

# MOZAMBIQUE

## REVOLUTION





**MOZAMBIQUE****REVOLUTION**OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE MOZAMBIQUE LIBERATION FRONT  
FRELIMO

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*Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Frelimo)*

(MOZAMBIQUE LIBERATION FRONT)



Ref \_\_\_\_\_

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11 October, 1972

Liberation Support Movement,  
Richmond, B.C.  
Canada.

Dear Comrades,

We wish to express our appreciation for your reprinting of our bulletin "Mozambique Revolution" for distribution in Canada and North America in general.

In this stage of our struggle, political work among the people in the capitalist countries - traditionally supporters of Portugal - is extremely important. This is one way of making them aware of the realities and the justness of our struggle, and thus enabling them to support our cause.

The basic aspect of this political work is obviously *information*. That is why your reprinting of our information material in large numbers, is an important contribution to our struggle.

We encourage you and hope that you will continue to carry out this task, for the strengthening of the solidarity movement in your country, thus bringing nearer the final liquidation of colonialism and imperialism.

Revolutionary greetings,

Jorge Rebelo  
Secretary for Information.

# international support must continue

There is a certain confusion in the world today regarding the significance and implications of the coup d'état which toppled Marcelo Caetano's regime on April 25. Many people tend to associate the coup with the end of Portuguese fascism *and* colonialism. Even organisations and groups which have been our allies from the first and which have been always firm and consistent in their political and material support for our struggle, ask us when we meet: "Do you still need our support?" Or even worse: "Has the day of independence already been fixed?"

For us who are still feeling in our flesh colonialism in all its manifestations, these questions and attitudes do not make sense. Our first reaction is to regard them as isolated cases of incorrect analysis. But when we see more and more of such "isolated cases" as is happening, we have to conclude that something is wrong in our work of informing the world. It is necessary, therefore, to detect the errors and correct them. We have to be fully aware of the factors which have generated this unjustified climate of euphoria, and refute the interpretation given to them.

The main factor was the coup d'état itself. The coup was carried out by military men who, tired of a war which is ruining their lives and which they know from experience to be already lost, came to see a change of regime as the only way to put an end to it. And this led our friends to conclude that the military would bring the war to an early end.

This is a mistaken conclusion, however. True, ending the colonial wars is one of the chief preoccupations of the new regime, for the reasons already stated. But it is also true that they regard the end of the war as an end in itself, and are not interested in ending colonialism. This can be seen from the manoeuvres Portugal has attempted since the coup: the creation of dozens of puppet groups, the appeals to our fighters to lay down their arms and for FRELIMO to constitute itself a "legal party" under the Portuguese flag, the attempts to impose a referendum on us, and the negotiation proposals.

The so-called negotiations in Lusaka apparently did most to confuse and demobilise world public opinion. It was thought by some that if FRELIMO and the Portuguese Government sat down at the same table and started a dialogue, the process of independence was underway.

That this was not so is shown by the fact that no agreement was reached at that meeting. We went to the talks, prompted by the sincere desire to find a solution to the colonial problem with the Portuguese government. We told the Portuguese delegation: "We have come here with open minds and good will which we will maintain in the course of this preliminary meeting, where we wish to establish clearly and unambiguously the basis for future talks. . . We believe that there are areas in which the interests of the Mozambican people and those of the Portuguese people coincide: the rooting out of fascism and colonialism, which still exist. . ."

It was not mere rhetoric on our part. We stated our readiness to accept there and then an agreement which would fulfill the aspirations of both our peoples.

The Portuguese people's chief interest is to see the end of the colonial war which is taking away and killing their sons and impoverishing their country. The Portuguese people want to build Portugal under the newly established system of democracy. Our people's basic interest is the winning of national independence and the coming to power of the organisation which represents them – FRELIMO. Portugal should therefore recognise the Mozambican people's right to independence and agree to transfer the power it still holds to FRELIMO: we would thus have found a basis for the solution of the conflict between us.

The Portuguese delegation declared that it was unable to meet our demands. It had come with a mandate to discuss a cease-fire, but not the question of independence.

We maintained our consistent position. Peace is inseparable from national independence, we told them. Armed struggle is one expression of the Mozambican people's opposition to Portuguese colonialism. By stopping military operations we would not put an end to that total, antagonistic and irreconcilable opposition. The joint communique issued at the end of the meeting reflects this position, the correctness of which the Portuguese delegation had to acknowledge: both sides "recognised that the establishment of a cease-fire depended on prior global agreement related to fundamental political principles".

Nothing has changed since the Lusaka talks. Portuguese forces are still being sent to Mozambique – the last reinforcement arrived here at the end of June, consisting of 30 fighter planes and as many pilots, as well as a large number of troops, mainly commandos specialised in atrocities. The Portuguese head of state, General Spínola, continues to exhort his soldiers to "fulfill the noble task of defending the unity of the country". Newspapers are fined for publishing articles against the colonial war. The Portuguese government, through one of its roving ministers, has launched an international campaign to deny the representativity of the Liberation Movements and to seek international support for its neo-colonial scheme for a referendum, in which our people would say if they really want independence or not (sic). In other articles in this bulletin we have analysed and commented on these colonialist moves in detail.

Here we wish only to stress the following:

1. Now more than ever, there must be no vacillation in international support for our struggle. Portuguese colonialism is not dead. We are in the process of dealing it a mortal blow – but this requires precisely continued and intensified support.
2. We are fighting because we are forced to. The day Portugal recognises our right to independence and understands the futility and self-defeating nature of its manoeuvres, peace will be restored in Mozambique.

Meanwhile, plans are underway to start military operations in Zambezia Province next July. And the four remaining provinces will follow.

Independence or death  
We shall win.

*President Samora Machel,  
Lusaka, Zambia.*

*The hour of dialogue with the Portuguese government having finally arrived I sincerely hope that you will find the worthy ways of Peace and Independence where all Mozambicans will have a place in accordance with FRELIMO's ideals and programme.*

June 6, 1974

*Respectful greetings  
The Bishop of Nampula  
Manuel Vieira Pinto*



THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF FRELIMO, COMRADE SAMORA MACHEL, WAS BROADCAST TO THE MILITANTS AND THE MOZAMBICAN PEOPLE OVER FRELIMO RADIO ON MAY 3.

Comrades,

On 25 April, a coup d'état in Portugal toppled Marcelo Caetano's regime. The coup d'état was organised by a movement that arose within the Portuguese Army and called itself the 'Movement of the Armed Forces'. After taking power, this movement handed it over to a «Junta of National Salvation» comprising officers from the Portuguese armed forces.

The coup d'état, according to its promoters – the Movement of the Armed Forces – was intended to solve the serious crisis being faced by the regime and Portuguese society at the present time. As we all know, this crisis is the result of the colonial war which the colonialist government has been waging for more than 13 years.

For many years there has been opposition to the colonial war amongst the Portuguese people. This growing opposition reflects a new awareness that the oppression of our people, and the peoples of Angola, Guiné-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, Sao Tome e Principe and other colonies, is not in the interests of the Portuguese people, and that our armed liberation struggle is a just struggle because we are fighting to win our fundamental rights – freedom and independence.

The Portuguese people, who have already lost many of their sons in the colonial war of repression, realised that this war is not being waged to defend their interests but the interests of the big Portuguese and foreign monopolies which exploit both the Portuguese people and the peoples of the colonies.

At this time we hail the struggle of all the Portuguese anti-fascist democrats who have courageously taken and continue to take a clear stand against the colonial war and for our independence. This awareness is primarily due to the determination of our people who, without any

*'The coup may lead to the establishment of democracy in Portugal... but in Mozambique colonialism continues... the enemy are resorting to manoeuvres which they call 'political' solution... we must intensify the struggle to win our freedom and independence.'*



**Peace is inseparable  
from independence**

hesitation, have faced the toughest sacrifices to win their basic rights.

In the course of the armed struggle for liberation, the Mozambican people, under the leadership of FRELIMO, have achieved great successes. Large regions of our country have been liberated from colonial domination, where for the first time in centuries the Mozambican people have reconquered the dignity of free men and the exercise of their sovereignty. We have dealt severe blows against the colonial

apparatus of domination and repression and inflicted enormous losses in men and material. Internationally, our struggle has enabled the affirmation of the personality of the Mozambican people and has earned the respect and admiration of all the peoples of the world. In the last two years in particular, our struggle achieved spectacular successes when the colonialist plans to block our struggle failed and FRELIMO fighters started to operate in the centre of our country, namely in Manica e Sofala province, in-

flicting heavy blows on the nerve centres of the imperialist and colonialist machinery of exploitation and constantly extending the armed struggle to the south of our country.

These successes sowed panic among the colonialists and convinced them that an exclusively military victory was already impossible in the face of the determination of the Mozambican people and the political and military ability of the organisation leading them – FRELIMO.

In the international field, an increasing number of forces, parties, governments and international organisations, such as the United Nations and its specialised agencies, have condemned Portuguese colonial policy and recognised FRELIMO as the legitimate representative of the Mozambican people.

The isolation of Portuguese colonialism internationally became almost total. From African countries, even from some traditional allies of Portugal, including certain NATO countries, from organisations and political parties of the most diverse tendencies, religious organisations and bodies, including the Pope himself, countless voices the world over were raised in condemnation of the barbarity of Portuguese colonialism.

Today world opinion as a whole fully supports the Mozambican people's struggle for the liberation of their country, for the justice of their cause has been well understood.

The armed struggle for national liberation was launched in order to put an end to Portuguese colonial domination.

Invaded and occupied by a foreign country, deprived of all political rights, subjected to the exploitation of their labour and riches by the capitalist monopolies, deprived of their personality, history and culture, the Mozambican people never gave in to colonial domination.

In the face of brutality, of exploitation, repression and massacres, the Mozambican people clearly understood that these were not the result of mistakes of colonialism but were inherent in its very nature.

So long as there is colonialism, so long as there is the domination and exploitation of one people by another, there will always be oppression, torture, massacres and discrimination.

When, on 25 September 1964, the Mozambican people, under the leadership of FRELIMO, took up arms, they made it clear that they would not shirk from sacrificing their own lives in order to put an end to foreign domination. Given the persistent refusal of the Portuguese colonialist government to grant independence to the Mozambican people peacefully, FRELIMO proclaimed the people's general armed insurrection against Portuguese colonialism for the attainment of complete national independence, the only way to realise political, economic and social liberation and to affirm the cultural personality of the Mozambican people.

In 1964 our forces were greatly inferior to those of Portuguese colonialism. But armed with our determination and unity and the support of the anti-colonialist forces the world over, and guided by FRELIMO's correct political line, we became strong, developing the political and armed struggle which made it possible to liberate extensive regions of our country, where our people began to enjoy the fruits of freedom, and where true democratic and popular power is growing for the benefit of the broad masses of the Mozambican people. The struggle is steadily spreading to new regions, and more and more people are taking an active part in the armed struggle.

In the zones which are still occupied by the Portuguese colonialists, FRELIMO militants are stepping up political work and mobilisation amongst the people, who are anxiously awaiting the launching of direct action in their regions.

How did the enemy react to the advance of our struggle? From Salazar to Marcelo Caetano, the enemy increasingly intensified repression, trying to terrorise the Mozambican people and stifle their aspirations. There were more and more arrests, crimes, torture, bombings and concentration camps. Faced with the continuous advance of the war, the colonialist military chiefs then resorted to big offensives, like «Operation Gordian Knot», which was ignominiously defeated.

The events which have just taken place in Portugal are therefore closely related to the development of our armed struggle, they are a reaction to the anti-colonialist fight.

The coup d'état took place in Portugal:

the changes it will produce may lead to the establishment of democracy in Portugal. We regard this fact as a victory for the Portuguese people, a victory about which we rejoice, since our struggle has never been directed against the Portuguese people, who were themselves being oppressed by fascism.

In Mozambique, however, colonialism continues and as long as it does, the Mozambican people will continue to be oppressed. Only the overthrow of Portuguese colonialism will give the Mozambican people their rights, for only independence makes it possible to achieve complete liberation and the affirmation of our Mozambican personality.

As we have repeatedly stated, we are not fighting to become Portuguese with black skins. We have our own history, our own traditions, our own personality, that we wish to assert as a free and sovereign people.

The armed struggle to win full independence has advanced due to our people's total identification with this objective, leading us from success to success.

Despairing at the continuous development of the liberation struggle, the colonial army started to resort to systematic massacres, killing hundreds of people, as happened in Mucumbura in 1971, in Wiriyanu in 1972, in Chawola in 1972 and in Inhaminga in 1974, to mention only a few of the most barbarous massacres which came to the knowledge of international opinion.

What did the enemy gain from these massacres? Did they succeed in discouraging the Mozambican people? Quite the contrary. These massacres served only to show the real face of our enemy. The spirit of resistance became even stronger and more determined, the armed struggle spread to new areas more vigorously.

The only result of the intensification of repression was that it created an internal crisis and unprecedented international isolation for Portuguese colonialism.

Faced with the determination of the Mozambican people and the successes of the armed struggle for national liberation, certain sectors of the Portuguese army itself came to question the colonialist policy of suppressing the Mozambican people's legitimate right to independence.

It is therefore clear that Portuguese colo-

nialism cannot win the war militarily. What conclusion can be drawn? If the war cannot be won, the only solution is to recognise our people's right to total liberation and independence.

However, the reactionary forces did not give up. Conscious that they cannot win the war and that they are heading for inevitable defeat, they are now trying to resort to manoeuvres which they call a «political solution».

Our experience has shown that whenever the enemy meet with military defeats, they resort to manoeuvres. We have had occasion in the past to witness how they have tried subversion, the infiltration of agents, the assassination of leaders, in-

colonial war became more and more barbarous.

At present, while growing numbers of democratic forces in Portugal are speaking out against the colonial war and for the independence of the peoples of the colonies, the reactionary sectors, which live off the exploitation of the labour and the plunder of the natural resources of the peoples of the colonies, are not conceding defeat.

In Mozambique, these forces are active and enjoy the support of the neighbouring racist countries – South Africa and Rhodesia. These groups, desperate at the fall of Caetanism, which has made them lose the control of the situation

All these manoeuvres are aimed at sowing confusion in order to create the illusion that we are independent and therefore do not have to fight any longer.

The creation and strengthening of puppet groups will go hand in hand with the intensified recruitment of puppet troops such as GE, GEP, Mozambique Commando Companies, Flechas (Spears) and the OPV, which will be increasingly involved in the repression, so as to mask foreign aggression and present it as a civil war between Mozambicans.

The reactionary and colonialist forces' plans include continued and intensified repression brought forcefully to bear on all nationalists. Proof of this is the fact that in Mozambique the PIDE-DGS will not be disbanded, but all the PIDE-DGS criminals will merely be absorbed into the army.

The reactionary forces will pay particular attention to infiltrating agents into our zones, with a view to spreading the enemy's slogans, sowing confusion, undermining the discipline in the armed forces and disrupting the work of national reconstruction in the liberated areas.

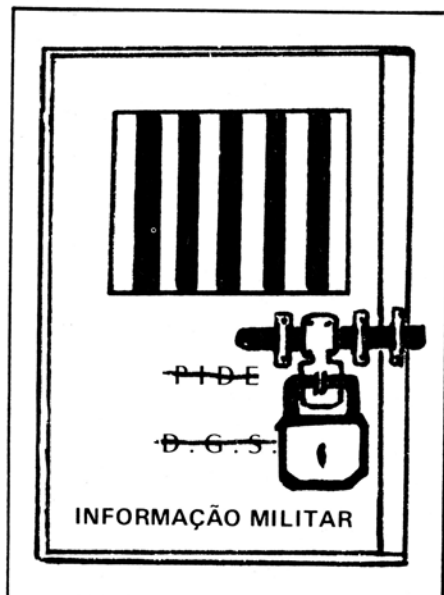
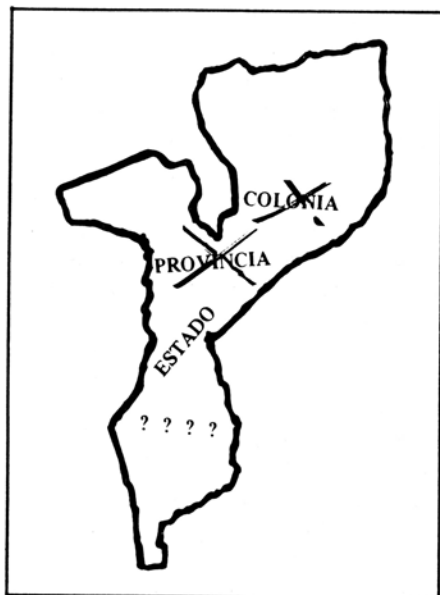
We are going to witness the issuing of appeals, through pamphlets and the radio, like those made by other traitors in the past, trying to incite the fighters and the civilians to surrender.

Convinced of the racist myth of the inferiority and incapability of Africans, the colonialist forces, who refuse to admit that the Mozambican people are capable of inflicting on them the defeats they are suffering, will step up their propaganda, claiming that we are agents of foreign forces.

Internationally, the manoeuvres will be aimed at hoodwinking world opinion, trying to present the Mozambican people as a free people who accept Portuguese domination of their own free will, just as Caetano tried to do. A few Mozambican puppets will be made to travel around the world to defend Portuguese colonialism.

Can such manoeuvres succeed? To answer this question we should once more look at our past experience. What was the result of the countless manoeuvres the enemy attempted in the past?

First of all it should be stressed that each new manoeuvre was always the result



citment to desertion and attempts to encourage reactionary ideas in our ranks.

In their propaganda, the enemy resort to political mystification, using terms like «autonomy» and «self-determination», twisting their meaning and using them in an attempt to demobilise public opinion, both national and international. The Caetano government was skilled at such manoeuvres, namely the change of names and titles. Mozambique was called a State, the National Union was renamed the A.N.P. (National Popular Action), the PIDE was called the DGS. But although names were changed the Mozambican people were increasingly oppressed, the repression was intensified and the

they have had up to now, are going to make every effort to oppose the independence of our people.

Their action will be chiefly at two levels: intensifying repression and trying ever more manoeuvres to find new formulae for maintaining colonial domination.

We must study and anticipate the forms such manoeuvres are going to take in order to know how to oppose them.

We are going to witness the creation and strengthening of puppet groups of collaborators at the service of colonialism whose task will be to try to show that the Portuguese colonialist government is fulfilling the Mozambican people's aspirations for independence.



of a new victory of ours, of progress in the politico-military field. The manoeuvres the reactionary forces will resort to now, as in the past, will also be attempts to counter the resounding victories recently achieved in our struggle.

But just as previous attempts failed, so too will future manoeuvres fail. Our people are politically mature and solidly united around FRELIMO, thanks to the experience of twelve years of political and military struggle against the colonial army and against any kind of subversive manoeuvre.

We must nevertheless be especially alert to the stepping up of crimes against both the African and European populations which the colonialists will try to blame on FRELIMO, as they have done in the past.

In this respect, FRELIMO wishes to reiterate clearly once again its policy towards European civilians. The armed struggle for the liberation of the Mozambican people has as its objective the total liberation of the Mozambican people from the Portuguese colonial system. Its targets are the military, police, administrative and economic machinery of domination. All those who live from their honest labour do not constitute targets for our weapons.

FRELIMO does not practise any kind of discrimination in its ranks. Mozambicans of all races, origins and religious beliefs are members of FRELIMO, so long as they are prepared to fight against Portuguese colonialism and follow FRELIMO's political line, which aims at winning the complete and total independence of Mozambique, politically, economically, socially and culturally.

For this reason, we would like to draw the attention of certain sectors of the European population to the fact that they are being manipulated by ultra-reactionary groups which are inciting them against the African people and FRELIMO, with the aim of creating a racial war between whites and blacks in Mozambique. These ultra-reactionary and ultra-racist forces, allied with racist South Africa and Rhodesia, are prepared for any adventure in order to prevent the independence of the Mozambican people. The Mozambican people must mobilise themselves to ensure the failure of these manoeuvres, aimed at making our coun-

try totally dependent on South Africa and Rhodesia. The racist governments of these countries which fear that the independence of Mozambique would deprive them of the cheap Mozambican slave labour which enables them to run their mines and plantations, (which would otherwise be uneconomic) will do everything possible to use white settlers in Mozambique as instruments of their policy. The European population must dissociate itself from these manoeuvres which are contrary to their interests and to those of the Mozambican people.

White Mozambicans, men and women, young and old, students, intellectuals, office workers, civil servants and others whose support and involvement in the liberation struggle have been growing and whose nationalist feelings are a source of pride for the Mozambican people as a whole, must decisively intensify their action within the framework of FRELIMO, for the triumph of our ideals of freedom and complete and total independence for Mozambique.

The colonial war will be intensified but at the same time will be accompanied by a demagogic campaign about peace, trying to accuse FRELIMO of being responsible for the war.

The Mozambican people, the FRELIMO fighters, who are the people in arms, are not professional soldiers. They want peace, but the peace we want, real peace, cannot exist so long as colonialism dominates our people.

Peace is inseparable from national independence, for only with national independence will the war end, and will there be peace in Mozambique.

Comrades,

The manoeuvres that are underway are therefore a repetition, although more intense, of the preceding ones. Consequently, we must be prepared to defeat them at every level.

We must first of all strengthen and consolidate our political and ideological unity, continuing to mobilise the Mozambican people under the banner of FRELIMO and the watchwords of total and complete independence of Mozambique, politically, socially, economically and culturally.

Only total and complete independence will permit Mozambicans to rule their

country, free their economy from the domination of foreign monopolies, put an end to exploitation and revive and develop their culture.

We must intensify and extend to new zones the armed struggle for national liberation which has already enabled us to achieve great victories, so as to hasten the collapse of Portuguese colonialism.

We must intensify the mobilisation and explaining of FRELIMO's programme, both among militants and among the people in order to consolidate our organisation and structures and strengthen the people's power, the only instrument capable of serving the interests of the broad masses and giving independence its true content, thus justifying the immeasurable sacrifices we have made.

We must denounce all the puppet groups of old and new lackeys, both black and white, at the service of Portuguese colonialism so as to neutralise them.

We must increase our vigilance against enemy attempts to infiltrate agents into our zones, be on the alert against any watchwords aimed at sowing confusion, undermining discipline or decreasing our efforts in the struggle.

Let us make our ranks impenetrable to the infiltration of enemy agents, and especially to any attempts to deform the nature of our struggle, trying to change it into a racial war.

At this time, when our struggle and that of our brothers in Angola and Guiné-Bissau and Cape Verde has proved able to create an unprecedented crisis in Portugal which heralds the collapse of Portuguese colonialism, we must mobilise ourselves to generalise our offensive on all fronts, from armed struggle to national reconstruction, in order to inflict even heavier blows and hasten the defeat of Portuguese colonialism and imperialism.

Let us unite, strengthen our political and ideological unity, and intensify the struggle to win our freedom and independence, putting into practice our watchword, which is now more pertinent than ever before.

The struggle continues. . .  
Independence or Death  
We shall Win.

Samora Moises Machel  
President of FRELIMO.

25 th JUNE, 1974

# ***FRELIMO – the expression of unity***

Today we celebrate the twelfth anniversary of the creation of FRELIMO. The unification of Mozambique's patriotic movement on June 25th, 1962, enabled the Mozambican people to be organised and become a vast and invincible sea that is destroying Portuguese colonialism.

From Rovuma to Maputo, all Mozambicans had heroically opposed foreign conquest, but due to divisions among them, one by one all the centres for national resistance against colonialist invasion were destroyed. And so foreign domination, colonial exploitation, brutal oppression, the humiliation of racism fell upon us.

Linked by bonds of common suffering we came to learn that what divided us was secondary to all that united us.

Thus appeared FRELIMO, the expression of the objective unity of the entire Mozambican people, the materialisation of our unshakable will to conquer Mozambique's total and complete independence.

More than ever before, conditions are today excellent for victory for the popular struggle led by FRELIMO. Brought together by FRELIMO's clear objectives, Mozambicans of all races, linguistic groups, religious creeds and social origins are conquering national independence and establishing the people's power.



# UN COMMISSION ON MASSACRES IN MOZAMBIQUE

*The United Nations Commission investigating massacres in Mozambique visited Dar es Salaam in June for a 15-day sitting during which it heard testimony from more than 30 witnesses of colonialist atrocities in Mozambique. The commission's chairman is from Nepal, its secretary from Tanzania and the other members are from the German Democratic Republic, Honduras, Madagascar and Norway. The experiences of some of the Mozambican witnesses are printed on this and the following two pages.*

- Antonio Michione is a survivor of the massacre that took place in the village of Chawola on December 16, 1972. After the reports by Father Adrian Hastings in July, 1973, Antonio was found by a reporter of the London "Sunday Times" who visited Tete Province. The resultant interview focussed world attention on Antonio, who afterwards found sanctuary with missionaries and reappeared in June in Dar es Salaam as a witness before the UN Commission of Enquiry. This is Antonio's story:

"On Saturday, December 16, 1972, two jet planes and four helicopters arrived. They were loaded with Portuguese soldiers. When we saw the troops I was very frightened. The soldiers started collecting the people together, searched their pockets and took away whatever they found. They told us to clap our hands and say goodbye to the world. They started firing at us and we all fell down. I was terribly frightened and I became unconscious.

"The soldiers then took dry grass from the roof of a granary and piled it on top of the people who had been shot. I was small and underneath all the people. The fire burnt those on top of me. I had a bullet wound on the left side of my arm near the shoulder but I squeezed myself out of the pile of burning bodies and escaped."

Antonio walked for one day then met some priests who took him to the hospital in Tete town. Afterwards he was taken to the mission of San Pedro.



Antonio Michione



Palmeira Manheira

- Palmeira dos Santos Manheira is a peasant from the village of Vudze in Mazoe district, Tete Province. On December 16, 1972, he visited the village of Wiriyamu to sell his father-in-law's cattle. His story:—

"The people had gathered in Wiriyamu to sell beef cattle — it was a cattle fair.

The Portuguese arrived with two jets, four helicopters and infantry. The Portuguese soldiers were working with an informer, Chico Kachavi.

"The troops shouted: 'You're not here to sell cattle but to feed FRELIMO soldiers. Today you are to die because you are giving food to the terrorists.' The soldiers raped girls. Each soldier took a woman and disappeared into the bush. Later people were forced into huts — about 30 people in one hut — the doors were closed and the huts set on fire. Those who tried to run away were shot at and killed.

"Some cattle were killed, some ran away and a large number were taken by the Portuguese soldiers. The soldiers who committed these crimes were the group of commandos of the sixth company, stationed in Mazoe."

Palmeira survived because he was a little way outside the village looking after the cattle. He told the commission of other atrocities:—

"On July 28, 1973, two jets and four helicopters arrived at the village of Ngalo. The helicopters landed troops who began to kill people with axes. They buried all the bodies and left. The survivors fled to an area controlled by FRELIMO. Later we dug up the corpses and discovered that 80 people had been killed.

"On September 3, 1973, two helicopters arrived in the village where I live. They flew over, looking at the area and later went away — while the infantry advanced, white Rhodesian soldiers. When they arrived there they began to fire and killed a woman and a child and wounded two women. I was also wounded in the right arm.

"On the same day I went to the FRELIMO Central Hospital '25th of September' in the circle of Chintenguene. Rhodesian soldiers arrived at this hospital. They captured a child who was in the kitchen, then they found the patients and began to fire, killing one, a girl called Sintiria, and wounding several other women. They stole a box containing medical equipment and killed 21 cows.





Amélia Correia

● A 42 year-old peasant woman, Amélia Correia, from Luis Antonio village in Songo District in Tete Province told the commission of events that followed the blowing up of a vehicle by a land mine on the road from the village of Chief Terere in November 1973. After the explosion, she said, the regulo of the village went to a post to inform the Portuguese. When he returned home his wife and five children were missing – they had been taken by the troops to the military centre at Chitima.

Terere went to Chitima where the Portuguese refused to give him information about his family. After some discussion Terere was shot dead while soldiers raped his wife.

The witness went on to describe an event that took place in 1971 in the village of Joaqueirho Caliaja. The troops arrived there to take to Chitima Tsasalula Tehabuenzela who, they alleged, had supplied food to FRELIMO. His brother Denis was grazing the cattle and did not know what was going on. When he was returning he fell into an ambush and was shot dead. Some people nearby heard the shots and fled, but they did not know anyone had been killed. After a few days they discovered the body, which was rotting, and they buried it.

The witness continued: "In October, 1972, I fled from the zone occupied by the Portuguese and went to the FRELIMO zone. I arrived at the village of Jeque Chimm and when I was about to leave after staying there for two weeks I heard that the troops had arrived and were interrogating the chief, Jeque. They asked him about supplying food to FRELIMO guerrillas but he said he didn't know anything. After questioning him the soldiers killed three women and one man."



João Almeida

● Estêvão Joao Almeida is from the village of Kumakudjoni in Muidumbe District, Cabo Delgado. He told the commission that on January 1, 1965, Portuguese troops from the post of Chai surrounded three villages at night. "At 8 am they put us in a hut and set it on fire. I escaped through a small hole used by chickens. My left foot was burnt," he said. He was the only survivor. The troops went on to another village where they killed 25 people. "An old man called Nijambe managed to escape," said Mr. Almeida.

The witness testified that in April 1972, for one week, aircraft dropped herbicide bombs and burnt ten fields in Muidumbe District. A woman was poisoned by chemicals but she recovered in hospital.

In November 1973, he said, heliborne troops invaded a village in the zone of Aly, in Muatide locality. They told six people in a shelter to come out and killed them with cutlasses. Later three women returning from a well were also killed with cutlasses.



Vicente Joaquim

● Vicente Joaquim, from the Matambalala locality in Cabo Delgado, told the UN Commission about a helicopter bombing raid on Mapale village on March 18, 1972, during which a bomb fell directly on an air-raid shelter killing about a dozen people. Three women and two children were among the dead.

Mr. Joaquim was wounded in April, 1972, when he was hit by shell fragments in a cannon attack on a village.

He continued: "The same month Portuguese planes attacked the Matambalala locality and burnt maize and other crops. Other villages had to support the victims with food afterwards and there was starvation for the rest of the year."

Mr. Joaquim went on to describe an infantry attack by troops from Nangololo in August last year. Three people died in the raid – on the village of Mkwati – and afterwards the troops burnt their bodies and set the village on fire.

On the first day of the UN Commission's hearing in Tanzania the Vice-President of FRELIMO, Comrade Marcelino dos Santos, delivered a speech in which he pointed out to the members that the massacres were the "reaction to the victories achieved by the Mozambican people under the leadership of FRELIMO – both in the military field and in the political and international diplomatic field". Portuguese colonialism, he said, is desperate, gripped by panic like a ferocious animal when wounded. "It reacts violently revealing its deeply criminal nature. . . and we are talking about here and now, not just about the period before the coup d'etat of the 25th of April in Portugal."

He stressed that crime is inherent in the nature of colonialism, and that only national independence will put an end to the crimes of Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique.

- Crisanto Kumbamwa, 10, and Serafina Joao, 13, were pupils at a school in Matambalala locality, Mueda District, Cabo Delgado, when the Portuguese attacked the locality on October 10, 1973. Four jets, eight helicopters and a bomber took part in the attack.

Crisanto and Serafina said that 11 of the 350 pupils at the school at the time were killed and many others were wounded. The two witnesses were themselves wounded by machine-gun fire from helicopters. Serafina suffered leg, back and neck wounds while Crisanto was wounded in the head and left leg.

The children were presented to the commission by another witness, Mr. Alexandre Carlos, who was at the school when the attack began. He testified that on the same day Portuguese troops attacked the neighbouring village of Njini, killing five people, one of whom was a pregnant woman. The woman's stomach was cut open and the foetus pulled out.

- Suite Paulo Sitsaene is a peasant from Jombo, a village of Mazuire District of Manica e Sofala. He recalled that on the afternoon of June 14, 1973, FRELIMO laid an ambush near an aldeamento. Next day the Portuguese arrived at his shamba but they found only his younger brother. They asked him if he cooked for the guerrillas and he replied that he did not. They cut off his left ear, roasted it and gave it to him to eat. They asked him where the guerrillas were and when he said he didn't know, they took him to a part of the shamba where there was a fire and some cigarette butts, revealing that people had been there. He said the people had come there to drink and insisted that there were no guerrillas.

Then they cut off his other ear and went to a hut where they found his two wives. One was taken to the bush and raped. Afterwards they put her next to her husband and killed them both, along with the other wife and a son.

Two sons of Suite were also killed.

Suite was not at home when the killings took place. He had gone to the shop. When he returned he went looking for one of his sons at the regulo's hut. The regulo and a teacher from an aldeamento accompanied him to the shamba where he found the corpses, which he covered with the roof of a hut.



Crisanto Kumbamwa



João Mwenyewe



Suite Paulo Sitsaene



Francisco Finias

- Joao Mwenyewe appeared before the commission but could not tell his story for himself, since he has lost the power of speech. His uncle, Focas Joaquim, explained what happened.

Mr. Joaquim and Joao, who is about nine-years-old, come from the village of Namakaba in Cabo Delgado. Last year Portuguese planes attacked the village and dropped bombs, many of which failed to explode. As was normal practice, the villagers carefully gathered together those they could find and buried them. But two children – one of them Joao – came across one and, not knowing what it was, poked it. The bomb exploded and the children were badly burnt.

They were taken to hospital and their lives were saved, but Joao's nostrils were fused together so that he could not breathe through his nose and consequently is unable to speak.

Mr. Joaquim also told the commission that on January 9 this year Portuguese troops ambushed the villagers in their shambas. The people ran away but the colonialists fired in the air and captured two women and two children.

- Francisco Finias, 19, is a student at the village of Chicolongue in the Mandie district of Manica e Sofala. He testified that in February this year Portuguese Special Group troops left Massangano and camped in Malula with the aim of building an aldeamento. They brought two men they had caught in Massangano. The men had gone to Massangano to buy flour in a shop but the troops presented them to the people of Malula and said they had been sent by FRELIMO to explore and observe the aldeamento at Massangano. The troops ordered the two men to stand against a wall and opened fire with G3s in the presence of the population. They continued to fire even after the men were dead. They were brothers called Sangulam Tole and Culewa Cuandeca Tole.

The witness also described what happened after a Portuguese helicopter was hit by FRELIMO groundfire on April 6 this year. The colonialists had left their barracks at Guru to attack a FRELIMO base near the River Popue. One helicopter was hit. Next day the Portuguese soldiers gathered together the inhabitants of the aldeamento of Buzwa and killed six people with knives.

# After the coup: the terror goes on

The downfall of the Caetano regime did not end attacks against civilians in Mozambique. Our comrades reported atrocities in May and June in Cabo Delgado, Niassa and Tete provinces and the international press reported the gunning down by police of seven Mozambicans in the south of the country after they had returned from the mines in South Africa.

From June 9 to 13 the co-

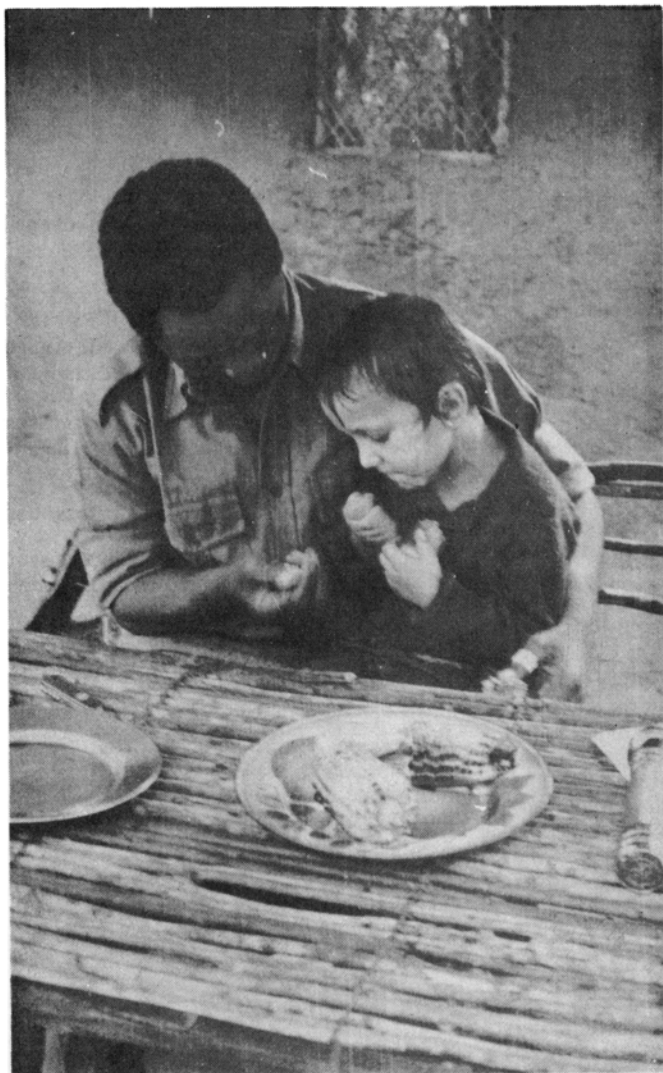
lonialist troops intensified their crimes against defenceless civilians in Cabo Delgado. Villages, hospitals, district centres, schools, shambas and granaries were attacked and destroyed by enemy planes using high-capacity bombs. Main targets were Nanwembe locality in Nangade district, Miteda, Mwatide, Mtambalale and Iteko localities in Mueda district, and the area of Muidumbe. Nine people died and

many more were wounded in the bombing of Miteda, three children were killed in Mtambalale and 11 people died and six were wounded in the Mueda attacks.

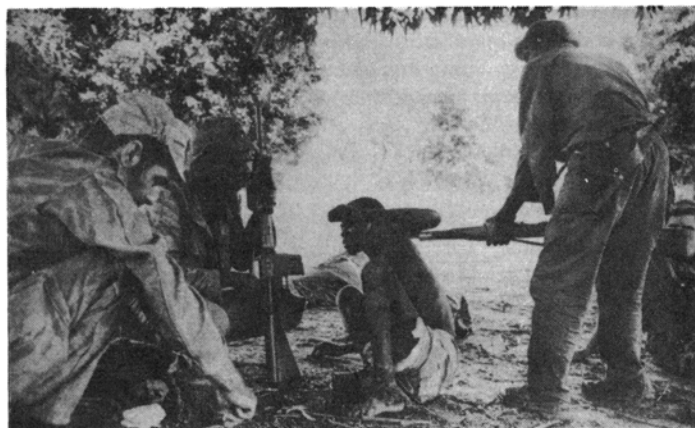
In Niassa, bombing raids were launched on May 8 against Ilumba locality and on May 9 against the locality of Chissindo – both are in the Macalope district. On May 10 a village in Metangula district was destroyed by troops

dropped by helicopter and six days later a village in Maniamba zone was bombed.

In Tete province an air attack was launched on the liberated zone of Doela in Zumbo district on May 4. During the bombardment two Fiat G-91 jets were hit by FRELIMO anti-aircraft fire and exploded in the air, killing all the occupants.



Maria Ligia safe with FRELIMO



*Violence and brutality have marked the daily life of our people under Portuguese colonial domination. Photograph from West Germany's «Stern» magazine, the caption reads: 'A soldier hits a villager on the side with the muzzle of his gun.'*

On 11 June, 1974, the Head of the FRELIMO Mission in Tanzania, Joaquim Alberto Chissano, handed over to Mr. Nicolas de Rougemont, Representative of the International Red Cross, a child named Maria-Ligia Fernandes, aged 5 years. She was rescued by FRELIMO forces in the zone of Chipembe, Cabo Delgado Province in February, 1974, after an operation carried out against enemy forces garrisoned in the settlement. The child was cared for by the Organisation of Mozambican Women and is in good health.

After contacts with the International Committee of the Red Cross, we arranged to have her sent back to her parents in Beira, Mozambique, through the ICRC.

She left for Beira with Mr. Rougemont on 12 June, 1974.



# WAR COMMUNIQUE

## *Niassa*

FRELIMO continued its offensive in the Province of Niassa. Thus, from February to June we shot down 1 helicopter, attacked 6 posts and camps, destroyed 5 vehicles and a large section of the railway line and captured arms and ammunition and other material. In these operations as well as in numerous ambush and sabotage operations more than 100 of the enemy were killed.

### *helicopter shot down*

March 7: we shot down an «Allouette» helicopter, which was commanding a group of planes sent to attack our people in the zone of Nkalapa. Six soldiers, including a lieutenant-colonel were killed.

### *attacks*

February 7: the post of Namirrupa was attacked and a large quantity of material captured.

February 10: we attacked the strategic village of Kassola and destroyed several houses.

May 3: we attacked and stormed an enemy military camp which ensured the security of the workers of the Tamega Company and controlled the strategic hamlet at Malemia – Matenda, near Vila Cabral. A large quantity of war material was captured and 14 enemy killed.

May 10: FRELIMO artillery forces attacked the military headquarters of Nova Olivença where several units of Commandos, Special Groups and O.P.V's were garrisoned.

April 29 and May 11: our forces attacked O.P.V. bases killing 6 and capturing 10 weapons with ammunition.

### *sabotage on the railway line*

February 24: a FRELIMO sabotage unit destroyed the railway line between Nova



Weapons captured from the enemy

Freixo and Chipa in several places over a 4 km. stretch.

February 25: the line between river Lusiwe and Catur was rendered unusable over a 2 and half km. stretch. The following day 8 of the enemy were killed by anti-personnel mines whilst trying to repair the line.

### *ambushes and sabotage*

February 12: a military vehicle going from Vila Cabral to Mandalawi was blown up by a mine. The Portuguese sent several aircraft to bomb the area and prevent our fighters from taking away the wreckage. In the process they killed a number of their own soldiers who had been sent to the place in lorries.

Other ambush and sabotage operations took place in the areas of Vila Cabral, Nova Freixo, Lukunese, Chepa, Lipalani, River Lukulumezi, Massangulo, Nkwanda and on the roads Vila Cabral – Mandalawi, Vila Cabral – Nova Freixo. We also mined the house where soldiers guarding the railway line Vila Cabral – Nova Freixo were staying.

## *Cabo Delgado*

From April to June FRELIMO fighters in Cabo Delgado Province shot down a helicopter and a transport plane, attacked 11 posts and camps and carried out numerous sabotage and ambush operations

in which we destroyed 21 bridges, 19 vehicles and killed many enemy soldiers.

### *attacks*

From April 25 to June 11 FRELIMO fighters attacked several posts and camps including the concentration camps of Impuito, Naravia and Chivalo and the posts of Diaca, Mueda, Namatil, Ngapa, Nam bude and Ntadola.

### *aircraft shot down*

April 18: we shot down a helicopter as it attempted to land in the zone of Mueda. It crashlanded near Homba.

May 6: a transport plane used for carrying troops was shot down near Homba.

### *bridges destroyed*

In the month of April 19 bridges – 13 in the zone between Mueda and Natulo and 6 between Natulo and Nekokwe, were blown up.

May 27: two bridges at Nairoto and at Nambuga on the road Natulo – Mueda were destroyed.

### *ambushes and sabotage*

Our ambush and sabotage operations were concentrated mainly in the areas of Nangade, Quissanga, Macomia, Cuero, Namau, Namele, Montepuez, Porto Amelia, on

the roads Quissanga – Mbanguia, Nakatar – Natulo, Nataruke – Nakatar and other places.

## Tete

In Tete Province, from February to May, 1974, FRELIMO fighters shot down 9 aircraft, destroyed 20 vehicles and 2 trains. Five posts were attacked and numerous ambush and sabotage operations were carried out. Altogether about 150 enemy soldiers were killed and many wounded.

### aircraft shot down

April 13: we shot down a 'Harvard' aeroplane which was bombing our zone at Caperivubwe. It crash-landed near our base and on inspection of the wreckage we found the bodies of two pilots.

April 3 – 8: in the course of a counter-offensive against the enemy in the zone of Npalamabweta, 2 helicopters were shot down.

April 14: a 'Dornier' reconnaissance plane was shot down in Fingoe. The 2 pilots were killed. Documents found on one of the bodies identified him as Durrett Patrick Rickman, born September 24, 1947. He carried a Rhodesian driver's licence No. 90978 – Airforce. We also salvaged a FN rifle No. L-451 and a first aid kit.

April 15: a FIAT G-91 was shot down in the zone of Fingoe.

April 20: a formation of 25 planes bombed our zones in Fingoe and Zumbo. We brought down one 'Dornier' and one bomber.

May 4: we shot down 2 FIAT G-91 planes that were bombing the zone of Doela, district of Zumbo.

### attacks

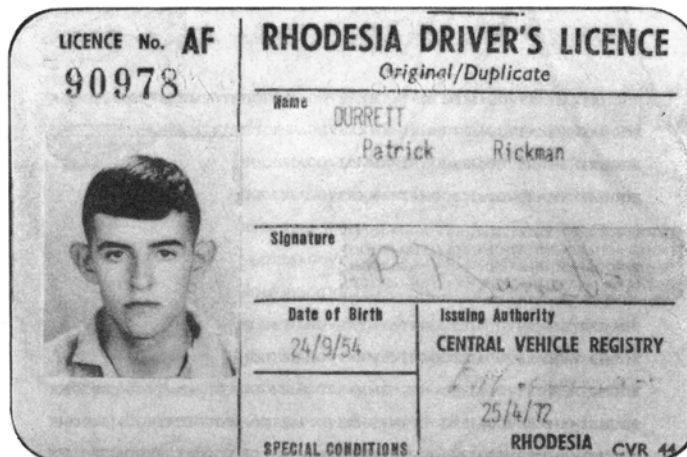
March 7: we attacked the enemy in the zone of Kanchenje, killing 3.

March 19: the Portuguese garrison at Vila Gamito was attacked.

April 3 – 8: our fighters attacked an enemy infantry and aerial force 5 times in the zone of Npalamabweta, between the international road Beira – Rhodesia and the River Luenha. Five were killed and 10 wounded.

May 21: FRELIMO forces assaulted the concentration camp at Chitambe, destroying 10 houses and freeing prisoners. The enemy abandoned the camp.

May 27: we attacked the concentration



Identity card found on a Rhodesian pilot whose plane was shot down by FRELIMO on April 14, 1974

camp at Chibweya which was guarded by 27 puppet soldiers, members of the 'Provincial Organisation of Volunteers' (OPV), and 30 white soldiers. A number of the enemy were killed and 27 prisoners freed.

May 30: FRELIMO attacked the Portuguese military camp at Hamadi.

### ambushes and sabotage

We also carried out many ambush and sabotage operations during which we destroyed 20 vehicles as well as 2 trains on the railway line linking Beira with Tete. The operations took place mainly on the roads Tete – Zobwe; Fingoe – Kaunga; Ndande – Zobwe; Kapalautsi – Chicoco; Tete – Furancungo; Tete – Goba concentration camp; Mucumbura – Mague; on the international road to Rhodesia, and in the zones of Mague, Taibo, Charimbana, Manje, Kanhama, Zobwe and Sachiriri.

## Manica e Sofala

Since the beginning of 1974 FRELIMO has stepped up military operations on all fronts. Thus, in the Province of Manica e Sofala we launched many attacks against enemy posts and camps and carried out numerous ambush and sabotage operations killing at least 70 enemy soldiers and putting out of action more than 50. We destroyed 71 vehicles, 1 train and 1 bridge during this period.

The following posts and camps were attacked:

Mpungo, Mukonambira (area of Gorongosa), Bucha, Towe (on the road Maringue – Gorongosa), Mucoza (area of Gorongosa), Mafuza (between Vila Fontes and

Maringue), Nharugue (concentration camp), Sena (zone of Macualo), Gaia (region of Nhapalapala, Nhamacoroma, Canhimbi (area of Chemba), Maringue, Nhatibarunvu (region of Mungari), (Diwa, Nhachiri (region of Maringue), Mafamba (area of Tamatere (region of Maringue), Mafamba, Cagole (area of Vila Gouveia), Dhemanfe and Banji.

February 25: we attacked a shop belonging to a notorious colonialist Arminio Correia Lopes.

We captured a Mauser rifle No. 33193 and 51 rounds of ammunition as well as a document from PIDE to Lopes marked 'confidential', giving Lopes instructions.

During the month of March we also attacked enemy camps at Nhamassorje, Nhatsalala (Macossa region) Bunje (Mandie region), and a timber mill belonging to Jorge da Silva Barros, in the region of Chiochi, in Vila Fontes.

### bridges destroyed

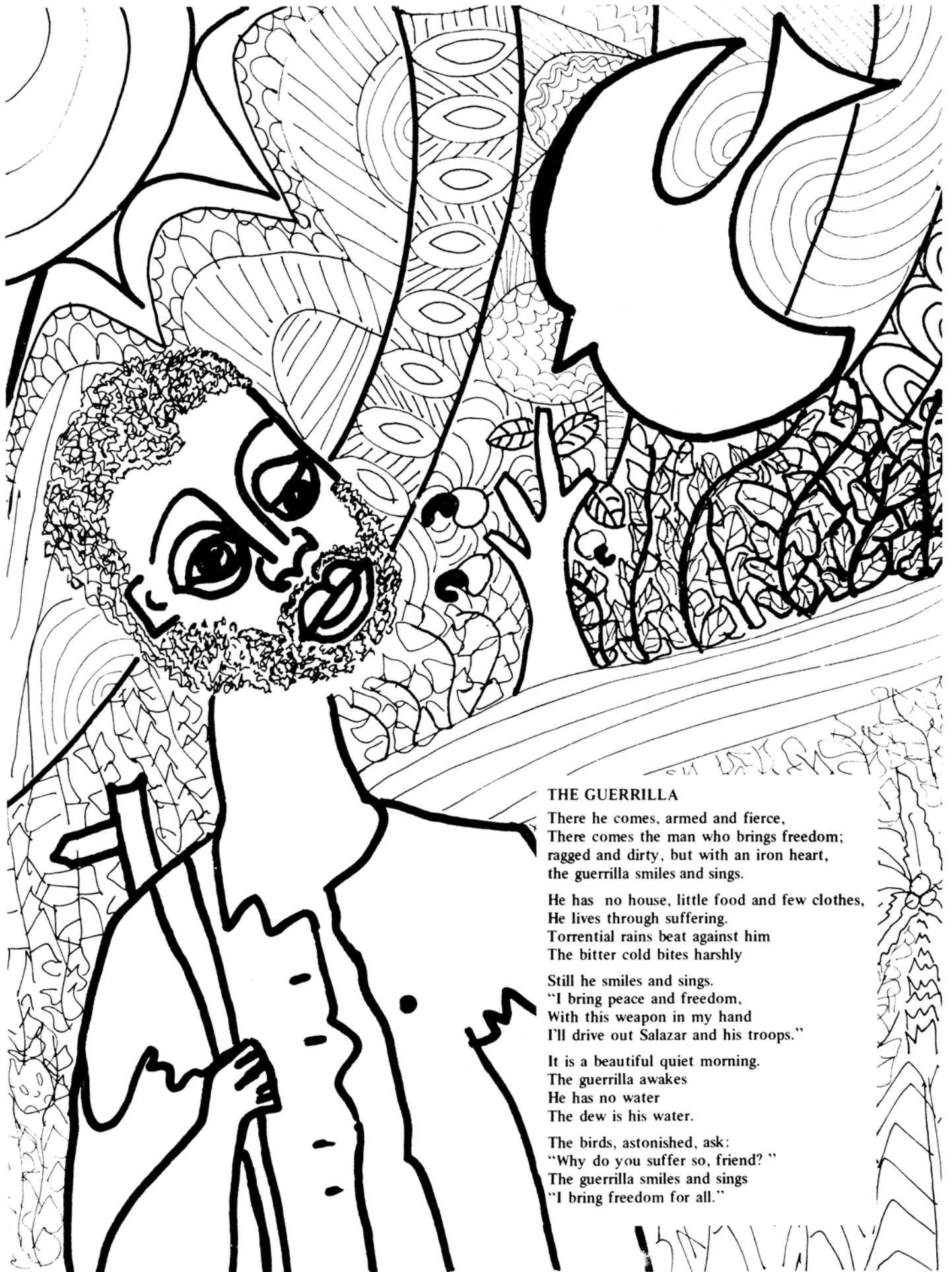
March 25: a FRELIMO sabotage unit destroyed a bridge over river Nhamago, on the road linking Magagade with a timber mill owned by a South African racist.

### ambushes and sabotage

These operations took place mainly on the roads Vila Gouveia – Guro, Vila Gouveia – Vila Pery, Maringue – Canxixe, Mungari – Banji, on the international road to Malawi, as well as in the region of Macossa, Vila Paiva de Andrade and Chamba.

### train blown up

We also destroyed a locomotive and 8 wagons which were carrying coal from Inhaminga to Muanza.



### THE GUERRILLA

There he comes, armed and fierce,  
There comes the man who brings freedom;  
ragged and dirty, but with an iron heart,  
the guerrilla smiles and sings.

He has no house, little food and few clothes,  
He lives through suffering.  
Torrential rains beat against him  
The bitter cold bites harshly

Still he smiles and sings.  
"I bring peace and freedom,  
With this weapon in my hand  
I'll drive out Salazar and his troops."

It is a beautiful quiet morning.  
The guerrilla awakes  
He has no water  
The dew is his water.

The birds, astonished, ask:  
"Why do you suffer so, friend?"  
The guerrilla smiles and sings  
"I bring freedom for all."





The Soviet delegation with FRELIMO militants in Cabo Delgado.

# REVOLUTION SHAPES THE NEW WOMAN

Three members of the Women's Committee of the Soviet Union, Alexandra Marsakova, head of the delegation, Nina Korovina and Tatiana Oskolkova, visited Cabo Delgado in May. On their return they wrote this report for Mozambique Revolution.

«You are indeed going to the liberated areas of Mozambique?» It was with interest, wondering and even envy that our friends in Moscow were asking us this question as we were getting ready for the trip.

And here we are in a FRELIMO camp from where our march is to start.

Everything around us is so new, so strange: all the atmosphere of a military camp, men and women in khaki. . .

And then a young woman, one of those who came to welcome us, rushes to Tatiana Oskolkova. They embrace like old friends.

Two years ago, Maria Sulila, a member of the Mozambican Women's Organisation leadership met Tatiana in Mongolia at a conference of Asian and African women. And now the first person we meet in the guerrilla camp is Maria!

For ten years women of our country have been maintaining friendly ties with women of Mozambique; with great sympathy they follow the Mozambican people's struggle under FRELIMO's leadership against Portuguese colonialism. But never before had their meetings taken place in fighting Mozambique.

As we went on our march we met women and girls in military camps, in admini-

strative centres, in field hospitals and kindergartens, in schools and people's shambas. We saw them selflessly caring for the wounded, giving their warmth to orphaned children, sparing no effort to provide the army with foodstuffs.

From time to time we met on the trail long files of women carrying loads on their heads. Marching for many miles in rain and under blazing sun the women's battalions bring bread, ammunition, clothes and medicines to the front line and settlements. And what beauty is their march! They are real virtuosos! After many hours of walking their bearing is still straight, their gait is still light. And no trace of fatigue. As night falls they sing and laugh.

Conditions are hard in the liberated areas. But this is not the chief concern. What is foremost is the constant worry about the children and relations. We heard many a sad and tragic story from our friends in the evenings after long walks. Fathers thrown in jails for contacts with FRELIMO, husbands or brothers killed in action or taken prisoner. There is not a family which did not suffer the cruelty of the Portuguese colonialists.

Struggle and work help to overcome personal grief. Ten years of armed struggle made staunch FRELIMO fighters of

many Mozambican women who for centuries were ignorant and submissive slaves of colonial and family oppression.

We heard representatives of the Mozambican Women's Organisation speak at women's gatherings and large meetings bringing together the population of the liberated areas. There was so much inspiration in their speeches, they were so skilful and convincing in explaining the Party's policies, the aims and targets of the struggle. It was a joy to see that though the OMM is still young it has active and enterprising members.

FRELIMO and, led by it, the Organisation of Mozambican Women, carry on tremendous work among the women. Yet the process of liberation always takes much effort and time. Women's traditional passivity is hard to overcome, as it is hard to re-shape the mentality of men who grew to believe that women are capable only of bearing children and working in the fields. Many a time we felt timidness and lack of self-assurance impeding the women.

Yet on the other hand it is quite evident that this process is gaining ground from day to day. In Mozambique we met experienced leaders and rank-and-file soldiers, we trekked with them, shared their food and rest. From all we saw, from the

way women speak, execute missions, from their comradely relations with men, it was evident that many barriers have been overcome, that in the liberated areas a revolution in mentality and human relations is taking place not in words, but in deeds.

Women work selflessly with great devotion to their cause. And what is important, they do it joyously and enthusiastically, despite all the difficulties.

Much of what we saw in Mozambique, so far from our land, reminded us of our country's history. Our countries are in different parts of the globe, they are at different stages of social and economic development. However, there was a time when our party and our women faced many problems similar to those being solved by the people of Mozambique.

Today the Soviet women have rights and duties equal to the men's. They are active in the government, they are doctors, lawyers, teachers, engineers. But this did not come overnight.

Speaking at public meetings and meeting with women we described the experience of Soviet people who 57 years ago were the first in the world to carry out a Socialist Revolution. We explained that before the Revolution a woman was a most worthless creature, with no rights to speak of. We told about the large-scale work undertaken by the Party all over the country to combat illiteracy and to bring the women into public life.

Brief as our stay in Mozambique was, our hosts tried to show us as much as possible. But we were, perhaps, most amazed with children. It is one more sector of the front where the struggle is hard. The schools are short of copy books and pencils, of clothes and footwear. Yet there are thousands of boys and girls in schools who learn the ABC of revolution along with the alphabet.

Our days in the liberated areas of Mozambique were difficult and wonderful. We shall remember forever the wooded mountains, red in the setting sun, and the rich green grass thick and tall to hide the long file of people on the trail. . .

Portuguese air raids and artillery booms were a constant reminder that we were in the area where a war was on. But the quiet courage of our companions gave us a feeling of security.



*Anders Johansson, a journalist with the Swedish newspaper, 'Dagens Nyeter', joins a class in a FRELIMO school in Cabo Delgado during a visit in June. Below are his comments.*

## 'THE PEOPLE ARE STILL BEING BOMBED...'

At the very same time the new «left-liberal» government in Lisbon is talking about human rights in Portugal and peace in Africa, its military commanders in Mozambique are bombing and killing civilians in the liberated areas of Cabo Delgado. In fact, the commanders themselves admit an offensive by their air force as a reaction to successful FRELIMO operations. Almost every day, during a two-week safari with FRELIMO guerrillas in the area between Mueda and Nangade, I heard the sounds of the Portuguese air force bombardments and saw wounded civilians brought to FRELIMO's hospital.

Not surprisingly, people in liberated Mozambique are very suspicious and sceptical about the new Portuguese regime and its intentions in Africa. I asked, for instance, a young schoolboy about General Spínola, was he a good or a bad man. «A bad man.» Why? «He is a colonialist and the colonialists are bad – for us».

During ten years of struggle thousands of children have been born in the liberated areas. They know no other situation but the armed struggle, the bombs from the Portuguese air force, the enemy attacks against villages and crops. But these children – continuadores – with their

well-developed political consciousness are the best guarantee for a new Mozambique in the future.

Development and progress were obvious everywhere, compared to a visit I made to the same area in 1968. The people in northern Mozambique do not need a recognition of independence from Lisbon. They have already established their own independence, with schools, hospitals, markets, production for internal consumption and external trade, etc.

The arms used by the guerrillas in 1968 are now in the hands of the people's militia, and the FRELIMO army is able to continue and escalate the armed struggle with new and more efficient equipment. The sooner General Spínola accepts the realities of Mozambique the better for himself and his own soldiers.

Not only the FRELIMO leadership but, first and foremost, the people of liberated Mozambique are prepared for a protracted war. However, one of the most striking observations was the complete confidence of the people in their leaders, in their ability to direct the struggle during its present, complicated phase and to plan for a future independence of all Mozambique.

# Manoeuvres, provocations, crimes...

Since April 25, when democracy was established in Portugal, we have been calling the attention of our people and of other peoples and forces in the world to the fact that there is no such thing as democratic colonialism.

In his message on September 25, 1973, Comrade Samora Machel, our President, explained very clearly: "There is not, and there will never be, human colonialism, democratic colonialism, a colonialism which respects the interests of the people. Crime, barbarity and savagery are integral parts of fascism. There is not, and there will never be fascism without the brutal exploitation of the workers, without tortures and assassination. Portuguese fascism and colonialism commit the most barbaric crimes because that is inherent in its nature".

Today, the colonialists' propaganda, in a desperate attempt to demobilise Mozambican and international public opinion, tries at all costs to show that there has been a democratisation of the colonial regime. However, the reality contradicts absolutely this propaganda. Here are just a few facts, enough to understand the meaning of the so-called "democratisation" in Mozambique.

Last May a bus was criminally attacked at Inchope, a few kilometres from the place where a few days before three truck drivers had been murdered. The criminals are elements paid and armed by the Portuguese state, they live in Portuguese military centres, they are well-known by the armed forces, by the military and administrative authorities.

Not only were the criminals not punished, but the colonialist propaganda tried to attribute to us the responsibility for these crimes.

In the region of Vila Gouveia and Vila Manhica, European farmers were assassinated, shops and farms were sacked. Our forces identified the gang of criminals: it had been formed by the Portuguese, and was led by a notorious PIDE agent, Zeca Caliate. The gang of Zeca Caliate is armed and paid by the Portuguese government, they live in Portuguese military installations. They are told to continue with their mission, while the colonialist propaganda again tries to present FRELIMO as the author of these crimes.

In Tete, in Inhaminga and in many parts of Mozambique, these events are con-

As part of our political programme we have stepped up information broadcasts for the people of Mozambique. This is an abridged version of one of these broadcasts dealing with the enemy's new manoeuvres.

stant. The criminals are financed, trained, armed and protected by the Portuguese military and administrative authorities.

The colonial propaganda is now trying to make people believe that the massacres of civilians and reprisals against the people in the liberated areas were exclusive to the colonialism of Marcelo Caetano, and that the colonialism of Spínola is different. But the reality is that the colonialist atrocities continue as before, that nothing differentiates the colonialism of April 25 from the colonialism of April 24.

Just a few examples: between May 8 and 15 in Niassa Province aircraft and heliborne troops attacked the districts of Mecaloge, Metangula and Maniamba, destroying many houses, shambas and granaries. In Cabo Delgado our zones in the second sector alone were attacked 24 times between June 9 and 13 by planes and heliborne troops. They destroyed villages, hospitals, schools, granaries and shambas.

There can be no doubt that the colonialist military and administrative authorities have detailed reports of these crimes. And, in fact: who ordered them?

Concerning censorship, a special decree issued by the Portuguese authorities after April 25 forbids the press and the radio (exactly as before) to report on these crimes. And this is logical. Colonialism needs a cover of dignity and honesty to continue its war of aggression.

In the zones still occupied by the enemy the colonialist and fascist activities also continue. It is true that some PIDE agents were arrested. But these arrests only took place because of a wide popular campaign. Moreover, when the arrests were about to start, the most notorious criminals were tipped off by the authorities and helped to escape to South Africa and Rhodesia. The pretence escapes of the sinister inspector Sabino and Jorge Jardim are significant examples.

That much publicised "operation Zebra" (code name given to the so-called operation against the PIDE) was aimed at weakening the vigilance of the people and ensuring the safety of the PIDE agents. And there is confirmation: just a few days ago 200 PIDE agents were released in Mozambique, among them the Director of PIDE himself, under the pretext that "there is no accusation against them". The shamelessness of the colonialists goes to the extent of declaring innocent the Chief of PIDE in Mozambique.

Nowadays the provocations are constant in Lourenço Marques and other towns: honest journalists are beaten up and threatened with death, progressive bookshop owners are harassed, reactionaries working for PIDE try to intimidate the students. In an escalation of this climate of terror being built by the present colonialist regime, on June 23, a democratic lawyer, Dr. Pereira Leite, narrowly escaped death when a grenade was planted in his car. Again we could repeat that the identity of the authors of these crimes and provocations are known to the authorities — who are accomplices and encourage them.

The colonial—fascist regime of Marcelo Caetano financed and armed puppet forces. The present regime not only did not do anything to free itself from that heritage, but on the contrary, is trying to use it, in the framework of its manoeuvres against the Mozambican people.

Cynically, the present regime alleges that it is necessary for it to consolidate democracy, in order to be able to later start decolonisation. But the facts show that with each passing day the colonial—fascist forces reorganise themselves and strengthen their reactionary positions.

Deliberately the present regime refuses to kill the snake while it is still in the egg, and is giving it time to grow and accumulate poison.

Faced with increasing colonialist manoeuvres, provocations and crimes, the Mozambican people, united and led by FRELIMO, is determined to continue its victorious struggle for national independence.

Peace and democracy are inseparable from national independence.

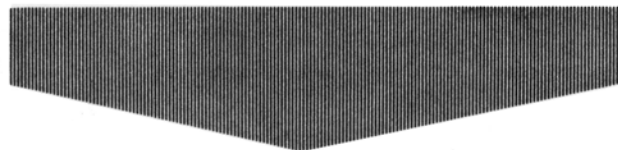
The struggle continues.



# *Solidarity until the end*



The movement of solidarity with the peoples of the Portuguese colonies was given great impetus by the formation six years ago of the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, which later encompassed support for the struggle in Angola and Guine. Continuing our series of articles contributed by support groups abroad we print here the CFMAG's report. . .



The Committee for Freedom in Mozambique was formed in 1968 to try to win the maximum political, material and financial support for FRELIMO in Great Britain. A short time later our scope was expanded to cover solidarity work for MPLA and PAIGC and consequently our name was altered to Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guine (CFMAG).

Initially we faced a difficult situation. On the one hand, Britain was not only a major imperialist power in her own right, but was also closely linked to Portugal via a system of alliances that dated back to the 14th century: consecutive British governments, Conservative and Labour, had been thoroughly complicit in Portugal's colonial wars. On the other hand there was a complete lack of public knowledge about the situation in the Portuguese colonies: most people in Britain in 1968 did not even know that Mozambique, Angola and Guine-Bissau existed let alone that vicious colonial wars were taking place there.

And so at first our activities consisted almost exclusively in publicising the true position in 'Portuguese' Africa — publishing a pamphlet on the war in Mozambique, placing articles in the various left-wing newspapers and periodicals, attempting to address as many meetings of sympathetic organisations as possible.

The first major campaign in which we participated was begun in 1970 against British involvement in the Cahora Bassa dam, and in particular against Barclays Bank, which was implicated in the financing of the project. Through constant propaganda work, through pickets outside company headquarters and branches of Barclays, and through disruption of shareholders' meetings, we were able to achieve a minimal coverage in the British press and were able to build up a certain amount of consciousness of the role played by British companies in Southern Africa.

But our support really began to develop with the visit of Amilcar Cabral, first Secretary-General of PAIGC, to Britain in autumn of 1971: he had talks with leaders of the Labour Party and the Trade Union movement and addressed mass meetings in London and Manchester. The following March brought a less welcome visitor to Britain, Rui Patricio, Portugal's Foreign Minister, and we ensured that all the functions he attended were effectively picketed.

A few months later we learned of the preparations that the Conservative Government was making to celebrate the 600th anniversary of the Anglo-Portuguese alliance. We reacted by initiating the 'End the Alliance Campaign', to date the most ambitious and most successful campaign undertaken by our committee. The planning of the campaign involved the participation of many trade union bodies, the political organisations of black people in Britain, student unions, religious organisations, the Labour Party, the Communist Party, the Liberal Party, the major Trotskyist groups, and the full co-operation of the Anti-Apartheid Movement. In

other words, we set out to work on a broad front involving the maximum number of people possible in the campaign against the alliance. We produced leaflets and posters for mass distribution, and a pamphlet on the history and the present functions of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance. We attacked the government's decision to send the Duke of Edinburgh on a state visit to Portugal as part of the Alliance celebrations, and mounted pickets outside all the Duke's engagements the month before he left. On the actual date of the signing of the 1373 alliance (June 16) demonstrations were held outside Portuguese consulates throughout the country. At the end of June the first national British conference on 'The Revolution against Portuguese Colonialism' was held in Manchester, at which the major speaker was FRELIMO Vice-President, Marcelino dos Santos.

The campaign culminated in the visit of the fascist premier, Marcelo Caetano, to London in mid-July. This visit coincided with the revelations of the massacres at Wiriayamu in Tete province, which aroused revulsion throughout the British labour and trade union movement. On July 15th a mass demonstration, over 10,000 strong, marched through London demanding that Caetano's visit be cancelled and that British collaboration in Portugal's wars should end immediately. Vast sums of money and vast numbers of police were employed to protect Caetano, but wherever he went he found large numbers of demonstrators waiting for him, chanting 'Caetano Assassino'. Particularly impressive was the picket of over 1,500 people mounted when Caetano visited the Royal Naval College at Greenwich, a working-class area in South London. Caetano left Britain well aware that substantial sections of the British people violently disagreed with their government's support for and complicity with his fascist regime.

The End the Alliance Campaign established the beginnings of a mass movement of solidarity with FRELIMO, MPLA and PAIGC. For the first time our work achieved an ongoing and permanent presence outside London — in various parts of the country (particularly Edinburgh, Manchester, Birmingham and Sheffield) there now exist vigorous groups acting with CFMAG in solidarity with the liberation movements. But we still have a long way to go — there is still a great deal of ignorance on the issues involved, almost the entire mass media is hostile to the liberation movements, and the racialism that is prevalent in British society gives an extra dimension to our task. However we believe that a start has been made.

In spite of increasingly difficult domestic political conditions, in which a major concern of progressive people in Britain has been to fight important struggles on the home front, solidarity work has expanded as a result of a greater internationalist consciousness. A major new part of our work has been the launching of a campaign to provide funds and supplies for the health services of FRELIMO, MPLA and PAIGC under the name GAMMA (Guine, Angola, Mozambique Medical Action). Money is being collected to provide complete medical kits for rural health workers and blood is also being collected from donors in Britain for use in Africa. This campaign, besides providing practical assis-

tance, is also a political and educational tool for our work in Britain.

In February, 1974 a minority Labour Government came to power with an electoral programme which included political and material support to the liberation movements. It has been part of our task over the years to work for an improvement of Labour Party policy, and now that the policy exists a campaign has begun for its implementation. The negative role played in Africa by the last Labour government has not been forgotten inside or outside the Labour Party; and only time will show if there has been any fundamental change since then. A British trade mission to Mozambique partially subsidised by the government was allowed to take place in early April, in spite of protests and in direct contradiction to Party policy — a discouraging sign.

Following the coup d'état in Portugal our work has increased, with the prime task of continuing to inform and educate as to the realities of the situation in the colonies. Meetings have been organised up and down the country as well as a national demonstration to consolidate and reiterate support for the liberation movements.

Our commitment is to the total independence of Angola, Guine-Bissau and Mozambique, and we shall continue to campaign on this basis. In the short term this requires building up our work to press for government recognition of Guine-Bissau and an ending of military and economic links with Portuguese colonialism; increasing material aid to the movements from all possible sources in Britain; intensifying our educational work at a time when confusion could arise. In the long term we are prepared for any of the obstacles or manoeuvres that may be used to prevent total liberation, and shall do our best to ensure that in Britain the broad solidarity movement does not make the mistake of ending its work until the need for it is over.



# 'YOU DON'T ASK A SLAVE IF HE WANTS TO BE FREE'

THE 11TH SUMMIT CONFERENCE OF THE ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY WAS HELD IN MOGADISHU IN JUNE. OUR PRESIDENT, COMRADE SAMORA MACHEL, ADDRESSED THE HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT, EXPLAINING FRELIMO'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE PORTUGUESE REGIME'S LATEST MANOEUVRES. HERE WE PUBLISH EXCERPTS FROM HIS SPEECH.

It is our belief that this session will mark a new and decisive stage in the final eradication of Portuguese colonialism in Africa. Conditions to enable our continent to rid itself of the most reactionary and barbarous, the most decadent and corrupt form of foreign domination are more favourable than ever.

In Mozambique, the sustained political action of FRELIMO has made it possible for our clear and correct line to be followed by all the people of Mozambique, from the Rovuma to the Maputo.

The justness of our cause and struggle have won the complete adherence of the masses living in the zones still under enemy military occupation, as evidenced by the demonstrations that constantly take place in all the urban centres.

Without any distinction, Mozambicans of all races and ethnic groups, creeds and social backgrounds, young and old, men and women, are demanding national independence and identify themselves fully with the principles and programme of FRELIMO.

This determination and unity of the people of Mozambique, forged in clandestine struggle, in suffering and torture, in the prisons and concentration camps is what has made possible the constant expansion of the armed struggle for national liberation.

In 10 years of people's war, under the leadership of FRELIMO, the determined and united people of Mozambique have



President Samora addressing the O.A.U. Summit

been able to crush Portuguese colonial aggression.

Thus on 11th May last, during a press conference in Lourenço Marques, General Francisco da Costa Gomes, Chief of Staff of the Portuguese Armed Forces stated:

«The Armed Forces have reached the limits of neuro-psychological exhaustion».

The victory of the people of Mozambique is above all a victory of Africa's united struggle. It is the result of the heroic struggle of the peoples of Angola, Guiné-Bissau and Mozambique who, with arms in hand, are neutralising and destroying the colonial army of aggression.

.....  
In recent weeks, the Portuguese colonial Government has taken the initiative in starting talks with the PAIGC and FRELIMO, the authentic and legitimate representatives of the peoples of the Republic of Guiné-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands and Mozambique.

This is certainly a positive attitude, and it is in accordance with the constantly

expressed desire of our peoples and of the whole of Africa that the fundamental antagonism between ourselves and colonialism should be resolved through dialogue.

However, for the dialogue to be fruitful and not just a scenario intended to demobilise our peoples and world opinion, certain fundamental principles must be respected.

The right to total and complete independence and territorial integrity is not negotiable. It is an inalienable right of the peoples which Portugal should recognise without ambiguity or limitations.

In this respect, we wish to express our disappointment at the Portuguese manoeuvres aimed at avoiding recognition of the Republic of Guiné-Bissau, a State which has been recognised by the whole of Africa and by more than two-thirds of the members of the International Community.

These manoeuvres obviously demonstrate the lack of sincerity and the bad faith of the Portuguese colonial government.

Moreover, Portugal's insistence on holding a referendum in our countries is a part of the same plan.

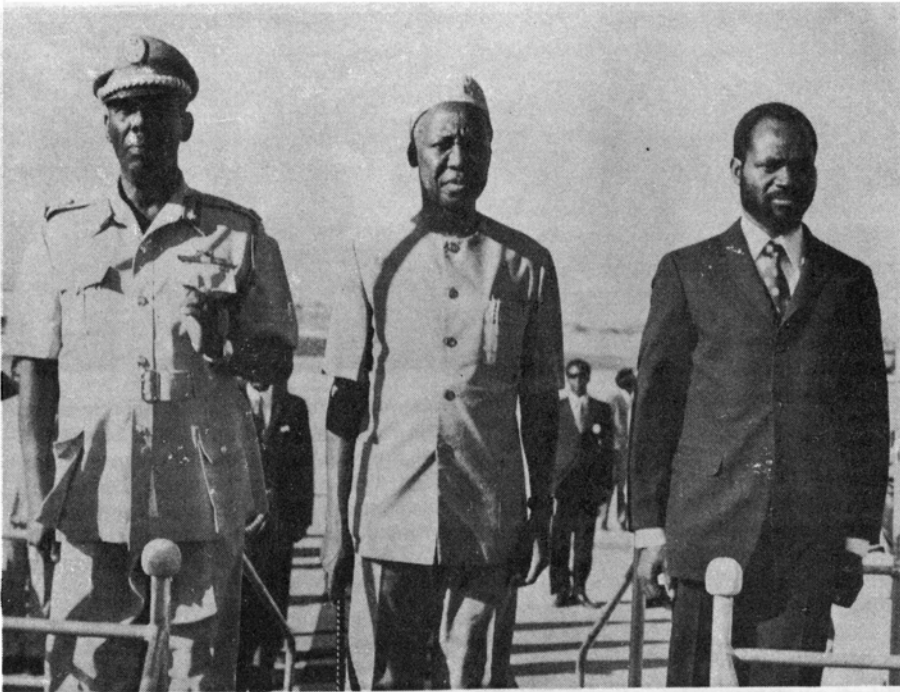
If such a referendum was valid before our peoples took up arms, it lost all meaning the day armed struggles were launched 13 years ago in Angola, 11 years ago in the Republic of Guiné-Bissau and 10 years ago in Mozambique.

The sacrifices accepted and the steadfastness and determination of the masses in the course of one of the most cruel wars in history, have clearly demonstrated the will of our peoples.

The day they took up arms, our peoples affirmed their self-determination in opting for national independence, and regaining the historical initiative they were deprived of by colonial domination.

When a people so clearly expresses their will, to raise doubts about their decision is to insult those who have sacrificed so much and those who have laid down lives.

The United Nations has, in fact, understood this and has constantly called upon Portugal to enter into negotiations with



*The President of FRELIMO and President Nyerere of Tanzania, after their arrival at Mogadishu Airport, accompanied by President Siad Barre of Somalia.*

the Liberation Movements on the basis of the right to self-determination and independence.

By recognising our organisations as the authentic representatives of our peoples and the legitimacy of our struggle, the United Nations has given concrete expression to the reality brought home by the armed struggle for freedom: the peoples under colonial domination have earned their right to self-determination and affirmed their inalienable right to national independence.

The present attitude of the Portuguese Government is therefore not in keeping with existing realities.

One does not ask a slave whether he wants to be free, especially after he has rebelled, and still less if one is a slave owner.

The Portuguese Armed Forces Movement itself realised this and therefore did not wait for a referendum from Marcello Caetano, but took over power, thus creating the conditions for genuine democratic life in Portugal.

In Mozambique, only FRELIMO, which is engaged in destroying colonialism, is equal to the task of establishing the democratic process, as can be seen from the actual life in the liberated areas.

We should also add that having proved in 10 years of war that our struggle has never been aimed against any people or race, since colonialism has no colour just as imperialism has no country, FRELIMO has the political and moral capacity to assert that it guarantees the lives, integrity and legitimate interests of Portuguese citizens in Mozambique. Respect for these principles is an integral part of our political line, and not therefore a product of any tactics or concessions.

It is within this context that we are prepared to continue, as scheduled, our talks with Portugal, which, according to the joint communique of FRELIMO and the Portuguese government, are due to resume in the first half of July in Lusaka, on African soil.

But for these preliminary talks to develop into negotiations, in other words, for Portugal in its dialogue with FRELIMO to respect the right of peoples and nations to freedom and independence, to respect the aspirations of the people of Mozambique and the stand of Africa, Portugal must:

1. Recognise FRELIMO as the legitimate representative of the people of Mozambique in accordance with the relevant OAU and UN resolutions.

2. Recognise the right of the people of Mozambique to total and complete independence in the whole of their territory.

3. Accept the principle of the transfer of the power it still exercises to the institutions representing the people of Mozambique.

.....  
We are entering a decisive period of the African struggle against Portuguese colonialism. We feel that we should at this moment tell you what the people of Mozambique expect from their African brothers.

Our liberation war must continue, which means that your material, financial, political, diplomatic and moral support is more necessary today than ever before, it is decisive.

It was our struggle, supported by Africa and mankind, which gave rise to the present crisis of colonialism. The continuation of the struggle will smash colonialism once and for all by thwarting its machinations.

We say therefore that the «blood bank» which Africa has placed at our disposal should be maintained and developed. We need your unwavering support even more now than in the past.

The political, diplomatic, economic and cultural isolation of the Portuguese colonial regime has been one of Africa's major weapons in its liberation struggle.

Since the liberation struggle has not yet come to an end, Africa as a whole must enforce and increase the isolation of Portugal and pursue the struggle to compel Portugal's allies to stop supporting Portuguese colonialism.

Any hesitation in this matter will only make it easy for the enemy to continue their machinations.

Defeated on the military front, the enemy are trying to regain lost ground on the political and diplomatic fronts through their manoeuvres.

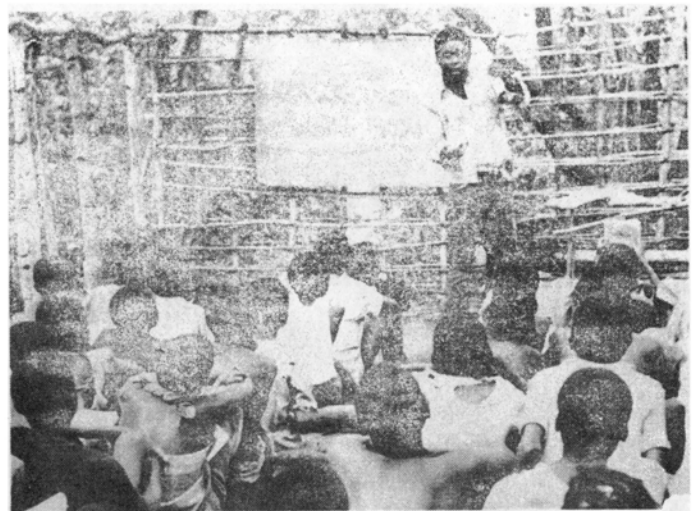
Africa as a whole must engage in the battle to expose and neutralise the enemy's machinations.

To frustrate the colonialist machinations and defeat the imperialist offensive we must adopt a dynamic and operative strategy.

Now more than ever, our vigilance and unity are the weapons with which we will tear the camouflage from the enemy's face, laying bare their manoeuvres.



# FRELIMO LITERACY SEMINAR



From its very foundation FRELIMO has identified education as one of the principle weapons to liberate Mozambique from colonial domination. An ignorant people is a weak and divided people. As President Samora Machel pointed out, in his address to the second conference of the Department of Education and Culture, the role of education in the Mozambican revolution is to create a new Mozambican mentality free from superstition, subservience and other forms of colonial mental oppression, and to develop the capacity to analyse and criticise.

But 98% of the Mozambican people cannot read or write. Hence literacy, the means to acquire political awareness, scientific and technical knowledge, is clearly fundamental to the advance of the armed struggle, national reconstruction and the building of a new Mozambique.

From the 14th of April to the 14th of May a seminar on adult literacy in Mozambique was held at the FRELIMO secondary school in Bagamoyo, Tanzania. Attended by 30 teachers from schools in the liberated areas and FRELIMO's educational centres, the seminar marks an important step in a national offensive to eradicate illiteracy from Mozambique. Until now it has been mainly the primary school teachers, with little or no training in adult literacy and few materials, who have taken the initiative in this field. In addition to their regular school programme, as and when possible they have been teaching the parents of their pupils to read and write. This shortage of trained cadres, and the primary school 'explosion' over the last couple of years, has impeded the formulation and implementation of a national literacy programme. The purpose of the seminar was to make a start in rectifying this situation.

It provided an opportunity for some of these teachers to come together, exchange experiences and ideas, discuss the main obstacles facing literacy in Mozambique and in this way produce recommendations for a national literacy programme.

In their discussions they were joined by an adult literacy specialist provided through the co-operation between FRELIMO and UNESCO. Her contribution centred on the various techniques and methods currently in use and their relevance to the Mozambican situation. In addition, a team of specialists from Tanzania explained the progress and functioning of Tanzanian literacy programmes.

The main theme running through all the discussions was the political importance of literacy, and hence the political orientation of any campaign. The ability to read and

study FRELIMO documents, to communicate among people physically (but not ideologically or politically) separated were considered fundamental to the correct understanding and development of the Mozambican revolution. Likewise, the acquisition of scientific and technical knowledge, education within the revolution, is not an end in itself, but a means of raising political consciousness and advancing the revolution militarily, socially and politically.

Lack of prepared cadres, teaching materials, manuals, and a unified method were considered among the main difficulties to be tackled in the preparation of a successful programme. But as literacy teaching is essentially a political act linked with all aspects of FRELIMO's activities, the seminar felt that cadres should be prepared not just from among teachers but also medical personnel, political commissars, military commanders; in short, cadres should be drawn from all sectors.

The political role of literacy and its teaching will also influence the teaching methods to be devised for Mozambique. The seminar felt that while drawing valuable lessons from the experiences and methods of other countries, FRELIMO must produce its own literacy methods that match the necessities and realities of the struggle in Mozambique. For example, the necessity to combine literacy and the teaching of Portuguese as the national language, as equally important elements in breaking communications barriers between Mozambicans, will influence the teaching of both. In addition, the relationship between 'teacher' and 'pupil' must be clearly defined and controlled in keeping with a people's struggle, eliminating any possibilities of elitism or paternalism.

After a month of intensive discussion, the seminar submitted its detailed recommendations on the launching of a national literacy campaign to the FRELIMO leadership. These included the importance of an intensive political campaign to explain to militants and the people the political importance of learning to read and write. Simultaneously cadres and materials (both for teaching and to ensure the continuity of the newly literate) incorporating the realities of the liberation struggle, must be prepared. Then a national and successful literacy campaign can get underway.

At its meeting in December 1972, the Central Committee of FRELIMO called for a generalised offensive in all sectors of activity to coincide with the tenth anniversary of armed struggle in Mozambique. The literacy seminar formed part in this offensive.

# THE HUNTER AND THE SNAKE

*A Mozambican Folk-tale*

Once upon a time there was a hunter who lived with his father, mother and younger brother in a house on the edge of the forest. There were not many animals in that forest so the hunter's family did not always have enough to eat.

One day he decided to go and seek his fortune. He set off leaving behind his father, mother and brother at home.

After a very long march he came upon a snake bigger than any snake he had ever seen. "Don't be afraid, hunter," said the snake. "Come nearer." The hunter went and stood right next to the snake. "I am old and tired," said the snake. "Carry me home to the top of that mountain." Where the snake was pointing the hunter saw the highest mountain he had ever seen.

He picked up the snake, placed it on his shoulders and walked towards the mountain. When he had walked a great distance and felt tired and hungry he stopped and asked: "What am I going to eat? I am tired and hungry. I cannot carry you any further unless I have something to eat."

"Don't worry," said the snake, "there is a bag tied to my tail, in it you will find all the food you need." The hunter found the bag and in it all the food he wanted. When he had eaten enough the journey went on. They crossed rivers and forests, climbed up and down mountains and gorges and when they were near the snake's home the snake said. "When we arrive you will be asked by my old mother what you want as a reward. She will offer you gold, silver and precious stones. Refuse all that and ask instead for the lucky charm that warriors used in centuries past." The hunter heard but said nothing, for he was very tired and did not feel like talking.

After marching through a few more dark forests and marshes they arrived at a village. It had houses and trees, a water well, hens and goats walking about; it was a village very much like any other village, but for one thing. In this village there were no people, only snakes. There were pretty-looking snakes and fearsome-looking snakes, thin snakes and fat snakes, there were tiny little baby snakes and long and old snakes; there were all kinds of snakes.

At first the hunter was bewildered and a little frightened because he had never seen so many snakes in his life. However, he soon got used to them as he carried

his snake through the snake village.

At the far end of the village was old mother snake, the head of the entire snake village.

She greeted her daughter and the hunter. She began by making a long speech thanking the hunter for having carried her daughter all that distance. Then she said to him: "As a reward you must take with you all the gold, silver and precious stones you can carry."

"I don't want all that," said the hunter.

"Take all the gold, silver and precious stones you can carry in two journeys," said the snake.

"No, I don't want any of that," answered the hunter.

"I offer you wealth, I offer you kingdoms, I offer you a long and healthy life. Accept these gifts as a reward for what you have done."

But the hunter still refused to accept her gifts so she finally asked impatiently:

"What do you want then?"

The hunter answered, as he had been told: "I want only the lucky charm that warriors used in centuries past."

The old mother snake became very angry. She huffed and puffed, she hissed and sighed and even wept like a baby. All in vain. The hunter would not change his mind so she finally gave him the lucky charm.

As far as he could tell it was a charm just like any other charm, he could not understand why the old mother snake had been so reluctant to give it to him. Still he was glad to be free now. He said his good-byes and was soon on his way back home.

It was more difficult now, for although he had no great weight to carry he no longer had a guide to show him the way and warn him of coming dangers. As a result he often lost his way and walked for a long time not knowing where he was going.

When he was very tired and hungry again he cried out loud: "Oh, I wish I were near home, where I can get some food". And all of a sudden he was standing very near his home and he could smell the most delicious food. He was amazed but now he understood why the lucky charm had been so hard to get. With the lucky charm that warriors used in centuries past he could have anything he wanted.

He ran indoors and greeted his father, mother and younger brother. Then he sat down and told them about all his adventures, from finding the snake on the way, to the meeting with the old mother snake and receiving the lucky charm.

But the younger brother was not happy. He listened to the story but his scheming mind was only thinking of a way of getting a lucky charm of his own. The hunter had hardly finished telling his story when the young man ran out of the house and into the bush.

Very soon he found a snake and he said: "I must carry you home to the mountains."

"Whatever for?" asked the snake.

"Don't argue," said the young man impatiently. "I am young and strong and will carry you home to the mountains."

The snake saw the fierce look in the young man's eyes and was afraid. So the young man picked up the snake and so as not to waste time he ran towards the mountains. He ran across forests and shambas, he ran up and down the steepest slopes, he ran in and out of rivers and lakes. When he was tired and hungry he said: "I am too tired and hungry to go on. I need food and rest."

The snake looked at him in amazement. It was surely a madman who had suddenly demanded to carry him to the mountains and was now demanding food and rest. He saw how tired the man was and thought 'this is my chance'. He said to the man: "You fool, I am now going to catch you and eat you. I never asked you to carry me. I was afraid of you. Now that you are tired and hungry I am the stronger one and will eat you up."

Hearing this the young man started running for his life but he knew he could not go far. He was much too tired.

Meanwhile the hunter was sitting alone at home. He was very sad because his brother had suddenly left the house without a word. Was he angry? Was something the matter? Very, very sadly and softly the hunter sighed: "I wish my brother were here." And before he had finished saying it his brother appeared right next to him. He had just been saved from the snake and he now realised how foolish he had been. With tears of sorrow in his eyes he thanked the hunter for having saved him and promised never to be ambitious again.

# STOP PRESS: THE NEW FRONT



As we went to Press the re-opening of the war front in Zambezia Province was announced by our President, Comrade Samora Machel. In a radio message to the people of Mozambique he explained the significance of this development. Here is an excerpt from the message:

... Our victories are further proof of the fact that FRELIMO is the Mozambican people in arms, the unfailing expression of our entire people's determination to win total and complete independence.

Putting into practice this desire and implementing the strategic principle laid down in 1964, of generalising the struggle throughout our country, we have now opened a new front.

On July 1, 1974, our forces launched the armed struggle for national liberation in Zambezia Province.

The first operations against military columns and posts resulted in the destruction or capture of a large quantity of enemy war material.

In the areas where the struggle has begun, those who had been armed by the colonialists to oppose FRELIMO have turned the barrels of their weapons on the occupation troops.

Repudiating the democratic mask behind which colonialism is now trying to conceal oppression, humiliation, exploitation and massacre, the Mozambican people are once again showing their unity and their determination to win national independence.

Colonialist manoeuvres in Zambezia Province to sow the seeds of regionalism and tribalism, to create puppet political and military forces led by notorious PIDE agents and to provoke racial confrontation, are now utterly doomed to failure.

With the start of the struggle in Zambezia Province, the process of liberating land and people, of establishing democratic freedoms and of setting up people's power is now underway in a new region of our country.

.....

At this inspiring moment of our history when a decisive step has just been taken on the road to total independence, FRELIMO extends special greetings to the people and fighters who, having internalised FRELIMO's principles, objectives and strategy, are now beginning the liberation process in Zambezia.



25 SEPTEMBER  
1974  
10 YEARS OF  
PEOPLE'S  
WAR

O LIVRO DO  
ALFABETO

FRELIMO

1974



# DIA DA MULHER MOÇAMBICANA

7 DE ABRIL

