a result of the fighting, partly of neglect by the Portuguese and emigration. One of the main aims of the government since independence has been to restore agricultural production to its pre-war level, and then to expand it, while shifting its entire basis from individual to collective production. Collectivization aims to make the most efficient use of scarce resources of machinery, technical expertise and labour, but more than this, voluntary collective participation in all state activities is central to the government's conception of the political development of the society.

The intention is to increase production to enable Guinea-Bissau to become self-sufficient in essential foods, so that foreign exchange need not be spent on food and seed imports, and to improve living standards in the country.

Guinea-Bissau is a fertile country, capable of growing a wide range of crops and supporting a large livestock population. There are, however, a number of obstacles to its development. These include a shortage of technical expertise, of essential machines such as tractors to increase labour productivity, and a shortage of labour in some areas. The problems are compounded by poor communications due to bad roads, lack of vehicles and petrol, and sometimes unfavourable weather – all of which restrict the mobility of available resources. Finally, there are the problems of motivating reticent peasant farmers with their deep suspicion of officials of any kind, inherited from the colonial period, and their unwillingness to give up traditional, individual methods of production in favour of collective farming.

The following is a survey of how these problems are being tackled in different regions of Guinea-Bissau. It is based on articles from the Guinea-Bissau newspaper No Pintcha, October and November 1975.

So far collectivization has not advanced significantly. The government does not wish to force it on the farmers. It intends, rather, to persuade them of its advantages through the activities of regional agricultural teams, working under central government direction. Their function is to experiment with new crops and methods to help farmers understand their advantages.

Most of the country is farmed either in small independent units, or in larger farms abandoned by the Portuguese, which have now been taken over by the State, and are being operated as experimental centres. These are worked partly with paid labour, partly with the voluntary part-time labour of peasant farmers, to enable the experimental farms to run at minimum cost.

Bafatá

So far there is only one farm co-operative, and that is at a very early stage of development. This is at Madina Bonco, twenty kilometres south of Bafata, near Fa Madinga. A member of the regional agricultural service explains how it was established in its present form in January 1975:

"I arranged meetings in the villages, each in turn, to launch the idea that we should cultivate a communal plot. I explained to them what a co-operative is. A list of those interested was drawn up. Soon there were some who saw the advantages of a co-operative, and some knew about ones in Senegal where many people had fled during the war. Later many others came in when positive results could be seen.

Now our membership consists of 256 women and 383 men. The co-operative includes the villages of Bigine, Madina, Sare Iero, Mama Cona, Sinha Sori, Fulamansa, Cana-Bati, Darsalame,

Curo, Brica Ma, Cauro, Tabato, Anambe, Canjara, Sama-Damba, Nhantano, Sintcha Molo, Sucuta, Wadje-Mandinga and Yana. Madina is the centre and the villages are arranged in six sectors with local people responsible in each. Each village has its representative in the sector's administration.

Organisation is based on communal plots. Each member retains as his own the fields he ploughed before the co-operative was formed. He ploughs these alone and keeps the harvest for his own family. The land which was not ploughed before has been converted into communal plots and the members work on these two days a week. All the members made a contribution to the initial expenses, 200 escudos from the men and 100 escudos from the women. This money has been added to the proceeds from the communal plots after the rice and groundnut harvest to form a fund to buy tractors, harness for animals and seed.

As the organisation of the co-operative gains strength, so expectations rise about the benefits and changes it can bring in the peasants' lives. Thus we estimate that this year's production will cover half the cost of a tractor which will be used on the communal plots and will also help plough members' individual plots."

At least thirty-seven hectares is now organized in communal plots. The area could be increased if more machinery were available. At present the members have the use of six oxen, plus two others lent by Chinese advisors working nearby at the country's leading experimental station at Fa Madinga. There are also some mules, and two horses. The leaders of the co-operatives are particularly anxious to increase livestock production.

However, no-one yet feels confident that the venture is firmly established. The local officials feel that they need more open support from the government, and more technical advice, although they do receive some help from the Chinese at Fa Madinga.

For the co-operative to increase yields significantly members will have to become more willing than at present to give their time to collective rather than individual labour. It seems unlikely that this will occur until they have real proof that they will benefit materially. Hopefully this will be demonstrated when the six new trading depots planned for the region are opened, which will dispose of produce more efficiently than the traditional methods of marketing, and with the building of a large new poultry house which small farmers could not provide for themselves.

Bafata is a particularly important agricultural region and is where most resources are being concentrated to increase production. It contains some of the largest farms in the country, and the most advanced experimentation is taking place there. The local

agricultural service consists of three trained farm managers, two agricultural experts, three instructors, three foremen and one hundred and twenty labourers. When there is better transport they will be dispersed through every part of the region, and their numbers, hopefully, increased. At present they concentrate on encouraging increased production of rice, and the introduction of potatoes and onions (at present imported), seed-crops and pine-apples, though serious flooding of the river Geba last year set back many of these plans. Now much thought is being given to protection against such hazards, in particular to experimenting with taller and more water-resistant species. Despite these difficulties, previously abandoned farms are being brought back into cultivation, and are being newly irrigated to grow maize, red and white beans, cashew nuts, potatoes and a variety of crops grown for seed rather than food consumption. The growth of seed crops is especially important if future yields are to be increased, but again expansion of the area under cultivation is limited by shortage of transport.

The kinds of technical support given by the official services locally, supported by government officials in Bissau, include advice to local farmers on any problem, such as that of the farmers of Madina Bonco whose maize was attacked by insects last year. This year there seem to be fewer pests and crop infections.

Locally grown seed is being distributed to local farmers together with rice seed from Bissau. Each small farmer is given a certain amount of seed, which he must return with a five percent increase.

Oio

Progress in agriculture has been greatest in the regions liberated at earlier stages of the war. Regions such as Oio which remained longest under colonial rule suffered a long period of neglect and devastation due to the fighting, including defoliation by the colonial army to protect their troops from guerrilla attacks. In such areas trees are being replanted.

Oio is one of the richest rice-growing areas of Guinea-Bissau. In the north, maize and seed-crops predominate. The main problem facing the agricultural services of the region is that the farms are widely scattered and difficult to reach, especially since they possess only a single vehicle for all purposes. They are also short of technical experts, and have no machinery. Their team consists of one experienced man, trained in Senegal, one mechanic who does other jobs since there are no machines, and twenty-one labourers.

Despite these limited resources and considerable difficulties in winning the confidence of farmers, the enthusiasm of the agricultural service is notable. They have achieved impressive results, as with six hectares of land in Mansaba reclaimed by hand from the bush and planted with seed-crops. Tractors would greatly speed up such work.



The State has taken over a number of farms in the region which were abandoned by the colonialists. They are experimenting with methods of increasing production of existing crops such as haricot beans and bananas, and introducing new crops such as lemons, peppers oranges and mangoes, and various types of vegetable. A major problem in the area is the shortage of water, and much time has to be spent sinking wells, deepening existing ones and creating reservoirs.

Throughout Guinea-Bissau the government is encouraging stock-rearing in combination with arable farming, for the benefit of both. There are horses and poultry and cattle are being reared for milk, meat and breeding. Careful breeding is potentially highly productive in a country where thousands of head of stock are born annually with virtually no attention from their owners.

Gabu

Mixed farming of this kind is being encouraged most energetically in the region best suited for it, Gabu. The local adviser in the agricultural service describes the problems of farming an area of sixteen hectares with only ten men:

"We have a great shortage of seeds, and at times we've had to buy them from the people. At present there are eighty people working for the agricultural services;...there is one

agricultural assistant, two sub-assistants, one forester and one foreman.

We have the following technical implements: two tractors, two ploughs, three harrows, one seed-sowing machine (animal-driven) and ten sprinklers.

At present we are working on the cultivation of rice, seed-crops and maize, the production of which has been increased. We are also growing fruit and vegetables – pineapples, cashews, oranges, mangoes, and coffee, as well as increasing the numbers of livestock.

We are thinking of introducing sugar-cane, and growing two hectares of chillies. Already there is one hectare of pineapples, a thousand banana trees and some vegetables.

In Pinha there is a farm of eight hectares, but it is not being farmed. We want to send ten men there to work it. Also the people there have asked us for seeds. As far as assistance to the people is concerned, we have given them fertiliser, but only those practising more intensive agriculture have asked for our help.

We are also co-operating with the people in cultivation. We have distributed sixteen tons of rice seeds. In my opinion the people will respond to our requests if we make machines and seeds available. In future we intend to take advantage of the gatherings in the market-place to mobilise people and persuade them of the value of the new methods."

Here, as elsewhere, officials face the problems of remote farms, poor communications, lack of enthusiasm among the peasants for new methods of production and reluctance to ask for advice. In Gabu, the people are the least willing to give their voluntary labour on the State farms. In such circumstances it is difficult for officials to sustain their enthusiasm. However, there are signs that attitudes are gradually changing, as the peasants learn the advantages of the new strains of rice and new fertilisers they are given. Youth of the area who were previously fairly unco-operative have recently organized a day of voluntary work to harvest rice from a sixteen-acre extension of the state farm.

Bissau

The last region of Guinea-Bissau to be surveyed, the island of Bissau, is an excellent agricultural region, particularly for growing rice, but it suffered great neglect when the Portuguese abandoned it after the war. One of the abandoned farms is now the largest State farm in the country, covering 1700 hectares and employing a hundred and four workers. It is situated at Prabís, nine kilometres from the capital, Bissau. The farm is the same size as in colonial

times, but it has greatly increased yields of rice, pawpaw, bananas, lemons, cucumbers and water-melons. Experiments are being made with new strains of rice seed, beans and pawpaw, but two thousand plants are in storage awaiting transplantation which has been held up because of shortage of machinery. The main difficulty the farm faces is the constant encroachment of the bush - with only four tractors, they lack the necessary equipment to keep it at bay. The farm does, however, have a small machine for making fertiliser.

The farm is also short of labour. This is partly due to its remoteness, but also to the hazards of working there. The accident rate from snake-bites is high, for example. The sick or injured have at present to be taken to Bissau or Comina, but two workers are being trained as nurses so that they can give medical attention on the farm. Housing is being built at the farm for the workers to reduce their travelling time.

One of the biggest preoccupations of the local officials is with increasing the area under cultivation. One of the advisers illustrated the scale of the problems:

"Recently we cultivated seven and a half hectares more of lemon trees, and we're planning to increase production of bananas and pawpaws, but at the moment it's impossible because of the shortage of labour. The five hectares of white Congo maize that were planted gave a bad yield because of the rain."

Yet on one farm near Prabis, previously owned by a PIDE agent, the area under cultivation and productivity have been dramatically increased. When taken over, it comprised seven hectares. Now it is worked by forty-four people with a foreman and an instructor. It has grown to more than forty hectares under cultivation, and there are plans to expand it still more. This has been achieved with traditional methods of agriculture. From one hectare of bananas fruit has been collected throughout the year and sent to market. Four hectares of sugar cane have been planted, and four hundred metres of lemon trees. Vegetables have been grown for the market; 260,000 pineapple trees have been planted and five hectares of beans, and a large amount of maize. A field of rice has been planted to experiment with new varieties. About four hectares of seed crops have been produced. Coffee is also being introduced; at present it is in the nursery beds. Total production is being increased, and new strains introduced.

Faced with the most profound difficulties, Guinea-Bissau is clearly only at the beginning of tackling the problems of agricultural development, but it is a good beginning.

FPLM

Mozambique People's Liberation Forces



December revolt fails

Rebel elements of the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique (FPLM) staged an abortive coup in Maputo on December 17th and 18th, 1975. The uprising involved only about four hundred soldiers from a single garrison at Machava. By the early hours of 18 December most of the rebels had been overcome, and by the next day things were back to normal.

About midday on the 17th, the reactionary forces occupied strategic positions in Maputo; they marched towards the city centre in order to occupy places like the General Headquarters of FPLM, the FRELIMO Headquarters, Mavalane airport and Radio Mozambique. Their advance was checked by loyal soldiers, police and civilians. While retreating towards Machava, the rebels were surrounded, disarmed and arrested. Some escaped and fired several times at the headquarters of FPLM, Radio Mozambique and the oil refinery, before being captured. Others attempted to escape arrest by changing into civilian clothes and hiding in houses, but their presence was reported by the local people. The rebellion was over in a day.

The reasons for the abortive coup were outlined by President Samora Machel in a communique broadcast over Mozambique radio on 20 December: "The criminal action carried out in Lourenco Marques (now Maputo) between 17th and 18th constitutes a reaction to the just measures adopted by the FPLM meeting (from 10-13 Dec.). Realising that the purge of the ranks of the FPLM was going to deprive it of ground suitable for its manoeuvres, imperialism mobilised its long-standing agents who had remained camouflaged among us and through them incited corrupt and confused elements to violence, leading them to believe that they would succeed in preventing the implementation of the measures adopted and be able to continue the degrading kind of life to which they had recently taken."

Attempts to subvert the army

The object of the FPLM meeting in December was to analyse enemy activities in its various forms since independence. After the meeting, attended by over 350 FRELIMO cadres and 5,000 soldiers, the military command issued a communique stating that recent attempts to subvert the armed forces represented the desperate efforts of the bourgeoisie to restore their power and guarantee the interests of capitalism and imperialism. The FPLM had become the chief target for subversion because the enemy was aware that the armed wing of the party and the working class constituted a major obstacle to its goals. The FPLM is drawn from the working class; it has its roots in the masses. It is engaged in an ideological struggle in defence of the working class and national sovereignty; in the preparation of revolutionary cadres; in national reconstruction, support for the communal villages and development of production; and finally, in building up a well-organised regular force which will not only defend Mozambique's revolution but will enable Mozambique to act as a base for other liberation struggles.

The FPLM has also been active in the fight against corruption, which provides fertile ground for enemy activities. The People's Forces have helped to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance by mobilising all sectors of society to participate in manual work, which destroys divisions created by capitalism between manual workers and intellectuals, rural and city workers. The communique concluded that the class nature of the FPLM and its subsequent actions in defence of the revolution account for the enemy focussing its attention on attempts to subvert the People's Forces.

Recently enemy action has developed in two phases. Up to last October there were attempts to create divisions and contradictions between the FPLM, FRELIMO and the State. People who had fought against FRELIMO forces in the colonial war suddenly tried to present themselves as defenders of the soldiers' interests, telling them they should be paid, that they should have more comfortable living conditions

and so on. These efforts to turn the People's Forces against the Party and the State failed.

In the second phase of its reactionary manoeuvres, the enemy tried to create divisions in the ranks of the FPLM, and between the FPLM and the people, by exploiting ambition, tribalism, regionalism, racism and religious conflicts. Infiltrators promoted anti-white racism and provoked acts of violence to spread fear among the white population. The reactionaries also tried to exploit divisions between old and new fighters, between the FPLM and the working class. Efforts to create a climate of confusion, indiscipline, anarchy and violence, which spread insecurity among the people, were intended to justify the restoration of bourgeois power.

To achieve these ends, the enemy infiltrated the People's Forces. Former members of PIDE, Flechas and Comandos (the most reactionary colonial forces) infiltrated the ranks of the FPLM after the ceasefire and encouraged banditry, corruption and violence against the people. These enemy agents committed crimes and atrocities. Often criminal actions attributed to the FPLM were carried out by people wearing stolen uniforms. The meeting resolved to intensify efforts to unmask those elements within the FPLM who had escaped earlier purges, and to expel all those who are beyond reform.

The communique stated that another factor contributing to corruption in the People's Forces was contact between FPLM and the colonial army during the transitional period before independence. Less aware members of the FPLM were contaminated by ideas spread by the colonial troops; for instance, that drunkenness, prostitution and other vices were an integral part of a soldier's life, and that he should earn enough money to pay for these vices; and the idea that in order to impose his authority a soldier must be arrogant and violent towards the people. Some soldiers, under the influence of the bourgeoisie, considered luxury and depraved living to be rights won by their participation in the struggle.

The meeting examined various deviations from FRELIMO's line. There were numerous cases of members of the People's Forces imprisoning citizens, sometimes with no reason except to satisfy some personal vendetta or selfish interest. Often the FPLM did not hand over detainees immediately to the competent authorities. Enemy infiltration is clearly demonstrated, says the communique, by incidences of maltreatment of detainees by members of the FPLM, breaking with FRELIMO tradition whereby even colonial prisoners-of-war were not maltreated. The meeting instructed all commanders to explain to their units that they are not authorised to imprison anyone without direct instructions from their commander, except where a criminal is caught in the act in cases of murder, theft and sabotage. The FPLM should immediately hand the arrested person over to the police.

Seminar approves new rules

It was decided to launch a campaign to explain to soldiers their duties as citizens, the most important being to understand and respect the structures of the Party and the State, which are the expression of people's democracy. No soldier may give orders to Party or State officials.

Recognising that when political work is relaxed there is an increase in infiltration and corruption, the meeting decided that every unit must devote a minimum of twelve hours a week to studying FRELIMO's political line and to individual and collective criticism and self-criticism. There should also be a campaign against illiteracy, with a minimum of one or two hours a day being devoted to literary and scientific study. There should also be seminars to explain the relation between the FPLM, the Party and the State. In every company there should be a Party Committee. Furthermore, two or three hours a day should be spent on production as part of the country's reconstruction effort.

To prevent further abuses by members of the FPLM, the following interim rules were introduced:

- no alcohol to be consumed in uniform;
- soldiers who get drunk in uniform will be expelled from the FPLM and sent back to the village of their origin and placed in charge of the local 'grupo dinamizador'.
- all arms must be in the armoury of the barracks except when a soldier is on duty;
- any threat or aggression by a soldier using arms or force will lead to expulsion from the FPLM;
- all soldiers must carry identification.

The communique ended by calling on the masses to correct and criticise members of the FPLM whenever they deviate from the political line: "The people must support us in purging our ranks and continually raising our sense of vigilance. The FPLM is called upon to play the role of a fighting vanguard under the direction of the Party. For this, we must carry out the task of arming ourselves ideologically, reinforcing our discipline, purging our ranks and consolidating our class class unity. We resolutely reject enemy infiltration. The struggle continues."

'We must defend our country under attack and support the just cause of the Zimbabwe people'

The following speech was delivered on 3 March 1976 by President Samora Machel, in the presence of the Council of Ministers, and leaders of the Party, the State and the FPLM (Peoples' Liberation Forces of Mozambique).

Comrade members of the Central Committee; members of the Executive Committee;
Comrade members of the Council of Ministers;
Comrade officers of the Party, State and armed forces;
Excellencies, Ambassadors and Charge d'Affaires in the Peoples' Republic of Mozambique;
Members of the national and foreign press;
Compatriots:

In the name of the Central Committee of FRELIMO and of the Council of Ministers of the Peoples' Republic of Mozambique, I am here to inform you that Mozambican men and women, old people and children, are being killed, our people are being massacred, the PRM is being assaulted.

The criminal and irresponsible regime of Ian Smith has unleashed a war of aggression against the P.R. Mozambique. Less than



eighteen months after the signing of the Peace agreement with Portugal, the Mozambican people are again forced to face the desperate acts of aggression of a colonial-fascist.

After a long series of armed provocations against the PRM, on the night of the 23/24 February, the forces of Ian Smith's racist regime launched a large-scale attack against our national territory, concentrated on the villages of Pafuri and Mavue. The attack began at 2100 hours (local) on the 23rd and lasted through the day of the 24th. On the 24th bombing raids took place. Jets, bombers, helicopters, artillery and infantry took part in the attack.

As a result of the criminal attack by the racist forces against the Pafuri area, the following died: Albertina Maguguzo Cossa, 36; Lucas Valentim Judicio, 36; Picane Milane, 29; Laurentina Valentim, 18 months. The following were wounded: Ester Judicio, 60; Muhlave Mulave, 48; Feniassa Vilanculos, 22; Phefu Mulave, 21; Berta Nhampule, 19 years. Sabao Munhangane, 65, is missing.

In the attack on Mavue three women and a child were murdered and a man and an eleven-year old child were injured. The fighters of the Peoples' Liberation Forces of Mozambique, supported by the paramilitary forces of Alfanega and Migracao, repelled the invader, inflicting severe damage and shooting down two jets and one helicopter. Ten fighters suffered injuries. Two other comrades sacrificed their lives in defence of the People and of our sovereignty.

This act constitutes open aggression, an act of war. It is a crime against Peace and a war crime as defined by the International Nuremburg Tribunal.

Why does Ian Smith attack us? Why does the racist Salisbury regime make war on us? What makes it murder women and children, burn houses, massacre peaceable peasants?

To answer this question correctly, we have to say that Ian Smith does this because it is what he has always done against Mozambique. In 1965, when he proclaimed his pseudo-independence, Ian Smith joined Portuguese colonialism's war of aggression against our people. At that time his troops were sent into the Province of Niassa.

Since then, the Salisbury regime has become accustomed to committing crimes against our People, becoming a vicious aggressor against Mozambique. Up till the end of the colonial-imperialist war, Ian Smith's forces took part in the gravest crimes against our People, in Niassa, in Tete, in Manica.

Ian Smith's soldiers played an active role in the sadly notorious massacre of Mucumbura. In August-September 1973, the Salisbury troops participated actively in the great three-pronged offensive unleashed in Zumbo district. In March-April 1974, a great number of Rhodesian planes were shot down north



of the Zambezi while bombing people and property in the liberated areas.

If the acts of provocation and armed aggression of the Salisbury regime diminished during the Transitional period in favour of subversion, recruitment and training of armed bands of mercenaries and assassins, they were rapidly and progressively intensified in the period after Independence until they reached the present phase of a war of aggression.

Without attempting to make an exhaustive list of the enemy actions in the last six months, we can emphasise the following:

In Tete Province

In the second half of August 1975 a Rhodesian group was detained in the Albufeira area of Cabora Bassa trying to smuggle into the Republic of Mozambique a sum equivalent to 35 million contos in Rhodesian money, destined to buy national currency on the black market.

On 27 August racist troops entered the locality of Genda in the

Luia area and kidnapped a civilian. Later, on the 30th, in the same place, they murdered a peasant and wounded two others.

On 1 September, racist troops set up an ambush in our territory against the force patrolling the Luia and Mucumbura area, and wounded three comrades.

On 20 January 1976, again in the Luia area, after the enemy had mined the roads, one of our patrols stumbled on an anti-personnel mine and one of our fighters lost a leg. Soon afterwards, two vehicles carrying enemy troops entered our national territory, supported by two helicopters and two reconnaissance planes.

From 17 February onwards, the air force began systematically violating Mozambican airspace in the areas of Mucumbura, Luia, Chioco and Changara.

In Manica Province

On 5 August 1975, in Vista Alegre, enemy troops opened fire on people working in the fields. One of our patrols went to their aid and neutralized the enemy fire. On the following day the racist forces, supported by a helicopter-gunship, penetrated about one kilometre inside our national territory. The gunship opened fire, mortally wounding one of our soldiers. The enemy was repelled at 13.30 hours, having entered at about 09.00 hours.

On 11 August, in the same area, a group of enemy infantrymen penetrated into our national territory and moved in the direction of Vista Alegre. Our forces intervened, forcing the enemy to withdraw.

On 13 August, a helicopter violated our air space in Vista Alegre. At the same time an enemy infantry force which had entered our national territory at Timba to commit crimes was dealt with by one of our patrols and had to retreat, leaving behind four dead.

On 28 August, in the same area, the enemy opened fire, wounding a soldier. On 31 August, the enemy came into Timba, near the Niangalula river and ransacked a shop after wounding one child in arms and another on its mother's back and murdering a peasant named Penzura Apalekwamanja. The racist soldiers remained on national territory from 0900 to 1400 hours, opening fire several times.

On 14 September, at Rotamba, the enemy opened fire with 120mm mortars. Our forces replied and silenced the enemy. The enemy suffered four casualties.

On 16 December, at Inhamacaze, the racist forces killed two civilians.

On 9 January 1976, an enemy aircraft violated our airspace at Espungabera, at 10.30 hours. Later, that evening, enemy aircraft bombed a neighbouring area.

On 28 January an enemy company backed up by four helicopters and three planes penetrated 1½ kms. into the Penhamlonga area.

On 8 February, at 04.00 hours, the enemy entered the Espungabera area with 10 helicopter-gunships and strafed the Mude area.

In Gaza Province

On 11 November 1975 four aircraft violated our airspace in Choa for 15 minutes before being driven off by fire from our anti-aircraft batteries.

On 4 February 1976, at about 24.00 hours, members of the racist police trying to penetrate into the Malvern area were repelled by our fighters.

On 6, 7, 13, 14 and 15 February, our forces were compelled to open fire on enemy aircraft which violated our airspace.

On 14 February, at about 24.00 hours, the enemy penetrated into the Pafuri area with infantry and artillery troops and began harassing civilians there, kidnapping one peasant and wounding two others, a man and a woman. The FPLM, supported by customs police, intervened at 4.20 hours, when two jet aircraft and three helicopters came to the enemy's aid. In the course of the fighting our forces at about 13.00 hours put out of action one bomber which later crashed about 10km inside enemy territory.

Comrades, excellencies, compatriots, this incomplete and brief account of the acts of provocation and aggression committed by Ian Smith's armed forces along the frontier between the PRM and the British colony of Southern Rhodesia demonstrate the racist regime's persistence in wanting to unleash a war of aggression against our people and our state. The oppressive regime, which is facing an armed uprising from the people of Zimbabwe and is isolated internationally, is seeking to settle its internal strife by spreading the conflict. The Republic of Botswana and the Republic of Zambia have, like us, been the victims of countless criminal acts by the Salisbury regime.

Ian Smith's aim is to deny the justness of the Zimbabwe people's liberation war by trying to make the world believe that if there is war in Zimbabwe it is because foreign forces want it. By acting in this manner, Ian Smith is only emulating the Portuguese colonialists and other aggressors who have always denied the existence of liberation wars.

Ian Smith is trying to put out the fire he lit himself with his oppression by committing crimes aimed at involving other countries in the conflict he started in his own land. Like a lunatic, he is seeking to put out fire with petrol. Ian Smith wants to shift the strife and the fighting from his territory to our country.

In his criminal attack on 24 February, Ian Smith deliberately violated South African airspace in order to attack us from South Africa so as to draw our attention away from the target and so

provoke an even greater conflict on a sub-continental scale. Smith is trying to provoke a general war throughout Southern Africa by every means in the criminal hope of delaying his downfall by increasing the scale of destruction and death.

He will fail, as will all those who rise against the people, all those who dare attack the people. Ian Smith will be swept away from history, as other colonialists were before him. The war in Zimbabwe is the product of Ian Smith's regime and its exploitation and oppression of the people of Zimbabwe. And this war will end in an inevitable victory for the people of Zimbabwe.

Comrades, compatriots, we have liberated our Fatherland from colonialism. Today we must defend our Fatherland from attack. We must support the just struggle of our brother people of Zimbabwe. In order to carry out our task we need the invincible force of unity and organization. The immensely creative energy of the People organized and led by FRELIMO defends our freedom. Let us apply our creative energy to defend our independence and support our Zimbabwean brothers.

For this:

1. We must build air-raid shelters in the villages, urban districts, schools, hospitals, factories, offices, shops, farms, wells, rivers and all other places. With these shelters we shall protect ourselves from enemy attacks. The shelters will have to be built after normal working hours. We must intensify the creation of communal villages, to enable us to set up a better defence organization. The FPLM will have to raise their political and military operational level and support the masses in their defence organization.

2. We must organize our means of production. During our war of national liberation we always maintained that production is the backbone of war and that war creates the conditions to improve production. For this reason, we must speed up the creation of communal villages where, when we are organized, we shall be able to produce and to defend ourselves against the enemy.

We must increase production in our factories. We must step up our work and work more efficiently in the ports, railways and civil aviation. We must be speedier and more efficient in building and repairing roads, homes and other buildings. Every worker should discuss with his colleagues ways and means of producing more, better and quicker.

3. Because of enemy aggression, some economic activities may be forced to halt or to lower their production level and the effect of this may be that some of our working compatriots may also temporarily lose their jobs. It is the duty of each one of us to support these people by creating conditions which will enable them to find work. The main task for the absorption of all our

workers lies in the rural areas, in agriculture and animal husbandry. All those whose jobs are affected may, with State assistance, organize themselves in communal villages and begin their own arable and livestock production.

4. How should we fulfil our internationalist duty towards Zimbabwe? By supporting the Zimbabwe struggle, we are defending Mozambique. By supporting and developing the struggle of our Zimbabwe brothers we are keeping the enemy away from our frontiers, consolidating our independence and creating conditions for the establishment of peace.

Thus we say that support and solidarity are not charity or favour, but mutual assistance between forces fighting for the same objective.

Our support for the just fight of our Zimbabwe brothers is: moral support; political support; and material support.

We shall support them morally and politically by organizing ourselves in our 'Grupos Dinamizadores' to study and learn from the Zimbabwe struggle. We shall express our support by singing songs about our internationalist duty towards the Zimbabwe struggle; we shall support it by explaining the struggle to our people and discussing it with them; we shall support it by accepting sacrifices and overcoming hardships in order to fulfil our internationalist obligations.

We shall support it materially by producing; by producing to feed and clothe our people; by producing to feed and clothe the fighters who are defending our frontiers; by producing to feed and clothe our brother Zimbabwe guerrillas. We shall support it materially by reducing our imports and by ceasing to import what is not essential to the country's economy.

We shall support it materially by making a monthly contribution to the solidarity fund which we set up on 3 February, Mozambique Heroes' Day.

Comrades, excellencies, compatriots, the Mozambique People's Republic has been in existence for just over eight months. From the beginning it has declared quite firmly that its internationalist duty is not a matter of compromises or negotiations.

We are fervent advocates of peace. We have come through 10 years of a colonial-imperialist war of aggression. We are therefore very conscious of the sacrifices which the defence of our freedom and independence demand.

But we accept all this today as we did yesterday. Our frontiers have been sealed with the blood of our People and our internationalist duty was born of the countless sacrifices of the peoples of the whole world.

Conscious of this reality, the FRELIMO Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Mozambique have given me a mandate to take the appropriate measures designed

to safeguard the inviolability of our frontiers, and the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Mozambique People's Republic. Similarly, they have given me a mandate to take the decisions that may be necessary to ensure the internationalist support of FRELIMO, our State and our People for the just liberation struggle of our brother Zimbabwe people.

The acts of aggression of Ian Smith have already mingled our blood with the blood of the Zimbabwe people.

The Mozambique People's Republic, to support the liberation struggle of the Zimbabwe people in accordance with the decisions of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, with effect from today, 3 March 1976, closes all its frontiers with the British colony of Southern Rhodesia; prohibits any form of communication with the territory dominated by the racist regime; bans the passage through its territory and airspace of any traffic of persons and goods originating from or bound for Southern Rhodesia.

The PRM fully applies the sanctions against the British colony of Southern Rhodesia. The PRM confiscates all assets belonging to the illegal regime, to firms with headquarters in the territory of Southern Rhodesia, and to citizens living in our territory who recognize the illegal regime.

Men and women of Mozambique, on 25 September 1964, in order to liberate the land and its people, the oppressed Fatherland, the FRELIMO Central Committee proclaimed a general uprising by the Mozambican People. Today, in order to guarantee the defence of our national territory, the FRELIMO Central Committee again calls upon the People of Mozambique, from the Rovuma to the Maputo, to defend the Fatherland from attack.

Excellencies, ambassadors and charges d'affaires accredited to the People's Republic of Mozambique, all your countries have firmly and unanimously condemned the racist Ian Smith rebellion. Your countries have prescribed sanctions against the criminal regime. The measures taken by our State correspond to the need of all mankind to live free from colonial and racist domination.

This is a fight of the People of Mozambique and also of the whole of Africa and the whole of preogressive mankind. We are sure that your Peoples and your States will rally in solidarity behind us at this difficult hour when our country is the victim of aggression unleashed by the criminal minority regime.

We look to the continent of Africa to be with us and support us in the defence of our sovereignty and in the liberation of the continent. We look to our other natural allies, the socialist countries, to be with us as they have always been, without fail assisting our working masses to defend their revolution and to fulfil their internationalist duty.

We address ourselves to all States which cherish freedom and

peace and call on them to help us defend our freedom and restore true peace throughout our region.

Comrades, compatriots, we have begun a new phase of our revolution. A phase in which our sacrifice and our blood as in the past will go to cultivate, cement and consolidate our unity, our independence and our revolutionary achievements.

The fighters of the FPLM and the popular masses will united defeat the enemy and smash the aggressor who has broken the peace and massacred our People.

We pay glowing tribute to all our comrades who have sacrificed their lives and, inspired by their example, united by FRELIMO, and by developing our production and reinforcing our vigilance, we shall build our victory.

We declare firmly - the struggle continues.

As in the past, we repeat - independence or death, we shall win. The struggle continues!

news in brief

Housing nationalisation in Mozambique

On 3rd February 1976, President Samora Machel announced new nationalisation measures to cover all privately-owned urban land and rented houses in Mozambique. He said that in the cities there is "real discrimination in housing, which is in itself a form of apartheid". The nationalised houses were immediately to be taken over by the FPLM and the FRELIMO Committees. The State is now the only body entitled to rent out housing. The President said that the people "will take over the city and live in it and the city will no longer be the property of the capitalists". Compensation would be paid only in cases where the initial capital outlay had not already been recovered in rent. In the same speech, commemorating Heroes Day, President Samora also announced the setting up of a 'Solidarity Bank' into which Mozambicans are expected to pay one day's salary a month to help the other liberation struggles, particularly in Namibia, Rhodesia and South Africa. February 3rd was declared a public holiday in honour of the memory of Eduardo Mondlane, first President of FRELIMO, who was assassinated in Dar es Salaam in 1969.

FRELIMO Central Committee Conference

The eighth conference of FRELIMO's Central Committee took place from 11th to 28th February 1976. It discussed nine main topics: a) the development of the struggle since the fifth conference; b) the political situation in the country and the class struggle currently being waged; c) the deepening of the ideological and political orientation phase of the new society; d) the structuring of the democratic people's power in the current phase; e) the realization of FRELIMO's role as a directing force of the state and society; f) analysis of the overall situation in Southern Africa; g) the raising of unity to a new stage; h) convocation of FRELIMO's Third Congress; h) analysis of the revolutionary process in Mozambique, in the light of the numerous exchanges of experience which provide a clearer vision of strategy.

The planned date for the Third Congress is December 1976.

Threat of malaria epidemic

The heavy rains which recently devastated Mozambique have resulted in vast floods in many provinces of the nation, provoking a serious risk of epidemics. Large areas are completely covered with water and a considerable increase in infectious and contagious diseases is predicted, particularly Malaria. The Health Authorities are alerted and have issued an appeal for aid to provide the large quantities of anti-malarial drugs needed.

Guinea-Bissau creates national currency

On 29 February 1976, President Luiz Cabral announced the decision of the State Council to withdraw all notes issued by the Portuguese "Banco Nacional Ultramarino". From this date, the National Bank of Guinea-Bissau (created on 20 February 1976) began issuing the new currency, the PESO to substitute the ESCUDO. The decision follows the failure of the fourth attempt to negotiate the withdrawal of the Portuguese bank. Although Guinea-Bissau has gone ahead without reaching agreement with Portugal, the President stressed that "this must not be seen as an act of hostility towards the Portuguese Government" and said that, on the contrary, it would facilitate future negotiations. The escudo ceased to be valid currency at 18.00 hours on 2 March 1976.

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