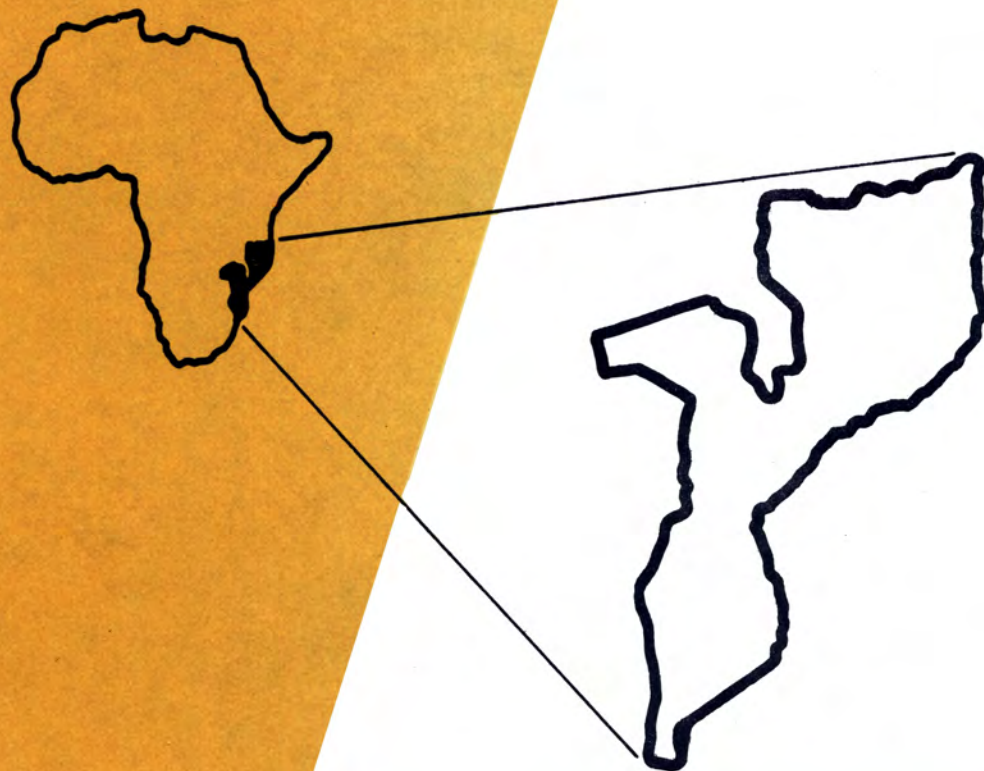


MOZAMBICAN



REVOLUTION



M O Z A M B I Q U E L I B E R A T I O N F R O N T
- FRELIMO -

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C O N T E N T S

Editorial	2
The UN Committee of 24	4
War communiques	5
In Mozambique	8
1st Congress of the League of Mozambican Women	9
On political mobilisation	9
A FRELIMO pamphlet	11
The First Conference of the Three Continents	12

EDITORIAL

THE AFRICAN LESSON

To comment on the events which have taken place in Africa during the past months is a delicate task - especially for a political party of a non-independent country. To ignore those events, however, or to pass over them in silence, is impossible because they affect us more or less directly. In fact, the rapid development of our struggle for national liberation is due to a great extent to the material and diplomatic support we receive from the African countries. Therefore, it is in the interests of the Mozambican people that Africa be united, strong and unequivocally anti-imperialist. If that force, unity and anti-imperialist spirit do not exist or are weak, we must analyse the causes. From that analysis we may learn lessons, make suggestions, trace ways which will allow us to give our contribution for the construction of a truly independent, united, anti-imperialist Africa.

African Unity is a dream which has been harboured by all African peoples for a long time. When the African governments, conscious of that necessity, understanding the importance of that aspiration of the African people, decided to settle their differences and to realise UNITY, we all rejoiced at the realisation of that dream, the OAU, which we glorified, many of us even without having a clear idea of its immense significance.

But what appeared to us as a shining prospect appeared as danger and insolence to our fundamental enemy: IMPERIALISM. Imperialism could not accept our becoming really independent. African Unity would mean the gradual emancipation of the African countries from Europe and North America, on whom we depend today due to the fragility of our economic and political structures. This would deprive the imperialist countries of the immense source of riches, of the zones of influence we represent and which they need in order to realise their plan of aggression and expansion. Consequently imperialism attacked, trying to sabotage, to undermine that newly-born Unity which was threatening to grow up.

Imperialism insinuated itself in the daily life of the people, fomenting divisions, murdering leaders, substituting regimes, dictating the destiny of the African nations, in a crescendo of aggressiveness.

The African people did not know how to stop the attacks of Imperialism. The revolutionary forces of most of the countries which were attacked were not able to defend themselves. Today, many of the African countries have only a formal independence, an independence of anthem and flag. Three years after the Addis-Ababa Conference, African Unity is more and more a dream, less and less a reality.

WHY? Why were the African peoples, who have a long history of fighting against colonialism, not yet able to create adequate and efficient forms of struggle against this most recent manifestation of imperialism - neo colonialism? The problem can be put in this way: How can we defend ourselves against imperialism?

Our experience in the struggle against colonialism and an analysis of the situation in other countries fighting against neo-colonialism teach us that the success of the struggle depends basically on 2 factors: the political organisation of the people and the military organisation of the people. It is necessary to create in each country a party with a clear and popular programme, able to arm the people with a revolutionary ideology. It is necessary also to put weapons in the hands of the people, to create a people's military organisation, structured in accordance with the conditions of the country, different depending on whether it is an independent country or a country still fighting for its independence, but comprising basically a regular army and a people's militia. These two factors must co-exist. An ideology without weapons to defend it, will be easily neutralised by any armed group. Weapons in the hands of people who are not conscious of their political responsibilities can launch the country into chaos and anarchy.

And, fundamentally, it is necessary to encourage the people to participate in the political life of the country; further, it is necessary to reject a concept in which the Revolution (socialism) is built by an active nucleus of leaders who think, create and give everything, and who are followed by a passive mass, who limit themselves to receiving and executing. This concept is the result of a weak political conscience, and expresses lack of confidence in the fighting and revolutionary capacity of the people.

This is the lesson that recent events in Africa teach us.

WILL THE AFRICAN PEOPLE WIN, IN THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM?

For our part, we are giving an intensive contribution to that victory. While fighting against colonialism, in fact, we are creating the conditions for neo-colonialism not to be able to be established in our country. We are conscious of the responsibility which weighs on us in the global struggle of Africa.

The colonised people need the material and financial support of the independent countries, need their diplomatic and moral support, need to use their territories as bases from which to carry on more easily their struggle for national liberation. The independent countries of Africa need to liberate themselves completely from Imperialism, and they will not be able to achieve this while there are pockets of colonialism in Africa, and these pockets will serve as platforms for imperialist aggression. There is, therefore, an interdependence between African independent countries and the dependent countries, imposed by the dynamic of the struggle against colonialism and imperialism.

WILL THE AFRICAN PEOPLE WIN, IN THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM?

All peoples are identified, with what concerns their basic ideals. Everyone wants peace, progress, liberty and equality. All peoples are basically opposed to the exploitation of man by man. When, therefore, in a certain country there is a regime which does not satisfy these aspirations, that regime is opposed by the people. The people will fight it. The speed of the victory will depend on the methods of struggle, on the

knowledge of the enemy, on the strategy used. In any case, there can be no doubt about the final victory of the people's forces: it is inevitable, certain.

THE UN COMMITTEE
OF TWENTY-FOUR

The United Nations Committee of 24 will meet in Dar Es Salaam, on the 23rd of May. This Committee will hear the Liberation Movements and get information about the situation in the colonial territories.

FRELIMO will not petition. Last year, before this very Committee and before the 4th Committee of the UN General Assembly, FRELIMO representatives gave all information about the Portuguese colonial policy in Mozambique. That policy remains unchanged. We therefore have nothing more to add.

We shall appear before the Committee of 24 only to explain the development of our struggle for liberation, the successes we have achieved, the difficulties we are facing.

Our position towards the UN is clear. We understand the limitations of the UN, in what concerns action. The UN cannot give us much more than moral support. In this field, we have received all which that world organisation could give to us. In fact, the latest resolution of the General Assembly of the UN on the Portuguese colonies, of December 1965, reaffirms our right to freedom and independence, and the legitimacy of our struggle; states that the attitude of Portugal towards the African population of its colonies and the neighbouring states constitutes a threat to international peace and security; urge member states to break off diplomatic relations with Portugal and to boycott all trade with her; request all states and, in particular, the military allies of Portugal within the framework of NATO, to prevent the sale or supply of arms and military equipment to the government of Portugal.

It is true that the three big Western powers did not vote in favour of the resolution. In fact, the United Kingdom and the United States voted against, and France abstained. Practically, this means that no decisive action will be taken against Portugal.

But the fact remains that 66 states, within the framework of the UN, declare that our struggle for liberation is just, and promise us moral support. This is important for us.

Of course, we would like to see the resolutions of the UN being implemented. We would like to see the UN not only passing resolutions but taking action. We would like to receive material support from the UN.

But, as we have stated, we understand the limitations of the UN - which are the result of the strong imperialist influences within it.

We welcome the Committee of 24 and hope that, at this time, it will be able to find the practical ways to put an end to Portuguese colonialism.

WAR COMMUNIQUES

COMMUNIQUE N° 55

22.4.1966

The main preoccupation of the Portuguese soldiers, in the struggling areas, is to get food.

The exodus of the population to semi-liberated areas has deprived the Portuguese authorities of the forced labour they used for cultivating crops owned by the administrative and military posts.

Also, the helicopter that the Portuguese used, to supply provisions to the posts and garrisons, was shot down by our guerrillas on the 16th of March, in Nangade.

Without food, often without ammunition and demoralised, the Portuguese soldiers have lost all their offensive capacity. They no longer fight for the "defesa da patria". Their main concern now is only to defend their lives, to survive.

This situation was created by our constant attacks and ambushes, and by the action of political education among the people.

COMMUNIQUE N° 56

5.5.1966

CABO DELGADO PROVINCE

1. On the 4th of April a group of FRELIMO saboteurs mined the road between CHITOLO and MPANGA. Two vehicles, from a convoy of 5, touched off the mines. The first one was destroyed, and the second was damaged. The soldiers who were in the other vehicles opened fire against our guerrillas, forcing them to turn back, and preventing them from capturing the material.
2. On the 5th of April, FRELIMO guerrillas destroyed with mines a military lorry carrying Portuguese soldiers on the road between Mueda and Chude. When they heard the explosion, the Portuguese sent 2 planes and 7 lorries with soldiers from Mueda to the place of the attack. Our guerrillas, however, were already far, hidden in the bush.
3. On the 7th of April a group of FRELIMO militants of the Youth League attacked a patrol of Portuguese soldiers, by throwing grenades to them. Ten soldiers were put out of action. Two of our militants were wounded.
4. On the 7th of April a "jeep" with soldiers was blown up by a mine, on the road between the mission of NANGOLOLO and MUIDUMBE. Three soldiers were killed and others were wounded.

NIASSA PROVINCE

1. On the 10th of March 1966, FRELIMO fighters acting in the zone of the post of REVIA, Marrupa, made a search in the houses of the Portuguese civilians, looking for arms which had been distributed to the white settlers by the Portuguese authorities for "defense against the terrorists". Our guerrillas captured 2 rifles cal. 7,7 , 4 hunting rifles several pistols p. 38 "WALTHER", ammunition and a "CHEVROLET" lorry.

2. On the 13th of March, our guerrillas attacked Portuguese soldiers who were going from MAHUA to REVIA. The ambush took place when the soldiers were repairing a bridge, which had been destroyed by the heavy rain. Eight Portuguese soldiers were killed, and many others were wounded.
3. On the 17th, another group of Portuguese soldiers was ambushed on the same road between MAHUA and REVIA. Five soldiers were killed. The others fled. Only next day did the Portuguese send a lorry to carry the dead to the post.
4. On the 31st of March, at 4 am, FRELIMO fighters attacked a Portuguese military camping. The attack lasted for one hour. Many Portuguese soldiers were killed. Two FRELIMO guerrillas were wounded with splinters of the grenades.

COMMUNIQUE N° 57

13.5.1966

A new contingent of 5,000 Portuguese soldiers arrived in Mozambique on the 9th of May, coming from Lisbon, in the liner "Vera Cruz".

In an attempt to oppose the increasing growth of our forces, Portugal increases its forces of repression.

The sending of soldiers from Portugal to the colonies is determined by the military situation in each colony. There is a direct relation between the intensification of the guerrilla operations and the number of Portuguese troops.

Our victories mount, in spite of the troops which are constantly arriving in Mozambique. As we have stated before, the sending of more troops can only delay, but never stop, the final victory of our people.

Military operations in NIASSA PROVINCE :

1. On the 16th of March FRELIMO guerrillas ambushed a Portuguese platoon in the zone of the Chief LICIANO. The Portuguese were coming from a village, where they had stolen goats, chickens, ducks, etc. Our guerrillas ambushed them. Fourteen soldiers were killed and nine were gravely wounded. The remnants fled. The livestock was returned to the people of the village.
2. On the 20th of March our fighters attacked a group of Portuguese soldiers in MUTELELA. The enemy was attacked with machine-gun fire and grenades, while relaxing under the sun, at 6 o'clock in the morning. Many soldiers were killed and many wounded.
3. On the 31st of March our guerrillas attacked a company camped in LUATISI. The soldiers were guarding the bridge on the road between MAVACO and VILA CABRAL. The attack lasted for 30 Min. At least 10 soldiers were killed.
4. On the 10th of April a FRELIMO guerrilla unit attacked the Portuguese military headquarters of MASSANGULO. There was only a small garrison in the headquarters, composed of a sub-lieutenant, one sergeant, one radio operator and 3 privates. All of them were killed. Our guerrillas captured some war material and many blankets and clothes.

5. On the 12th of April a group of FRELIMO guerrillas sabotaged the telephone lines of Vila Cabral.

On the same day, they freed 5 Mozambican nationalists, serving a penalty of 12 years of imprisonment. The prisoners had been allowed to go out of the prison for one hour exercise, under the guard of an armed Portuguese soldier. Our fighters killed the soldier and helped the prisoners to escape.

During these operations two of our fighters were killed and six were wounded.

COMMUNIQUE N° 58

22.5.1966

CABO DELGADO PROVINCE

1. The Portuguese soldiers who are camped in NRUCIA, Quitarajo region, used to go to the nearby villages to steal food. The people got information that on the 13th of April they would go to NAMBAVE village, and told FRELIMO guerrillas. The guerrillas mined the road. Two Portuguese soldiers were killed and 6 were wounded, as they stepped on the mines.
2. On the same day FRELIMO guerrillas mined the road between CHAI and MESSALO river. At 9 pm 2 lorries of a convoy of 3, carrying Portuguese soldiers, touched off the mines. The first lorry was destroyed and the second was damaged. The soldiers who were in the third lorry returned to CHAI, after having collected the dead and wounded and the war material.
3. On the 19th of April a Portuguese platoon stepped on mines placed by our guerrillas on the road between Palma and Mocimboa da Praia. The enemy was looking for one of our bases. Four soldiers were killed and others were wounded.
4. On the 1st of April FRELIMO militants destroyed a bridge, known as "NCHANJANKA", in Nyinyi.
5. On the same day a FRELIMO guerrilla unit attacked with machine gun fire a small boat carrying Portuguese soldiers, on the shore of PALMA. Three soldiers were killed and many were wounded.
6. In the zone of Macomia, at 7 am, a group of Portuguese soldiers who was going from Macomia to one village, stepped on a mine. Five soldiers were killed. The others returned to Macomia, leaving the dead on the spot.
7. On the 21st of April FRELIMO guerrillas attacked the administrative post of Marere, at 5:30 am. The attack lasted for 30 m. At least 10 soldiers were put out of action. The building was damaged.

In all these operations, three FRELIMO guerrillas were killed and eight were wounded.

IN
M O Z A M B I Q U E

Two months ago, a young Mozambican girl was arrested by the Portuguese soldiers, while carrying water to a FRELIMO military base, near the IMBUHO Mission. The Portuguese tortured her from 8 o'clock in the morning until 4 pm. They could not get any information from her.

Another girl was arrested and escaped twice - the first time she eluded the vigilance of the guards; the second time she fought with the **soldier** who had arrested her, took his rifle and escaped into the bush.

The production in the semi-liberated areas is increasing. At first the population was affraid of air bombings and of Portuguese patrols. However, the protection given by our guerrillas restaured the confidence of the people. Today there are many more cultivated camps than during the period of colonial domination.

Last November 3 batallions (about 1,500 soldiers arrived in Niassa Province from Portugal. They went to the region between Vila Cabral and Massangulo.

From Amaramba to Massangulo, the whole population was forced by the portuguese to build their homes near the roads, for easier control. The Portuguese say that, being near the roads, the people cannot hide guerrillas.

In January an old Mozambican was killed by the Portuguese soldiers because suspected of being a member of FRELIMO. The Portuguese explained to the African soldiers and to the people that they had killed him because they had found Russians and Chinese in his house.

When a Portuguese soldier dies, his colleagues are told that he was "transferred" or "sent on a mission".

There is a secondary school in Vila Cabral, with some African students. Two months ago, when the Portuguese were suffering successive defeats in the struggle, they arrested some of the African students and killed them, secretly. The other students tried to find out what had happened to their colleagues: their teachers told that they had been transferred to Nampula. When they knew the truth, the remaining students escaped to the semi-liberated areas. The reason why the Portuguese killed the African students is that say that they are the educated people who are creating "terrorism" in Mozambique.

1st CONGRESS OF THE
LEAGUE OF MOZAMBIKAN WOMEN

From the 31st of May to the 4th of June the 1st Congress of the League of Mozambican Women will be held in MBEYA, Tanzania.

The League of Mozambican Women was born soon after the creation of FRELIMO, in 1962. At that time, the Mozambican women who had had to flee from Mozambique to escape political persecution by the colonialist regime tried to organise themselves, in order to be able to participate in the struggle for National liberation. That was the beginning of the League of Mozambican Women.

Since that time, the League has been active, mainly in the interior of Mozambique, mobilising women for the armed struggle itself as well as for other tasks, such as providing food for the guerrillas, making clothes, collecting wood for the military bases, making soap, needles, salt, etc. There are military bases for the training of young women in Cabo Delgado and Niassa Provinces. Frelimo communiques have already reported guerrilla operations in which the women have taken part, as well as acts of heroism performed by young Mozambican girls.

In the exterior, the League participated in Conferences in Dar Es Salaam, Cairo, Peking and Moscow.

The aim of this Congress is to analyse and examine the work which has been done, to establish new plans and to review the present structure of the League. The main points of the agenda are:

- The creation of a new Constitution
- The widening of the work of the League, especially in the interior, through the creation of new branches, a bulettin, etc.
- The cooperation between the League and the Party
- Unity with other women's organisations, in Africa and throughout the world.

FRELIMO wishes all success to the League of Mozambican Women, in their first Congress.

POLITICAL MOBILISATION

"... One of the most important tasks is to MOBILISE POLITICALLY OUR PEOPLE. Our victory depends on that mobilisation. Our enemy can have weapons of the best tipe - even more than we possess. In the end, it is not important, for if all the Mozambican people advance altogether, the enemy will be "swallowed" in the sea of our people. Therefore, the most urgent "mot d'ordre" that FRELIMO sends to its militants is to mobilise politically the people.

WHAT IS POLITICAL MOBILISATION ?

Political mobilisation consists in explaining to the people WHY WE ARE FIGHTING and WHAT IS THE AIM OF OUR REVOLUTION. It is necessary that our people know properly that we are fighting in order to expel the Portuguese colonialists and to liberate Mozambique, in order to restore in our country progress, freedom and equality, to put end to misery, slavery and discrimination.

Every Mozambican who heard and who understood properly the aims of our revolution is a Mozambican won to our cause, a Mozambican ready to join the struggle. Only ignorance can lead a Mozambican to collaborate with the Portuguese, the ones who oppress him and exploit him, and refuse to join with FRELIMO, who works for the liberation of the whole people. Therefore, every FRELIMO militant has the duty of teaching his comrades who do not know, the reasons and the objectives of our revolution. He must explain the principles and the programme of FRELIMO.

That explanation must be clear, simple and illustrated with examples. Thus, it is not enough to recite the Programme of FRELIMO. It is necessary to tell clearly which is its sense, what does it mean. It is also necessary to adapt the explanation to the general and local situation. For example, in the areas where the Portuguese colonialists use to arrest Mozambicans for the forced labour, our militants must explain to the people all the aspects of the forced labour, its causes, who takes profit by it - and make clear to them that FRELIMO is fighting in order to banish the forced labour in Mozambique (Programme, n° 15, al. a). In the industrial areas, where the white workers do almost nothing but are paid great sums of money while the Africans who work incessantly get nearly nothing - our people must learn that FRELIMO carries on a hard struggle in order that in Mozambique there can be established "equal salary to equal work, without discrimination of race or sex" (prog. N° 15 al.e). In the villages our people must know that FRELIMO will expel the Portuguese colonialists and give back the land to the people.

It is thus that, taking into account the general situation as well as the particular situation of each region, the political mobilisation must be accomplished. By calling the whole people to participate in the revolution, we will achieve what is most important, on the level of the armed struggle:

- a- That the people support the guerrillas, lodging them, supplying them with food and information about the enemy;
- b- That the people themselves be ready to take up arms at any time, joining the people's militias;
- c- That the people of the liberated areas increase the production - so that FRELIMO can supply herself in everything and from now on to achieve its economic autonomy.

EVERY MILITANT MUST MAKE REVOLUTIONARY PROPAGANDA AMONG THE PEOPLE !

EVERY MOZAMBICAN MUST BECOME A MILITANT IN THE SERVICE
OF THE REVOLUTION.

(From FRELIMO national bulletin)
A VOZ DA REVOLUÇÃO

FRELIMO

PORTUGUESE SOLDIER, RETURN TO YOUR COUNTRY!
WE DON'T WANT TO KILL YOU, WE ARE NOT YOUR ENEMIES.
BUT YOU ARE OUR ENEMY, YOU ARE KILLING OUR PEOPLE.
RETURN TO YOUR COUNTRY, PORTUGUESE SOLDIER, YOU MUST GO,
OR FRELIMO GUERRILLAS WILL KILL YOU.

FAR AWAY, IN YOUR HOME, ARE YOUR PARENTS, YOUR BROTHERS,
YOUR WIFE, YOUR CHILDREN. YOU WILL NEVER SEE THEM AGAIN.
YOU WILL DIE HERE, IN AN AMBUSH, WITHOUT GLORY,
AS HUNDREDS OF YOUR COMRADES HAVE ALREADY DIED.

PORTUGUESE SOLDIER, YOU DO NOT FIGHT FOR THE "DEFENSE OF THE
COUNTRY". YOUR COUNTRY IS PORTUGAL, NOT MOZAMBIQUE.
YOU ARE DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF THE RICH. THEY STAY
IN LISBON AS BIG BOSSES, FULL OF MONEY, AND SEND YOU TO DIE
IN THE BUSH. YOU WILL DIE TO DEFEND THE RICHES THAT THE
CAPITALISTS HAVE IN MOZAMBIQUE.
YOU YOURSELF ARE ALSO DECEIVED AND EXPLOITED, PORTUGUESE SOLDIER!

REFUSE TO FIGHT IN THIS UNJUST WAR.
SAVE YOUR LIFE, SAVE YOUR HONOUR WHILE IT IS TIME.
RETURN TO YOUR COUNTRY, PORTUGUESE SOLDIER.
RETURN TO YOUR COUNTRY.



A FRELIMO pamphlet

THE FIRST CONFERENCE
OF THE THREE CONTINENTS

From the 3rd to the 15th of January 1966 the First Conference of the People of Africa, Asia and Latin America was held in Havana, Cuba.

This Conference was one of the most important world events of our time. It was one of the most vast people's Assemblies which ever took place in the history of mankind. In joining the people of Africa, Asia and Latin America, the Tricontinental Conference realised the unity of the people's forces of the third world, of the undevelopped countries, of all people fighting to win their independence or to consolidate it.

Being co nscious of this fact, FRELIMO SALUTES THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA, ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA, AND CONGRATULATES THEM IN THE UNITY ACHIEVED, which was made concrete through the creation of the Solidarity Organisation of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America (OSPAAA).

The First Tri-Continental Conference was able to analyse the essence of the problems of the Third World, and their relations with the rest of the world. It knew how to scrutinise the problems in their general aspects and at the same time to consider the particular conditions of each country.

The Conference gained its revolutionary nature from the capacity of its 800 delegates coming from 82 countries of the three Continents to study deeply, with insight, the world problems. Also, the revolutionary aspect of the conference reflects the ambient of Cuba.

The Conference defined the enemy: the capitalist system and Imperialism, particularly American imperialism.

The Conference defined the conditions for a real independence, stressing the need of political and military organisation of the people. Concerning this point, we must make reference to the intervention of the Portuguese colonies at this Conference. Through comrade Amilcar Cabral, Secretary General of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cap-Vert (PAIGC), the Portuguese colonies gave a great contribution for the definition of the conditions for a real independence, stressing the importance of the armed struggle as the fundamental form of action to realise and consolidate the revolution, as the method really able to break imperialism, be it traditional colonialism or neo-colonialism.

The Conference also told about the role of the Third World in the world movement against imperialism. By showing the deep community of interests and of combat which exists among the three fundamental forces of the world people's movement against imperialism, the Conference stressed the importance of the active solidarity of these forces, which are:

- The movement for national (political and economic) emancipation in the countries of the Third world;
- The socialist countries; and
- The progressive forces of the capitalist countries, specially the worker's movement.

Finally, the Conference determined the practical ways of making concrete the political and military solidarity among the revolutionary forces of the Third world. For this end an Executive Secretariat of the OSPAAA was created, as well as a Committee of Aid to the fighting movements, and a Special Committee of Aid to the people of Vietnam.

The 1st Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America was therefore a great victory for the people of the Three Continents and of the whole world, in their fight against imperialism.

"... Sooner or later, all the peoples or nearly all, will be forced to take up arms to liberate themselves".

Fidel Castro

" By the very nature of their system of oppression and exploitation, Imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism are entirely opposed to the independence, sovereignty and national and social liberation of the peoples. In opposition to them, the oppressed peoples of the world fight for the principles of self-determination, sovereignty and independence of the nations.

The Liberation Movement of the peoples of the three Continents has become one of the most important forces in the world struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and together with the peoples of the socialist countries and the international proletariat, plays a decisive role in the history of mankind.."

(Excerpt from the General Declaration
of the Tri-Continental Conference)