

MOZAMBIQUE

REVOLUTION



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OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE MOZAMBIQUE LIBERATION FRONT
FRELIMO

JANUARY - MARCH, 1974

No. 58

DEPARTMENT OF INFORMATION
P.O. BOX 15274
DAR ES SALAAM TANZANIA

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Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Frelimo)

(MOZAMBIQUE LIBERATION FRONT)



ADDRESS

TELEGRAPHIC FRELIMO
PHONE 28521
P.O. Box 15274
201 Nkrumah Street
DARESSALAAM
TANZANIA

11 October, 1972

Ref. _____
No. _____

Liberation Support Movement,
Richmond, B.C.
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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.

Cover Photo -

Tadahiro Ogawa

Frelimo's role in the Portuguese crisis

What is happening in Portugal?

In the early hours of March 15, President of the Republic Américo Tomás, Prime Minister Caetano and senior members of the government were hurriedly taken by the security forces to a heavily-guarded bunker in the Monsanto hills near Lisbon. They were being threatened by military forces which were marching on the capital in a move to topple the regime. The mutiny was crushed, but not the feeling that had inspired it. In the course of the following days more than 200 officers were arrested, while hundreds of others were interrogated by the PIDE. About 4 months earlier an attempted military coup had led to the arrest of other military men.

More or less at the same time, a large number of officers — principally captains — issued a document in which they declared that they refused to be the scapegoats of the colonial war, contested the representativity of the present regime, and demanded a political solution to the problem of the colonies, a solution which «should take into consideration the uncontroversial and irreversible reality of the profound aspirations of the African peoples to govern themselves. . .»

Meanwhile, the Deputy Chief of Staff of the Portuguese Armed Forces, General António Spínola, a fascist, former governor of Guiné, extolled as a national hero in Portugal, published a book in which he recognises, among other things, that Portugal cannot win the colonial war; and that the present government, to the extent that it refuses to accept this reality and does not heed the political solutions that he, Spínola, proposes, is leading the country to ruin. A few days after the publication of the book, both Spínola and the Chief of Staff who had supported him were dismissed.

In the Church there is the same climate of dissent: many priests contest the Portuguese colonial presence in Africa from their pulpits. The Bishop of Oporto, the second largest town in Portugal, has openly criticised the missionary agreement of 1940 between Portugal and the Vatican, in a homily which was read in over 600 dioceses. Other

priests are refusing to serve in the army. Several faculties have already been paralysed for some months and there are constant student strikes motivated by political and academic demands.

The country is becoming depopulated: there are over 1.500.000 emigrants abroad, that is about one-third of Portugal's labour force. More than 100.000 young desertors are scattered throughout Europe. More than 74.000 Portuguese soldiers have died or been disabled in the colonial wars, according to the regime's statistics.

The cost of living is becoming unbearable — prices rose by 21 per cent in 1973. And in January 1974 they increased by a further 15 per cent.

It is obvious that such a crisis occurring in a country with a long-standing fascist dictatorship, which until a few years ago boasted of being «an oasis of stability in a world torn by revolutionary extremism» is no accident. It has very clear causes, some long-term and some very immediate. Among the long-term causes are the colonial wars in Angola, Mozambique and Guiné, which have been going on for more than a decade, and which are gradually eroding the Portuguese system; together with the power struggle among the various fascist groups. The immediate cause appears to be the great victories the liberation movements have been achieving over the past few months.

The recent Portuguese crisis was in fact triggered off by a report made by the Chief of Staff of the Portuguese Armed Forces, General Costa Gomes, upon his return from Mozambique in January. The purpose of his visit was to study the causes of a big settler demonstration against the armed forces in Beira. The demonstration was organised by capitalist circles in the region seriously worried about the economic harm FRELIMO was doing to them. Costa Gomes studied the military situation in Mozambique and was convinced that the army is being inexorably defeated. A few days after his return he allowed Spínola to publish his book.

The Portuguese Chief of Staff could reach no other opinion than the one he formed as a result of his

visit to Mozambique. FRELIMO has consolidated its control over Cabo Delgado and Tete, has reinforced Niassa, has already reached the centre-south zone of Mozambique, and is seriously affecting the colonial economic, political and military structure. A South African newspaper the «Star», in its weekly issue of February 23, states that «even the most ardent detractors now grudgingly admit that FRELIMO guerrilla attack on Mozambique is making formidable strides». High-ranking officers in Mozambique recently sent a letter to the government asking for an increase in the number of soldiers and in the quantity and quality of equipment, adding that «otherwise we decline all responsibility for the evolution of the situation». (It was in reply to this demand that Caetano hurriedly sent 10,000 more soldiers to Mozambique). The contradictions between the civilians and the army are reaching great proportions, as shown by the Beira demonstrations. The Governor of Beira, Colonel Sousa Teles, was dismissed last February after having declared in Lourenço Marques that «Beira is contaminated by guerrillas». He has lost one son and another has been gravely wounded in the war. At the latest meeting of the National Assembly in Lisbon, one of the deputies referred to «the gravity of the latest heavy attacks registered in Mozambique, which constitute a political reality which cannot be ignored or underestimated»; he asked for an increase in police and security forces in that Province. Another deputy for Mozambique, Gonçalves de Mesquitela, was even more bold and realistic: «We are living through difficult times in Mozambique. All of us have evidence of this. The loss in goods and in human lives is greater than ever before. The ferocity of the enemy is more wild than in previous periods. The military are suffering. . . all those who live there are suffering. . . doubting if what is being done is sufficient to contain the wave which destroys and corrupts. . .» The picture that emerges from these facts and statements is very clear and enables us to understand the connection between the crisis of the Portuguese regime and the development of our liberation struggle.

It is against this background that a movement is asserting itself in Portugal and the colonies (particularly in Mozambique) which, aware of the inevitability of military defeat, is seeking to ensure the perpetuation of exploitation through political manoeuvres. In essence, these manoeuvres are attempts to demobilise the peoples in the colonies, to alienate them from the struggle for independence through promises of economic, political and social reforms. One of the most typical representatives of this movement is Antonio de Spínola. We examine his positions in detail in an article in this bulletin. Apart from Spínola, similar theses have

appeared. Caetano himself is the promoter of one of them, what he calls «progressive autonomy». All of them have a point in common: they claim that the colonies should be given more autonomy, *within the framework of the Portuguese nation, the colonies remaining under Portugal's guidance*. The formulae vary as do the means proposed, but the objective is always the same, dictated by the overriding preoccupation clearly revealed by Spínola on page 234 of his book: «The Overseas territories are a prerequisite for our survival as a free and independent nation. Without the African territories, the country (Portugal) will be reduced to a voiceless corner of a gigantic Europe and will have no possible trump cards to play to assert itself in the concert of nations. . . » This is clear enough and requires no comment. None of the so-called «liberal» positions emerging from the colonial system envisages or much less accepts the independence of our country and people. It is on these grounds that we reject them.

Ever since we have existed as a liberation movement, we have sought a negotiated solution for the problem of the independence of our country. The programme drawn up by the First Congress of FRELIMO in 1962, advocated the use of all means in the struggle against colonialism. And indeed in the first two years, we concentrated on a negotiated solution. It was only in the face of the refusal of the Portuguese government to negotiate with us that we decided to resort to armed struggle, always regarding it as a form of political struggle and combining it with other forms of struggle. Thus, for example, we co-operate with the progressive forces in Portugal which are exerting pressure on their government to recognise our right to independence. Internationally through diplomatic action we try to achieve the complete isolation of Portugal, in the hope that the moral pressure of universal condemnation will make Portugal recognise that its colonial policy is wrong and unjust.

We have also had successes in these fields of struggle. In Portugal a popular movement of opposition to the government, as the colonial warmonger, and of solidarity with our peoples, is taking shape. Internationally, Portugal is really isolated. However, the reaction of the colonial-fascist government, as exemplified by Caetano's statement in March when he declared that Portugal will not negotiate with the liberation movements, shows that moral pressure has no effect on it. The only language it understands is the language of force. That is why we are obliged to continue and intensify the liberation struggle — always remaining open to negotiation, on condition, of course, that the Portuguese Government is in good faith if and when it approaches us, and prepared to accept the will of our people as regards the extent and form of independence.

«Comrades,

At its meeting in December 1972 the Central Committee called for the popularisation of FRELIMO's political line and the struggle. In other words, to prepare our fighters and the people to assume the political line of the organisation, to arm our class ideologically so that all enemy manoeuvres can be destroyed.

It is in fact imperative that the political line lives in the very flesh of every Mozambican, reaching the most remote and distant sectors, so that all people understand and live Mozambique and her Revolution.

We are going to study the political line of FRELIMO, which is based objectively on the interests of the working people, on the concrete reality of Man's struggle. Our political line always corresponds to the level of development of the struggle and consequently, to the people's understanding of their situation and their interests.

Today our fight has reached a stage where national unity is no longer enough, because the fundamental question has now become the triumph of the Revolution and not just national independence. National unity enabled us to start the process of liberation but the dialectic of the process itself requires that national unity be transformed into ideological unity.

Science, and the objective understanding of our country and of the world acquired through the practice of class struggle and production, are the basis of our thinking.

It is this thinking, forged through practice and moulded by science, that will be the instrument to liquidate tribalism, regionalism and racism, the mentality inculcated by capitalism, which still make us consider indispensable to our personality all that which is decadent, degrading and outmoded.

Although the general situation is more favourable than ever for the Revolution — the victory of the interests of the exploited — we are still facing many difficulties, created by the particular kind of society that is traditionally ours.

African society, because it is still in a stage where its productive forces are underdeveloped, is a society sapped by subjectivism, superstition and submission to the non-existent supernatural, torn asunder by false linguistic and ethnic solidarities, dominated by archaic tradi-

In February this year a new political course was started in a FRELIMO Centre. About 40 cadres engaged in various tasks in different provinces are participating in the three-month course, which was opened by the President. Before the cadres got down to work, Comrade Samora outlined the reasons for and the aims of the course. His comments are presented here. . .

FURTHER ADVANCE ON THE IDEOLOGICAL FRONT



tions that oppress women and youth and block creative initiative. This is why our revolutionary ideology still has some weak points. Because FRELIMO is a broad front, all the confused ideas that prevail in our society are brought in. We must acquire a correct awareness in the fight against our limitations.

.....
The comrades who were selected for this course have come armed with long experience acquired in the various fields of our struggle. Your consciousness has been enriched through practice, and thus our task will be to synthesise this practice, free it from subjectivism and empiricism, raise it to the level of revolutionary

theory, so that we can then enrich practice.

Through this course we shall acquire a critical spirit, a capacity to analyse and thus we will be able to understand the nature of the current war.

.....
What we find before us is no longer Portuguese colonialism alone, which has become a squalid corpse concealing the real enemy, the imperialist system.

That is why a people's war is necessary, as the instrument to mobilise and organise the invincible strength of the broad masses of the people, conscious of these interests and determined to defend them.

Unlike the capitalists who define the People as that part of the nation which doesn't know what it wants, we consider the organised People as the motive force of the Revolution, the force that is winning the war and defending the organisation.

.....
 We have seen reactionaries in our midst opposing people's war, alleging that it took too long.

In fact they feared the process of the war itself, which was raising the consciousness of the people, and leading to the formation of an organised vanguard of the working people. They were opposed to the people's war in order to block the course of the ideological education of the masses and the class struggle that this implies. This would then enable a handful of new exploiters to grab the benefits of our fight and our sacrifices.

To smash reactionary ideas and forces right now is to defend the Revolution, to destroy the snake in the egg. By their very nature, reactionaries join with imperialism, especially after independence. It's our task to stop and neutralise them while they are weak and have no power. If we don't we shall be exterminated without pity and exploitation and oppression will again be loaded on the backs of the people.

.....
 This course has as one of its aims the

unity of the people. To unite the people doesn't mean to lump them all together, but to make them conscious of their interests, and to organise them in defence of these interests. This course will prepare cadres of the movement who, like young plants, will be transplanted throughout the whole country, with the task of instilling the new consciousness and organising the vanguard.

.....
 Every society creates its own structures: capitalism which exploits the workers denies them their role as the motive force and leaders of society. We, who are workers and who know that everything is the result of work and that we are formed by work, we create the structures that serve the workers. Thus we learn to serve the people and not to put the people at the service of us. It is this essence of workers' consciousness that the course must transmit.

.....
 We are opening a school which is revolutionary both in its nature and its function.

It's a school where the teacher must learn from the student, in which there must be no paternalism or superiority complexes. The pupils are going to learn from the teacher and bring in their own experiences, so that they all learn together. Everyone must bring to the discussion the problems encountered when working with the people, so that together

they find the appropriate solutions.

We need to organise the people, production, the schools, and make a conscious effort to engage the Mozambican woman in the revolution.

We must recognise that there are difficulties, especially because the level of our consciousness still doesn't correspond to the demands of the Revolution.

The emancipation of women is a case in point.

There are comrades who learn by heart grand words about women's emancipation, but who in practice impede the advance of women and create many obstacles to prevent them from occupying a position of responsibility. There are those who talk of emancipation and at the same time defend polygamy, one of the most archaic expressions of feudal domination. Capitalists have a habit of saying that a woman is an animal with long hair and short ideas, thus feeding and reinforcing the complexes that we have inherited.

.....
 With this course we are opening the most difficult front, that of ideological struggle, which is more subtle and has decisive consequences. Opening a front with gunfire is much less decisive than opening this kind of front. We must therefore concentrate our forces and defend it, being aware that the enemy will spare no efforts in trying to destroy it.



COMRADE ARISTIDES PEREIRA, SECRETARY-GENERAL PAIGC - COMRADE LUIS CABRAL, PRESIDENT STATE COUNCIL REPUBLIC GUINÉ-BISSAU

OCCASION 20 JANUARY ANNIVERSARY HEINOUS CRIME OF PORTUGUESE COLONIALISTS AGAINST PEOPLE OF GUINÉ AND CABO VERDE AGAINST ALL PEOPLES UNDER PORTUGUESE COLONIAL DOMINATION AND PROGRESSIVE FORCES WHOLE WORLD WE REITERATE CERTAINTY PAIGC CARRIES OUT NOBLE IDEAS OUR COMRADE IN ARMS AMILCAR CABRAL STOP THE FIGHT OF AMILCAR CABRAL FOR UNITY FREEDOM PEOPLE GUINÉ CABO VERDE FOR SOLIDARITY PAIGC FRELIMO MPLA MLSTP CONTINUES THROUGH INTENSIFICATION OUR PRESENT STRUGGLE AND WILL PROCEED UNTIL COMPLETE LIQUIDATION PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM IMPERIALISM STOP HIS SACRIFICE CONTINUES TO INSPIRE OUR VICTORY STOP MOZAMBICAN PEOPLE FRELIMO PAY TRIBUTE MEMORY GREAT FIGHTER LEADER PEOPLE GUINÉ CABO VERDE REAFFIRM FRIENDSHIP SOLIDARITY FRATERNITY PAIGC PEOPLE GUINÉ CABO VERDE REPUBLIC GUINÉ-BISSAU

A LUTA CONTINUA

**SAMORA MACHEL
 PRESIDENT FRELIMO**



WAR COMMUNIQUE

Manica e Sofala

During the months from September, 1973 to March, 1974, FRELIMO military activities in Manica e Sofala province were greatly intensified, our main targets being the railway lines and the enemy posts and concentration camps, 14 of which we attacked. We destroyed 2 aeroplanes, sabotaged 11 trains, destroyed vehicles and equipment of various types (including tractors, water pumps, cotton-planting machines, etc.), and killed more than 55 enemy soldiers.

attacks

Our fighters attacked 14 posts and concentration camps during this period, the most important being on 1 January when we attacked the water supply installations for the town of Inhaminga and destroyed 2 water pumps; 23 January, the attack against the military headquarters of Inhaminga. We destroyed a barrack, the soldiers' mess and killed 15 of the enemy. On 27 January we blew up an army barrack at Goronga which had formerly been a mission school but had been converted for army use; 27 January, we destroyed 2 motors which pump water to the town of Muanza; and on 12 February when we attacked a timber-mill 'Reginald Tully',

destroying 2 cars, 3 tractors and the diesel fuel depot.

operations against trains

We carried out numerous operations on the railway lines connecting Beira with Malawi and Rhodesia. We particularly mention the operations of 13 January when we derailed a locomotive and 8 wagons which were transporting coal from Moatize to Beira; 15 January, when we ambushed a train on the Beira - Malawi line in the zone between Inhaminga and Khunduwe, 126 kms. from Beira. The locomotive was derailed, several enemy soldiers, including an officer, were wounded by our fire, and the line was only reopened to traffic 2 days later. In another operation on 3 February, our comrades destroyed a train loaded with cement and goods on the section between Khunduwe and Muanza.

aircraft shot down

February 21: our fighters shot down an aeroplane belonging to a big cotton plantation owner called Nobre. The plane was overflying the farm which is in the region of Nhangua and it came down in a small lake nearby. Our comrades then entered the farm and destroyed 2 engines.

February 24: FRELIMO forces penetrated the airfield of a textile factory located between Vila Fontes and Murraça and destroyed its aeroplane. Parts of the plane were then taken to a FRELIMO base.

ambushes and sabotage

In the many ambush and sabotage operations we carried out in the areas of Marale, Maringwe, Goronga, Vila Fontes, Quinha and on the roads Goronga - Pedreira, Dondo - Inhaminga, Inhaminga - Nhabawa and Vila Manica - Vila Pery, we destroyed more than 11 vehicles and killed many of the enemy.

Niassa

FRELIMO forces launched an offensive in Niassa province from September, 1973 to February, 1974. Amongst the most important operations was the paralysation of the railway line from Catur to Vila Cabral and the attack on the enemy post of Valadim. We also launched attacks against enemy posts, concentration camps, shot down a reconnaissance plane and carried out a number of ambush and sabotage operations. In these actions about 70 enemy soldiers were killed, 12 military vehicles destroyed, arms captured and 21 people freed from enemy captivity.

attacks

September 21, 1973: FRELIMO combatants attacked a patrol near the post of Maniamba. Two enemy soldiers were killed.

December 26: our comrades attacked the concentration camp at Chiulica. Ten enemy soldiers were killed.

February 6, 1974: a large concentration of FRELIMO forces attacked the enemy post of Valadim which serves as a centre for the concentration and distribution of Portuguese troops. In this attack more than 40 Portuguese soldiers were killed, 8 barracks were destroyed, the garage and workshops were hit and the fuel depot was burned down.

March 4: Our forces operating in the region of Maniamba liberated 14 people from the strategic hamlet at Mecaloge.

aircraft shot down

December 17, 1973: FRELIMO fighters

shot down a reconnaissance plane which was flying over the zone of Nkalapa.

ambushes and sabotage

A series of sabotage operations carried out by our comrades from 20 to 30 January, resulted in the destruction of the railway line in the zone of Catur, thus cutting the rail communication between Nova Freixo and Vila Cabral, the capital of Niassa Province.

Our ambush and sabotage operations were concentrated in the zones of Cobue, Metangula, on the road between Maniambia and Vila Cabral. Altogether 12 vehicles were destroyed, 20 enemy soldiers killed and 7 Mozambicans freed in these operations.

Cabo Delgado

From December, 1973 to March, 1974, FRELIMO combatants in Cabo Delgado Province attacked and assaulted 12 posts and concentration camps; and carried out many ambushes and sabotage operations. In these actions we freed many people, destroyed 21 aircraft, 11 military vehicles, 1 caterpillar, 2 cannons, 1 generator and captured arms, ammunition, military uniforms and other material. Many enemy soldiers were killed in these operations.

attacks

December 5, 1973: our comrades attacked and assaulted the concentration camp of Nantaruqui. Six military vehicles and 1 tractor were destroyed, and we captured 5 G3 sub-machine guns, 2 radios, 16 G3 magazines, ammunition and blankets.

December 16: FRELIMO attacked the post of Sagal. The attack lasted 2 days. During the operation the enemy tried to use the airforce, but was repelled by our anti-aircraft units.

On the same day, our comrades carried out co-ordinated attacks against the posts of Diaca, Namatil and Pundanhar. The enemy was thus unable to give any support to Sagal, and they suffered heavy losses there.

January 4, 1974: our comrades attacked and assaulted the concentration camp in Ulumbi. In this attack 1 generator was destroyed and the following material captured: 4 Mauser rifles Nos. 889, 18010, 11969 and 15597, 1 sub-machine gun G3 No. 095050, 2 boxes of ammu-

nition, 3 radios, 11 pairs of boots and other material.

February 27: we attacked the post of Ntadola. Some of the constructions were destroyed, many enemy soldiers were killed and others wounded.

February 28: we attacked the post of Sagal and on March 2 and 4 we attacked Nangololo. The enemy suffered many losses in these attacks.

21 aircraft destroyed

January 20: we attacked the military camp and airport at Mueda. In this attack we destroyed on the ground 21 aircraft, namely: 6 Harvard bombers, 3 Fiat G-91, 3 Dornier, 7 helicopters Alouette and 2 Harpoon bombers.



ambushes and sabotage

Our ambush and sabotage operations were concentrated on the roads, Nacatar - Mueda; Mocimboa da Praia - Palma; Montepuez - Porto Amelia; Magaia - Ungura; Panamozzi - Muaguide and Mueda - Sagal. We freed 11 patriots, destroyed 7 military vehicles and killed more than 16 enemy soldiers in these operations.

Tete

Between September, 1973 and February, 1974, FRELIMO fighters in Tete Province shot down 2 planes, sunk 3 boats, destroyed 29 vehicles of different types

(including petrol tankers) and destroyed 2 bridges. We also attacked many posts and concentration camps, blew up a train, and carried out a number of ambush and sabotage operations. Altogether in this period about 220 enemy soldiers were killed.

attacks

From September, 1973 to February, 1974 we attacked 13 camps and posts, killing 60 enemy soldiers and freeing more than 570 people from concentration camps. The most notable of these attacks was the one carried out on November 17 against the concentration camp at Mwasianguwe where FRELIMO fighters freed 558 people and killed 4 enemy soldiers. During these attacks we also captured arms, ammunition and other material.

boats sunk

November 15 and December 17: our comrades sunk 3 boats on Rivers Luenha and Zambeze, killing 16 enemy soldiers.

aircraft shot down

December 24, 1973: our comrades shot down a reconnaissance plane in Kanyama zone.

January 18, 1974: an aeroplane which was spraying herbicides over a maize field in a FRELIMO-controlled area, was shot down. It tried to reach Rhodesia after it had been hit and crashlanded near the border.

bridges destroyed

January 18: we destroyed a bridge on River Dangué.

train blown up

February 22: the locomotive of a train going from Mutarara to Moatize was blown up with explosives.

ambushes and sabotage

Our ambush and sabotage operations took place on the roads Tete - Chioco, Chioco - Chinhanda, Tete - Cahora Bassa, Tsongano - Ndandi, Vasco da Gama - Tete, Tete - Nyangama, Moatize - Zobue, Changara - Rhodesia, Catipto - Canchira and Katondo - Kawili.

We also carried out operations in the zones of Caldas Xavier, Doa, Mikobezi, Micitu, Chicoa, Mandie, Massangano, Tete, Gama, Cahora Bassa, Vila Coutinho, Moatize, Zobue, Mocumbura, Chinhanda, Chioco, Luia and Kapanhatola. In these operations more than 130 enemy soldiers were killed and 21 vehicles destroyed.

VISITORS IN FREE MOZAMBIQUE

Mr. Pierre Bungener, Chairman of the Swiss Anti-Apartheid Movement and Director of the Institute of the Geneva Institute of Development Studies, visited Cabo Delgado in March as a guest of FRELIMO. On his return he was interviewed by MR about his visit.

Q: Mr Bungener, can you tell us why did you first contact FRELIMO?

A: I didn't do it out of political commitment. As the director of a scientific institute, I was seeking rather to understand the reasons for your war, the mechanisms of the emergence of national consciousness. Too many people in my country are convinced that there is no true civilisation apart from in Europe and therefore that if it hadn't been for a few blunders, Portugal would have led you along the right path. They imagine that behind your action is the ambition of a few trouble-makers manipulated by foreigners, or even a sort of inability of non-European societies to come out of 'savagery' (excuse the term).

I also wanted to know from where you draw your strength which in ten years has enabled you, with very limited means, not only to hold out against a military force infinitely superior to your own, but even to show that the more time passes, the less the Lisbon government has the situation under control.

Q: Was this your first visit to Mozambique?

A: In this way yes. But 20 months ago I accepted an invitation from Portugal. I spent 3 weeks in Angola and Mozambique. With regard to that visit, permit me to be frank. Owing to my concern to be fair, I returned undecided. Of course I am not talking about the way the army and police try to maintain control over parts of these countries, you know this better than I do. However, public opinion did appear to be divided and often more blind than ill-intentioned. As regards the improvement of living conditions, an obvious leap in education, better equipment, attempts at better methods of development and even greater participation in the areas I visited, impressed me. I said so. Of course, it was clear that that was a reaction to the revolution. The colonial power was trying to prove that it was in a better position to fulfil the promises of the 'terrorists'.



ONE MAN'S VIEW OF TWO ZONES OF MOZAMBIQUE

On returning to Lisbon, however, I pointed out what appeared to me to be two serious mistakes of analysis. In the first place the Portuguese government was dreaming of a past which was hiding the requirements of the future from it. Concerned with preserving rather than building, it had a very poor understanding of the constraints of the present. Forced to depend on foreign capital and even foreign initiative in this effort, it was increasingly losing that which it claimed to be saving and was preparing to substitute one kind of dependence for another.

At the same time, it seemed absurd to me that anyone could hope to restrain a people's aspiration to determine their own future and to define their own identity merely by providing them with slightly better material conditions. It was too late. Colonialism had long since proved its inability to bring about that sense of responsibility for his own life which alone makes a man. It didn't want this. In any case, too many words and ideas were being expressed elsewhere. A fair consciousness of the situation had arisen throughout Africa and was spread-

ing, making it impossible to believe any longer that the Portuguese road was the only possible and acceptable road to progress. After having raised the question of negotiations in vain, I also indicated my intention to come and see you.

Q: And so you did. What are your impressions?

A: I have just been through a staggering experience. I have discovered what you really represent. Because I have read a little and keep abreast of developments, I thought I knew what a liberation war was all about. But one has to have lived with the fighters, discussed with them, shared some of their exhausting living conditions. . . I learned with you, from your experience — some aspects of which you were kind enough to share with me, that the solutions to your problems must come from yourselves, from your own decisions based on your own reality. It must be a global process, involving the whole people who decide for themselves. Outside solutions or petty reforms cannot succeed.

In Switzerland, the word freedom is still in good repute. It is a part of the voca-

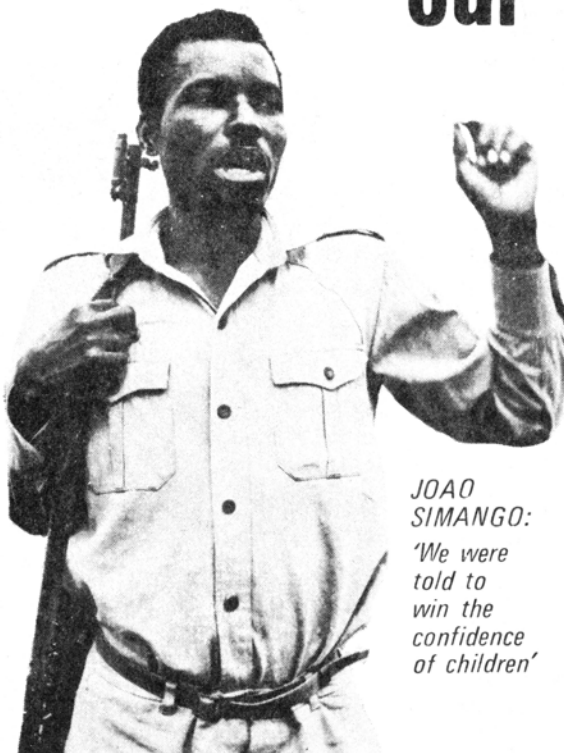
bulary of the decent citizen. So there are quite a lot of people who think: those people also have the right to self-determination. But this is not enough. Independence – yes – but independence for what? I rediscovered that the ultimate purpose was also necessary: the will to create a new society, other kinds of relations between man, and perhaps even a different man. The future is on your side. Here war is enabling a people to come out of a dark night. They had nothing and they are beginning to have something. If they give themselves an extremely firm political line, if they mobilise themselves and accept the terrible life of a war, this is not because of watchwords but because awakening consciousness and a passionate affirmation of themselves. I even have the impression that now, no leader would be recognised if he was not felt to belong to this people which is coming into being.

Q: What do you think of our organisation?

A: There is so much I could say. One should speak first of your desire not to be confined to any system with ready-made answers, but to discuss with the people, to adapt to circumstances on the basis of the rigorous orientation you have laid down. You are waging a war, it is clear that everything must be subordinated to this and yet you are always involved in thinking and rethinking.

I must say that one is also impressed by the total mobilisation which makes it possible to organise, control and supply regions separated by hundreds of kilometres from support bases at the frontier; to ensure trade within the regions, to set up schools and clinics, to increase production and make it one of the pivots of your efforts. We who use the language of development specialists would call all this an integrated programme, and in my view these are the only valid ones. Admittedly, some people are afraid of words. It might be said that giving 'political education' to seven-year-old children is to run the risk of indoctrination. I don't think so. Political education is the discovery of the environment such as it is, of one's responsibilities and constraints and also of one's means of action. In the absence of such education there is no action either and it is a great pity that it is not also a part of school programmes in our country.

Soldiers desert to join our struggle



JOAO SIMANGO:

'We were told to win the confidence of children'

A GROUP OF SOLDIERS IN THE PORTUGUESE ARMY DESERTED AND JOINED FRELIMO LAST AUGUST. BELOW, TWO OF THEM, JOAO MAUNGUERE SIMANGO AND EUSEBIO CHARLES DESCRIBE THEIR EXPERIENCES IN THE COLONIAL ARMY.

My name is Joao Maunguere Simango, I was born in Nova Sofala on 7 May, 1952.

My father was a servant in a large house in the city of Beira, and after 30 years' work he still earned only 2 contos a month. In 1960 I went to live with him in Beira. We were eight brothers and sisters, but two of my sisters and one brother died. One of my sisters died through illness because there was no hospital in our region. The others died in Beira, sick, they went to the hospital but weren't able to pay for treatment.

In January, 1971, I was visiting a friend when the shock police arrived, dressed in black uniforms. Frightened, we started to run, stumbled and fell. They grabbed me and started to beat me with a sjambok. We hadn't done anything. After beating me up they asked me what meeting was being held there. I said that we were friends and were just talking. They beat me again and took me to the police-station. My body was all swollen. Four other friends were also caught.

We were held for three days. They wanted to send me to the forced labour camp in

Inhamgau, but my father managed to get me released.

I started to work as an assistant in a bookshop when I was 19 and earned 650.00 esc. a month.

In 1972 I was called up for military service, and had to pay a fine of 250.00 esc. for not reporting when I was 18.

In February 1973 I was incorporated into the army's Artillery Instruction Unit SPM3534. In my platoon, No. 20, we were 61 people, all African, but the 2nd lieutenant and sergeant, who were in command were European. During our training we were beaten with belts whenever we made a small mistake or seemed slow to learn. But Second Lieutenant Morais in the 1st platoon was even worse. When he was duty-officer he was always beating and punishing us. During this period one of our colleagues died after being kicked by a corporal.

During our training they told us that we should fight FRELIMO because they were tools of the Chinese and Russians, who wanted to govern Mozambique. They said that Mozambique was part of Portu-

gal and therefore could not be independent.

In April I was sent to Boane for special training as an infantry marksman. Here there was the same bad treatment, especially by one particular sergeant whose name I don't remember. After taking a course in the Corporal's School, I was sent to join the 16th Battalion in Beira. We were 15 corporals and many soldiers. We were taken there by a DETA Boeing.

We were posted together with 15 other colleagues, who were later sent to command the OPV.

Before going to the concentration camp, we had a month's training. They told us to win the confidence of children be-

cause they have difficulty in keeping secrets. We had to control the people's movements and hand any suspects over to the administration. On the 1st of August I was sent to Chemba, where there was a company of 'hunters'. On the 9th I was sent to the village of Sossoto.

There were more than 2,000 people in this village. We had to transfer all the neighbouring people into it and build a concentration camp. We had to surround the camp with barbed wire to prevent the people from leaving, except when they went to cultivate. The shambas surround the concentration camp.

We were 14 in all, 13 OPVs and me. All the people were upset at being fenced

in, and whenever I approached they ran away from me.

After three days the FRELIMO comrades arrived and we gave ourselves up to them.

I had been listening to FRELIMO radio for a long time and realised that the Portuguese propaganda was all lies.

So, when the comrades came, I forbade my colleagues to resist them. Many people who lived with us there left with the FRELIMO comrades. We took 11 Mausers, 3 G-3, 800 rounds of ammunition for Mauser and 1,600 rounds for G-3.

Now I am fighting for the liberation of my people.



EUSEBIO CHARLES:
*'Portuguese corporal
often beat us up'*

'THE PEOPLE WERE FRIGHTENED OF US ... THEY DIDN'T WANT ALDEAMENTOS'

I am Eusebio Charles from Sosso in Chemba and I am 31 years old.

My parents grew cotton for UNICOP, and for which they received two or three contos a year. My father had two wives and we were four brothers. When we did not grow cotton we were arrested and taken to the administration post where we had to build roads, work on the administration's shambas. They paid 250.00 escudos a month. This happened to my brother Luis in 1965.

In 1962 I went to work for Entreposto Commercial as an assistant mechanic. I stayed there for four years. When I left Entreposto I went to work in my village. I worked on my father's shamba and also had one of my own. In addition to cotton I grew maize, millet and groundnuts. I used to sell the groundnuts to a mill-owner, an Indian, Mr. Pessa - one 100 kgs. sack for between 300.00 and 400.00 esc. Yet when we went to buy groundnuts in a shop we had to pay between 7.50 and 10.00 esc. for less than one kg.

Every year I had to pay 300.00 esc. in taxes. It was very important to pay taxes. If I fell behind in my payments, my father had to pay. If he did not have the money, he was jailed for two or three months and forced to work in the shambas or to build houses. This happened to my neighbours many times.

With the war the government started to

talk about 'aldeamentos'. The chiefs received their orders, the people protested.

Last year our chief told me and some others that we were needed at the administration post. After waiting there two days, they told us we were going to join the militia. We refused, but the administrator forced us, saying that otherwise we and our families would be arrested and sent to jail for a year.

They took us to Tete town where we trained under a Portuguese corporal, named Eusebio. He often beat us up, and struck us blows, constantly insulting us. Sometimes other Portuguese soldiers did the same.

During our training we were paid 65.00 esc. and we were promised that after finishing the course we would receive 1.700.00 esc. They told us that we had to keep watch over the people and see they didn't run off into the bush.

When we finished training on 9 August 1973, I and the others were sent to the aldeamento of Sossoto.

The people were frightened of us and said they didn't want aldeamentos.

On the 12th FRELIMO came to the aldeamento and freed us and the people. The people were very happy. Shortly afterwards when I went to train with the FRELIMO comrades, at first I was very surprised because I never heard insults and no one beat me.



FRELIMO IN WORLD EVENTS



FRELIMO's President (left) being welcomed to Zanzibar by Mr. Aboud Jumbe, First Vice-President of Tanzania and Chairman of Zanzibar's Revolutionary Council, during the celebrations in February to mark the 10th anniversary of the island's revolution.

In February and March this year, FRELIMO had discussions in Dar es Salaam with government delegations from Finland, Sweden, Holland and Norway. The discussions, which took place in the offices of the FRELIMO Representative in Tanzania, were held in an atmosphere of friendship and frankness.

FINLAND

On the 11th of February the first meeting between FRELIMO and the Finnish government took place. A six-man delegation, led by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, His Excellency Anti Karjalainen, held discussions with a FRELIMO delegation in the offices of our Dar es Salaam representative. Mr. Karjalainen emphasising this fact described the meeting as a sign of the growing interest in Finland by both government and people, in the liberation movements. He announced his government's intention to give support to FRELIMO.

The FRELIMO delegation welcomed the Minister's visit as the beginning of a new era of friendship and co-operation between Finland and Mozambique.

SWEDEN

On 14 February, 1974, FRELIMO received at its Dar es Salaam Representation a delegation from the Swedish Parliamentary Committee for political co-operation and development. The delegation comprised members of parliament from the various political parties in Sweden: the Social Democratic Party, the Communist Party, the Liberal Party, the Conservative Party and the Centre Party.

The FRELIMO delegation briefed its visitors on the current situation of the liberation struggle and described the difficulties and problems we are facing.

The Swedish delegation reaffirmed the support of the Swedish Parliament and people for FRELIMO and the Mozambican people.

Women's seminar

A seminar on «Women and Education» organised with the support and co-operation of the Women's International Democratic Federation, took place in Algiers from the 4th to the 9th March. Participants came from women's organisations in Arab and African countries and included a delegation from the Organisation of Mozambican Women. (OMM).

The meeting was aimed at enabling African and Arab women to exchange experiences of their respective struggles against illiteracy, education, and economic political and social progress.

The seminar debated the problems that still prevent a woman taking an active part in the social, cultural, economic and political life of her country. Studying the role of education in this fight, the seminar also emphasised the prime importance of the struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism.

In its speech, the OMM delegation pointed out that the general advance of women is not only linked to the fight against colonialism and imperialism, but also to the fight against the outdated and negative values of traditional Arab and African societies. Education should play an important part in this fight and be oriented towards raising the consciousness of women and of society in general, about these realities and about the changes that need to be made.

The seminar also contributed to a mutual and deeper relationship between Arab and African women.

HOLLAND

On March 4, H.E. Jan Pronk, Minister of International Co-operation and Development visited FRELIMO's secondary school in Bagamoyo.

The following day in a meeting in the office of our Dar es Salaam Representation, the FRELIMO delegation praised Holland's initiatives to isolate Portugal within NATO and presented a summary of the Mozambican people's struggle to date.

The Minister reaffirmed the Dutch government's decision to give material help to FRELIMO and to continue to try and force Portugal to end its colonial policy.

NORWAY

His Excellency, Arne Arnesen, the Norwegian Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs visited our secondary school in Bagamoyo on the 9th of March.

Later, during discussions in the offices of our Representation, the Minister asserted that his government would always support FRELIMO,

The Diplomatic Conference on the Reaffirmation of Humanitarian Law was marked by two successes: the invitation extended by the Diplomatic Conference to the liberation movements and the status accorded them, as well as the adoption of the principle that national liberation wars constitute international armed conflicts.

The aim which presided over the first meeting of the Diplomatic Conference held in Geneva from 20 February to 29 March was to bring the humanitarian rules applicable to armed conflicts up to date.

Our Organisation was invited to attend the Diplomatic Conference to take part in all the proceedings but without the right to vote. Despite this limitation which prevented the exercise of the full rights won by our people on the battlefield at the cost of heavy sacrifices, this was a great victory for the Mozambican people and for all other peoples fighting for their freedom.

A further victory was the adoption in commission by very much more than a two-third majority of a fundamental rule establishing that armed struggles waged by peoples against colonial rule, foreign oppression and racist regimes in the exercise of their right to self-determination constitute international armed conflicts.

In attending this conference, FRELIMO was mindful of the fact that it is not enough to

and that Norway had decided to increase substantially its assistance to the Movement.

The FRELIMO delegation welcomed the political and material support that Norway already gives us. In particular, it congratulated the Norwegian Government for hosting the «Oslo Conference», in support of the liberation movements.

SWEDEN

On the 22nd of March, Her Excellency the Swedish Minister of State for International Co-operation and Development led a delegation which was received in the offices of our Dar es Salaam Representation.

Our delegation informed the minister about the current situation of the liberation struggle and underlined the importance that FRELIMO attaches to the exemplary way in which Sweden has always developed its political and material support for our struggle.

The minister reaffirmed her country's firm stand against Portuguese colonialism and commended FRELIMO's victories. She announced that next year Sweden will triple its material help to FRELIMO.

adopt documents, but that they must also be applied. Although Portugal is a signatory to the 1949 Geneva Convention, it daily commits crimes in violation of their most elementary rules.

Therefore, if the rules prohibiting barbarous methods and weapons are to be respected, world opinion, the conscience of the peoples of the world, must act to stay the hands of the aggressors. Hence the problem of humanitarian rules cannot be regarded as the affair of legal experts straining their ingenuity to draw up more or less perfect rules. Indeed, the rules have to come out of the chancelleries and become the affair of the peoples.

While welcoming the positive decisions taken by the first session of the Conference on Humanitarian Law, FRELIMO combatants will always bear in mind that the best and most effective way of putting an end to the suffering inflicted on our people by the war is to eliminate the very causes of war as soon as possible, in other words, to put an end to Portuguese colonialism and imperialism.

An African Easter

In Nairobi from 17 - 22 March, the National Christian Council of Kenya organised a «Week of Solidarity with the Liberation Movements in Southern Africa». FRELIMO participated in the week's activities which were supported by democratic organisations, workers and students.

Our delegate addressed a lunch given for FRELIMO by the Press Club, and chaired by Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Burundi Nabwera. He also took part in a round table discussion with Kenyan journalists, organised by Kenyan Radio and Television (Voice of Kenya). Throughout the week there was an exhibition of photographs and Mozambican carvings in Nairobi Town Hall. It was opened by Vice-Minister Nabwera and the Anglican Archbishop.

On 21 March a mass demonstration culminated in a meeting of some 5,000 people, which was addressed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Njoroge Mungai. On behalf of the Kenyan government and people, he reaffirmed Kenya's strong support for FRELIMO and the liberation struggle in Southern Africa.

The Solidarity Week made an important contribution towards informing the Kenyan people about our national liberation struggle.

P. A. Y. M.

The Fourth Conference of the Pan - African Youth Movement that took place in Benghazi, Libya, from the 23rd to the 27th of March, was attended by a FRELIMO youth delegation.

The participants debated the fundamental problems of Africa today, namely the struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism.

The conference reaffirmed the total commitment of African youth in this fight and discussed intensively the expansion and consolidation of the united youth front and the efficient structuring of the PAYM.

The Fourth Conference opened new perspectives for a more conscious and active participation of young people in the struggle for the freedom and unity of our continent, based on the defence of the fundamental interests of the people.

THE REVOLUTIONARY ROLE OF FRELIMO'S HEALTH CENTRES IS OUTLINED HERE IN A SPEECH MADE BY OUR PRESIDENT, COMRADE SAMORA MACHEL, AT THE BEGINNING OF A COURSE FOR HEALTH CADRES.

Comrades,

Today we are starting a new course for training nurses. In 1968 we were forced to suspend such courses and they were stopped for three years. For three years our struggle and our people were deprived of new health cadres. In the past three years fighters have died for lack of medical care, members of the population have died, children have died, because we were not in a position to provide even a minimum of medical aid. In many of the liberated areas, and for many of the people, these past three years were not years of struggle against disease. Our people were forgotten, as in the colonial period, during those three years.

Three years ago we engaged in the battle to train health cadres. We lost the battle at that time. There is no war in which there are only victories for us and defeat for the enemy.

We lost the battle because the political awareness of our nursing students was not such as to permit a true grasp of the meaning and importance of the battle that was being fought, and they thus allowed the enemy to come in their midst.

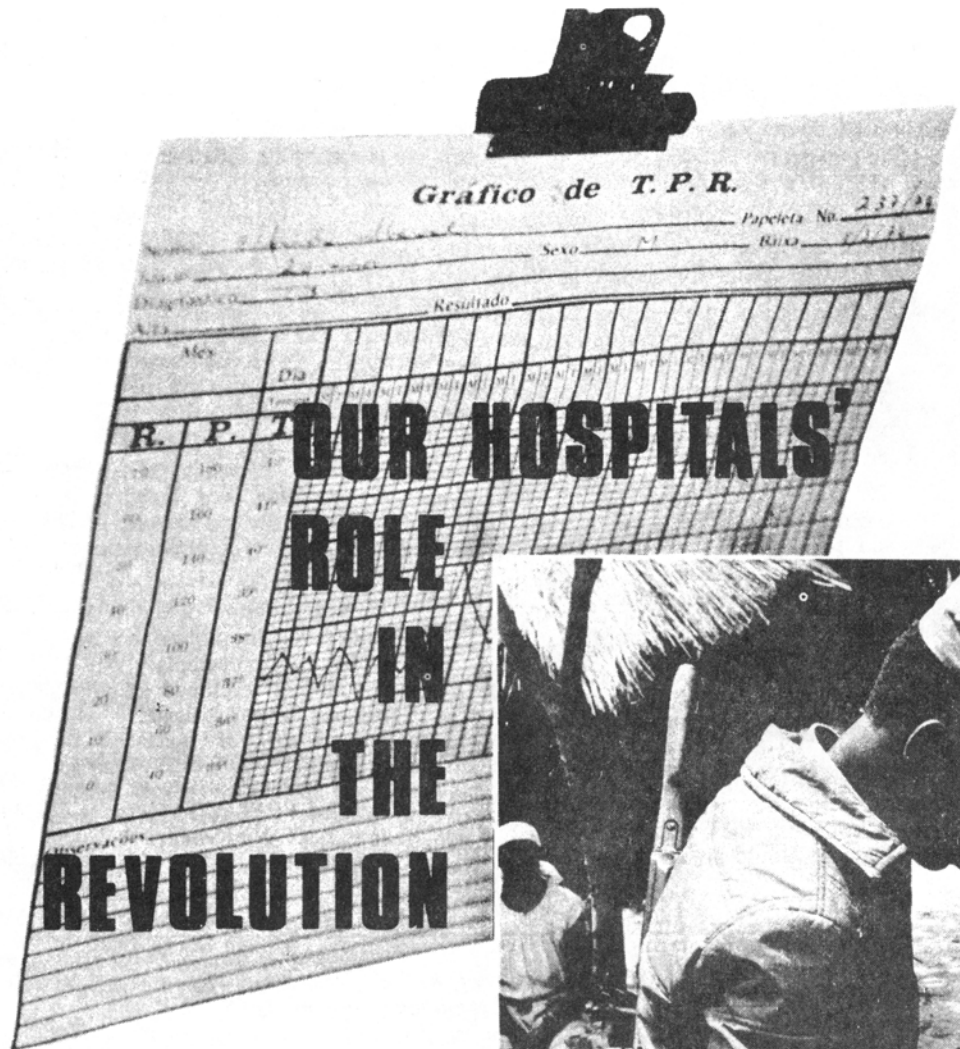
In 1968, our armed struggle made big advances. We were shelling enemy bases and taking them by assault. We were taking Portuguese prisoners of war and capturing tons of arms. We reopened the fighting front in Tete.

The essential struggle for the clarity of our political line and for the development of our ideology made the popular objectives of the revolutionary forces quite clear to all of us.

This struggle involved the health workers. It was also a struggle between two lines in the field of health. It was a struggle in defence of the people's interests in that field.

THE POLITICS OF HEALTH

It might at first seem absurd to talk about a political line, a struggle between two lines in the field of health. It might at



first be thought that FRELIMO wishes to politicise something as apparently neutral as health. In the final analysis, those who believe in apolitical health would say, penicillin and chloroquin have the same effect whether administered by a revolutionary or not, whether given in a FRELIMO hospital or in a colonial hospital.

Yet all our actions, our whole life, are utterly and radically different from the actions and life in the enemy areas.

In the enemy zone, in the colonialist zone, in the capitalist zone, everything is intended to maintain domination over the people, to maintain the exploitation of the people and to provide profits for the capitalists.

In the capitalist zone, in the colonialist zone, the roads serve the rapid transportation of the army and police who seize you and take you off to forced labour. Roads are fast routes for coming to collect your taxes. Roads are used to transport the cotton which you produced but which belongs to the company. They are used by the trader who comes to sell back to you at fantastic prices, goods



which you and your class brothers produced, and for which the colonialists pay starvation prices.

In the enemy zone, schools are for the children of the rich, even though it is your taxes that finance them. If, by some miracle, a poor man's son sometimes goes to school, it is not in order to learn how to serve his people. He will be brainwashed by the school until he is ashamed of his origins, and turned into an instrument of the rich for the further exploitation of the workers.

Everything has a content determined by the zone it is in, by the kind of power that prevails in that zone. In the capitalist and colonialist zone, schools, fields, roads, courts, shops, technology, laws and education, everything serves to oppress and exploit us.

In our zone, because we have power, because it is the peasants, the workers, the working masses who plan and lead, everything is directed towards liberating man, serving the people. This is what happens with the hospitals, the health services.

In the capitalist and colonialist zone, hospitals are among the centres of exploitation. Because what is at stake is a person's life, the lives of one's nearest and dearest, this is where the greed of the capitalist world shows itself most clearly and shamelessly.

One cannot enter and be treated in a capitalist hospital in accordance with one's needs. If one is poor and without power or influence, it is difficult to get a hospital bed, even if cancer is devouring your flesh, tuberculosis eating away your lungs, or fever burning your body. The rich man, the gentleman, the boss, has not the slightest difficulty in getting a room, in finding places for himself and those who accompany him.

Eminent doctors and university professors are brought in to treat the capitalist's cold, to cure the judge's constipation, while nearby children are dying, people are dying, because they did not have the money to call a doctor.

In a capitalist hospital they do not examine patients, they examine wealth. Medicine is sold for its weight in gold. Only those who can pay are treated. Food, special diet, fruit, milk, salad, meat and fine fish restore the convalescent's strength. But they are given only to those who can pay, not to those who need them. Even the ambulance sent off in an emergency to fetch someone who is dying often comes back

empty because the dying man's family cannot guarantee to pay the bill.

In the enemy zone, the rich man's dog gets more in the way of vaccinations, medicine and medical care than do the workers upon whom the rich man's wealth is built.

It is not surprising, therefore, that in the enemy zone to be a doctor means to be rich, and to be a nurse means very high salary. To be a doctor is to enjoy a position of social prominence as an exploiter, to be a nurse means to enjoy many privileges.

In the Mozambique of the colonialists and capitalists there are hospitals only where there are settlers. There are only doctors and nurses where people who can pay live. In Lourenço Marques there are more hospital beds, more doctors, more nurses and more laboratories than in all the rest of Mozambique. Does this mean that Lourenço Marques is the only place where people get sick?

In the mines where we work, on the company plantations that we cultivate, on the roads that we build, in the factories, in the fields, in the villages, there are millions of Mozambicans who have never seen a doctor, who have never seen a nurse, who have never had any medical care when they are ill.

OUR HOSPITALS SERVE THE MASSES

Our hospital is different. It is not surgical instruments, or medicines that make a hospital. These are of course important, but the main thing, the decisive fact, is the human factor. This is why today, for the first time, the people in Cabo Delgado, Niassa and Tete are receiving medical care and vaccinations, and hygiene is being taught in the villages. Yet we have still very little medicine, very few surgical instruments, and our buildings are so modest that from outside one can barely distinguish them from ordinary grass huts.

Our hospitals belong to the people. They are a fruit of the Revolution. Our hospitals are far more than centres for dispensing medicines and cures. A FRELIMO hospital is a centre where our political line — that of serving the masses — is put into practice. It is a centre where our principle that the Revolution frees the people becomes a reality.

Our hospitals are intended to free the people from disease, to make our fighters, militants and workers physically fit so that they can fulfil the revolutionary tasks in which they are engaged. We cure people through the confidence we inspire,



through the high morale we instill in them. Health workers, patients and medicines all combine to free people from disease.

Our hospitals are centres of the Revolution, they exist because of the Revolution, and are closely associated with the Revolution.

Whereas the capitalist hospitals have links with the exploiters, the settlers, because that is whom they serve, our hospitals have links with the people, because they are there to serve them. Thus our hospital is a centre of national unity, a centre of class unity, a centre of clarification of ideas, a centre of revolutionary and organisational propaganda, a combat unit. Medical staff, students, orderlies, patients and society as a whole are all closely united.

In a FRELIMO hospital there are no tribes, no regions, no races, no religious beliefs – there is nothing to divide us. The hospital is accomplishing a revolutionary task. Medical staff, students and hospital orderlies are carrying out the essential tasks entrusted to them by the people. The whole people, from the Rovuma to the Maputo, through their sacrifices and bloodshed, built this hospital to serve them, to free them from disease. No one is sent to work in a hospital by any tribe or region.

As the patients feel the unity of those working in the hospital, from doctors to orderlies, they will unite with the medical and non-medical staff, and they will all combine their efforts to wipe out disease. If there is disunity, there will be distrust; the patient will refuse medicines for fear that the treatment he is being given will make his condition worse.

NO TASK IS MENIAL

We are all united in the fulfilment of our tasks. There are no menial or unimportant tasks for us, just because I might be an orderly and someone else a nurse or a doctor. All of our tasks are essential, even though our responsibilities may be different. Feeling any inferiority complex in the carrying out of our tasks and worrying about whether we are being given big or small jobs means a lack of class consciousness. We all come from the working people and we are serving the working people. Our task is therefore a great one. Any other attitude merely reflects elitism, privilege-seeking, the loss of class consciousness and the adoption of bourgeois ideas.

Just as we disinfect ourselves on entering an operating theatre, so must we cleanse

ourselves of incorrect ideas and complexes which could contaminate our hospital. Just as we put on masks and smocks, so we must always be armed with our unity and class consciousness, so as to serve the people in a revolutionary way. In this way, our hospital will really be a centre of revolutionary and organisational propaganda, a concrete example of the correctness of our political line – a true FRELIMO area. Thus, a hospital performs our tasks fighting disease, moulding people and producing.

Production cannot be separated from our health work. A hospital needs food. Often the local population and FRELIMO are unable to supply the hospital because we are at war, because the enemy is attacking us, because our production is one of the enemy's targets. A hospital must therefore try to rely on its own resources, to be as self-sufficient in food as possible.

On the other hand, we must not forget the importance of an adequate diet in the proper treatment of disease. Patients need to eat properly in order to get well again. Fruit, salads, green vegetables, meat, eggs, fish and milk are the foods containing the vitamins, salts, minerals and proteins that strengthen the body in the fight against disease.

Since a hospital is a centre of production, it is also a centre for the education of patients. We must not neglect any opportunity of heightening our people's political consciousness and knowledge. In our hospitals there should be no inactivity, no laziness. Moreover, experience has shown that involving patients and especially convalescents in activities, boosts their morale and is an important contribution to their recovery.

This said, we should like to suggest that our hospitals should constantly endeavour to widen their range of activities in co-operation with the Political Commissariat and the Department of Education and Culture. We must teach patients and convalescents to read and write, teach them Portuguese, and make sure that they know, understand and regard as their own the cultural wealth of our entire country.

We must organise short courses on hygiene for patients, so that they acquire good hygienic habits, which prevent many diseases.

We want all those who come to our hospitals for treatment to become active disseminators of methods of hygiene when they leave. We must also remember that in many regions of our country people have very bad eating habits. It is important that the people acquire new eating

habits; therefore we should hold short courses for patients in the hospitals, especially for mothers, explaining to them the nutritional value of various foods and even how to prepare them.

We can never neglect political work, since this task always has first priority. A patient's stay in hospital should serve to heighten his awareness of national unity, his determination to fight and his hatred of the exploiting enemy.

It will now be seen why we define a FRELIMO hospital as one of our fighting detachments, a front line.

Our nurses, our medical staff, besides having their specific tasks, are also instructors, teachers, political commissars. The activity of our revolutionary medical staff not only cures the body but also frees and forms the mind. The enemy understands this very well – so much so that they have made our hospitals one of the main targets of their bombing raids and of their criminal troops.

FRELIMO'S THREE ENEMIES

In starting this course we are opening up a new fighting front. In starting this course we are creating conditions to open new hospitals, more centres in which FRELIMO's political line is put into practice. New hospitals are new front lines.

When we open a new front, we can say that the struggle has grown; but we have also enlarged the target, we have given the enemy another target. In 1968, as we said, we were forced to retreat, we were forced to suspend the course. We lost a battle. Today we are re-launching the battle, backed by the experience gained through our successes and failures.

When we launch a battle, if we are to succeed it is essential we know the enemy, define our methods and know where our strength lies. In our struggle, we face three enemies:

- the direct enemy
- the indirect enemy
- the enemy hidden in our midst.

The Portuguese colonialists are our direct enemy. They attack us openly, physically. They come in their planes and bomb our hospitals, they attack us from their helicopters, they send in their troops to murder our patients, to destroy our equipment and to prevent medicines from reaching their destination. Colonialism is the most easily identifiable enemy, because it is open and attacks with weapons of war.

More dangerous, because they are more easily believed than the colonialists, are our indirect enemies, Portugal's allies, those who fight us under cover, behind the Portuguese troops. They fight us with newspaper articles, rumours, slander. Today they will say that we are selling medicine, and tomorrow they will say one or another region is looked down upon in our hospitals. One day they will write that we are incompetent, and the next that the people don't trust our hospitals. And the campaign will continue, to divide us, undermine our confidence and subtly force us to surrender. Every error, every mistake we make will be used by them as irrefutable proof that everything they say is true.

But above all, in order to defeat us, in order to deprive our people of medical care again, the enemy, whether direct or indirect, relies on the work of its forces in our midst. The decisive force that can defeat us is the hidden enemy in our midst, he who holds high the banner of FRELIMO with us in order to destroy FRELIMO more easily.

This has been our experience, this was the main reason for our defeat in 1968, the reason for the suspension of the courses. Having infiltrated its spies among us, the enemy fostered tribalism, racism, selfishness, ambition, elitism, ignorance, superstition, religious fanaticism and corruption. Each of these is an enemy detachment in our midst.

Tribalism divided the students, made them counter-revolutionary and caused them to fight against the FRELIMO leadership, against FRELIMO and against the people. Each saw himself as representing the interests of this or that region, meticulously seeking to assess whether another linguistic group had more students on the course than his, spreading mistrust and disunity amongst us.

Racism led to disunity between students and teachers. Claiming to be very revolutionary, students who had yet to show proof of true revolutionary commitment fought against teachers who had already given ample proof of their dedication to the people's cause, solely because the teachers were white.

Combining selfishness and ambition, the students rejected a programme of studies planned to meet the immediate and urgent needs of the struggle and demanded programmes that would give them diplomas and privileges so that they could exploit the people in the future. They wanted to become an elite of parasites, acquiring wealth and social prominence at the expense of the people's suffering.



Ignorance, superstition and religious fanaticism also caused the students to believe in non-existent supernatural forces, in amulets and stones, scorning science and rejecting the lessons of the teachers, which were founded on the laws of nature, on objective reality. It was in this climate that indiscipline, anarchy, corruption and chaos were fostered.

BURDEN OF THE PAST

The battle had been lost. The indirect enemy published articles in their newspapers on the "revolt of the revolutionary students against the leadership of FRELIMO." The colonialists were delighted and intensified the campaign to reinforce the enemy in our midst: old ideas and the habits of the old society.

Our people were for a long time crushed under the dead weight of obsolete and reactionary traditions and colonialist and capitalist ideas. Many students, cadres, medical workers and leading cadres have still not shaken off the burden of a corrupt past.

There are those who envisage a Mozambique reduced to the tiny scale of one linguistic group or region. No matter how important it may be, no organ can live outside the body. An arm or a leg rots if it is no longer supplied with the body's blood, if it is separated from its unity with the body.

Through the unity we create among ourselves, by the revolutionary way in which hospitals serve the people, we give the masses a concrete demonstration of the need to make the nation live and to ensure the death of tribalism. Just as we kill germs and harmful bacteria to protect the patient, a hospital must be a living example of the extermination of the contagious microbe which is tribalism,

so that the nation may live.

Others seek the answers to concrete problems in the supernatural, which is born of ignorance. They cannot yet see that the answer to all problems depends absolutely on the combination of intelligence and energy with the objective laws that govern natural and social phenomena.

They seek answers in the heavens when answers can be found on earth. Because the people see science at work, because the people see the results of science, because we continually explain to the patients and people the origins of disease and ways of fighting it, our hospitals can become bases of struggle against obscurantism.

The more we believe in mankind, the more superstition among the people will be destroyed. The more our work demonstrates the value of science, the more supernatural obscurantism will be made to retreat.

Some regard themselves as irreplaceable as being all things in themselves. Full of arrogance, they refuse to learn from others or to share their knowledge, rejoicing at the failures of their comrades. By acting in this manner, they are trying to create conditions which will allow them to establish themselves as a privileged class, to exploit the masses and have their own wretched whims prevail. To consolidate their position, they both accept and spread rumours and intrigues, selfishly confining themselves to their own petty interests.

Individualism, selfishness, ambition and arrogance are germs carrying division, incubators of the old ideas of the exploiting society.

Because we have come a long way, because everyone is joining the struggle, we



At a first aid centre in a liberated zone of Mozambique

sometimes find in our midst people who used to be habituated to banditry. These people often introduce their vices into the new society.

Some of them may steal medicines, sheets, or food. Others, betraying the confidence of patients, may use delicate secrets they know to satisfy their taste for intrigue and their ambition.

There may also be those who use their position to try to corrupt the youth, contaminating the new generation with their low instincts. This kind of behaviour has to be fought. A nurse who destroyed bottles of plasma in a hospital would be regarded as criminal. A nurse who poisoned patients would be regarded as a criminal. Our revolutionary morality, our principles, are our plasma, and the new society we are building is our life. Our fight is against our enemy, against those who want to destroy our plasma, our blood, those who want to take our life.

POLITICS TAKE PRIORITY

On the health front it is our medical personnel who are our operational forces. They are vanguard forces in our movement, in our Revolution.

The medical staff represent our political line of serving the masses in the hospital. A strong bond of trust and hope is esta-

blished between the patient and the nurse or doctor who is treating him. The patient associates the alleviation of pain and the curing of disease with the work of the nurse or doctor.

This confidence of the patient and of his family and friends is an extraordinary political asset which we must use to advance the Revolution. On the basis of the confidence that is established, we must help the patient to take the road of national unity, to increase his class consciousness and to learn more about hygiene, science and culture. In short, treatment of the body should be accompanied by corresponding treatment of the mind, in order that the new mentality may triumph.

One needs a vocation, a natural enthusiasm for this type of work. This vocation is closely related to and guided by consciousness and the requirements of the struggle.

Whereas in the capitalist zone, a vocation combined with the desire for profits and privilege is corrupted and stranded, in our zone, since one's vocation is combined with sound political consciousness, it becomes a powerful incentive in our work.

Precisely because we regard man as the decisive factor, in training our medical personnel, priority must be given to political education, to political consciousness.

The experience of seven years of struggle has amply proved that despite their low technical level and lack of medicines our medical personnel have been able to do very much more for the people than the colonialist health services with all their technology and means. With two doctors we did more work than the colonialist health services which have dozens and even hundreds of doctors. These results are evidence of the vital importance of the political line pursued by us.

Political education means above all cultivating political consciousness in the students and medical and hospital staff, developing the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist spirit, increasing understanding of oppression and making class consciousness and feeling more deep-rooted.

Members of the hospital staff are in constant contact with the human suffering caused by exploitation and ignorance. This involvement with suffering should serve to sharpen political consciousness, increase the knowledge of the medical staff, and strengthen their determination to fight the enemy, to fight disease and to fight ignorance.

The medical staff's professional consciousness must be based on heightened political consciousness. A nurse does not have working hours and rest hours. His work usually starts at a certain time —

and he must be punctual – but he has no set time at which to finish.

Disease, suffering and war cannot be subject to bureaucratic decisions. A hospital functions 24 hours a day and seven days a week. Wherever there are patients, wherever there is suffering, there the doctor must be, regardless of the time. This is the only way to serve the people. A war is not fought with rest hours, and neither can disease be fought with rest hours for the medical staff. If nursing students are to get used to this exacting pace, their programme of studies must include at least ten hours of activity a day.

In the course of duty, medical workers are forced to come into close contact with all kinds of human weakness and misery.

Even if they want to, patients cannot conceal their ailments and their causes. Scientific analysis is revealing. It is therefore essential that the medical staff understand the concept of professional secrecy. Their knowledge of weaknesses and miseries must not be the subject of general conversation or worse still, an instrument of ambition or revenge.

The patient is sacred to the hospital. A nurse, hospital worker or doctor is not involved with revenge in the course of duty. For the medical staff there are no races, colours, creeds or even nationalities. To them there are only patients. A wounded or sick Portuguese soldier is treated like one of us in our hospital. We do this because we have a revolutionary morality, a higher morality, a morality radically opposed to the baseness of fascism and colonialism.

STUDY HAS NO LIMITS

We have already said that the hospital embodies our political line, that the medical workers must actively embody our ideology. For this, our words and deeds must correspond rigorously to our line. This is the main thing. If despite our technical and material shortcomings we have already achieved better results in the field of health than the colonialists, this is due solely to the correctness and superiority of our line.

Waging an internal struggle to make our words and actions comply with our line is to create the conditions for the success of our work. Our hospitals must be the daily source of a thousand good examples to the masses of the effectiveness of our principles.

Technical knowledge takes second place. It is important nevertheless. Only the knowledge of the laws of nature and their

use for our purposes will enable us to eradicate disease. There can be no limits to study. No one knows everything, or even enough. So long as there are diseases so long as people are dying, we must study, we must learn.

If we are to be of greater service, we must study a great deal. We must study everything. Naturally we must first study medical science, acquiring the theoretical knowledge that synthesises and rationalises practical teaching. But we must also study and learn from practice – we must study and learn from the people.

We must study society. We must know the traditions, history, culture and specific features of each region, and constantly relate them to the national context.

We must study people, get to know them. Illness exists not in the abstract, but in actual people, each with his own psychological make-up and specific abilities.

Knowing a man is the best way of helping him to summon his energy against the illness attacking him, and also the best way of guiding our actions to bring about the revolutionary transformation of his mind. Through knowledge we achieve understanding, and only after understanding can we act.

But the most important thing is to constantly study the policy of our movement, because only this can give us an overall view and provide the clear perspective ensuring the proper orientation of our work. For us the aim of study is not to gain the means of exploiting the people better or to acquire privileged positions as in the capitalist zone.

We are not interested in one person getting good grades, in imparting a lot of knowledge to one individual. However knowledgeable he might be, one person would not be able to run all the hospitals we need or attend to all the patients.

We study collectively and our progress goes in waves, everyone advancing together. This requires a spirit of mutual aid among the students and medical staff, the falling behind of one being regarded as a step backward for the Movement, a step backward in serving the people.

This collective spirit should govern our entire lives. Without national unity we will be defeated by the colonialists. Without unity, our worker and peasant class will be dominated by the exploiters. Without unity, our health work will fail.

The collective spirit makes us face each problem, each situation, each shortcoming as if it were our own. There is no problem to which we are indifferent. Power

belongs to us and therefore we cannot sit with folded arms when faced with a situation, however small, which hampers our progress. A minor cut may open the way for tetanus, which destroys the whole organism. In the case of the body, a cut on our little toe can kill if it is not treated. We must not disregard a problem just because it does not affect us personally: this problem is part of the body to which we too belong.

HOSPITALS BUILT ON SACRIFICE

Our hospitals exist because sacrifices have been made. Our hospitals represent all the blood that has been shed.

The surgical instruments, drugs and equipment are a result of the sacrifices made by the people, the sacrifices made by our friends.

Because blood is flowing in Mozambique, a powerful tide of solidarity has built up in many countries to help us. People voluntarily deprive themselves to help us.

Having a well-developed sense of how to fight waste, indicates that we respect the sacrifices made by our friends – it shows the collective spirit.

Comrades often die in our hospitals for lack of medicines. Very often there is not even peroxide to treat a patient. Saving medicines and equipment is to save the lives of the people that these medicines and equipment can cure.

This course is being started at the Americo Boavida Hospital. This is a symbolic coincidence.

Comrade Boavida, an Angolan doctor, sacrificed his life for the people. He could have been doing medical research, but he died serving the people, fighting against sickness and exploitation.

A further example and encouragement to us should be the internationalist spirit of the foreign comrades who, out of revolutionary solidarity, have left their own countries and the comfort created through their labour to come and work with us.

Our responsibility is great. Our struggle is not only to liberate our people but also to support brother peoples, the working class of the whole world.

In our work united under the leadership of FRELIMO and guided by our ideology, let us apply the watchword: serve the people. We will thus perform our national and international duty.

A Luta Continua
Independencia ou Morte
Venceremos

SOLIDARITY WITH MPLA



Comrade Agostinho Neto,
President,
MPLA.

FRELIMO and the Mozambican people warmly and fraternally hail the Angolan people and their leading force MPLA in celebrating February 4.

February 4, 1961, marked the beginning of a new historical period of armed confrontation between our peoples and Portuguese colonialism. On February 4, 1961, under difficult conditions, the Angolan people led by MPLA assumed the glorious mission and demonstrated through practice that the only way to liberation was armed struggle. MPLA's action was a stimulus and inspiration to all of us. The successes achieved by the Angolan people constitutes a great contribution to the cause of freedom in Mozambique and all Africa. Your victories have led the enemy to resort to subversive actions aimed at liquidating the leading force of the Angolan people. The enemy tries to take advantage of our ideological and organisational weaknesses, fomenting tribalism, regionalism and racism, and using the ambitious, reactionary elements in our midst. This common experience of our struggles show the desperate situation of colonialism and demands from us the reinforcement of the ideological and organisational offensive to raise the level of our vigilance. FRELIMO's militants and leadership wish you new and major successes in your just struggle which is also ours. Fraternal greetings. United we shall win. The struggle continues.

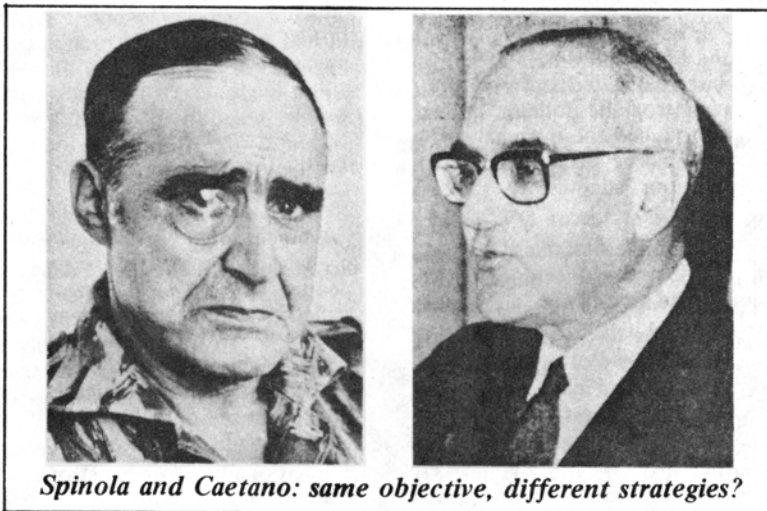
Samora M. Machel
President — FRELIMO

MPLA'S SUCCESSES IN 1973

Attacks on barracks	14
Helicopters shot down	3
Military vehicles destroyed	31
Bridges destroyed	7
Radio sets captured	8
Enemy troops out of action	900
Assorted weapons captured	321
Ammunition captured	3.500
Angolans freed	491

SPINOLA'S SCHEME

AS WE GO TO PRESS REPORTS ARE COMING IN OF THE COUP D'ETAT IN PORTUGAL. THE NAME OF GENERAL ANTONIO DE SPINOLA, FORMER GOVERNOR GENERAL IN GUINE-BISSAU AND DEPUTY CHIEF OF THE ARMED FORCES, HAS AGAIN COME TO THE FORE IN THESE REPORTS. HERE WE REVIEW THE IDEAS OF SPINOLA, AS OUTLINED IN HIS BOOK, "PORTUGAL AND THE FUTURE".



Spinola and Caetano: same objective, different strategies?

Last February General Antonio Spínola published a book that he entitled «Portugal and the Future», which he said was intended to be a contribution to the solution of the Portuguese problem.

The book caused a considerable stir in Portugal. It was sold out within a few hours of reaching the bookshops and produced a chain of events that culminated in his dismissal from his post of Deputy Chief of Staff of the Portuguese Armed Forces.

Spínola's dismissal was interpreted by observers as meaning a serious crisis within the Portuguese government. They saw it as a clash between the old guard right-wing, determined to hang on to the colonies at all costs, confronting those who advocated greater autonomy, an autonomy interpreted by some as verging on independence. The main power behind the latter, General Spínola, was thus immediately identified as a liberal, and choice quotes from his book were produced to support this notion.

Although the book is of little interest to us beyond the fact that it is yet another publication on the colonies by a member of the Portuguese establishment, we feel

obliged to draw attention to its content in order to dispel the dangerous myth that Spínola is a liberal progressive thinker, persecuted by a fascist regime, who would grant independence to the colonies if given a chance. Certainly his own history, his long record of crimes in Portugal, Angola and Guiné already prove the opposite, but the book is useful in presenting a precise account of his thinking, his motives and his objectives. It shows clearly that the *difference between Spínola and his adversaries are merely differences of tactics, the objective of both camps is identical* – the maintenance of Portuguese control over the colonies.

'Portugal and the Future'

The book covers three main themes: the crisis in Portugal, the reason for this crisis, and Spínola's 'pragmatic' solution.

(1) The Crisis in Portugal.

«There is no doubt that today Portugal is living through one of the gravest hours of its history. . .» With this opening, he goes on to describe the many manifestations of this crisis, all of which have their origins in the colonial war.

Economically, Portugal is suffering from «a disturbing backwardness in relation to

a Europe which is in a climate of progressive economic integration. . .» Such is the economic stagnation that «even at the most favourable growth rate we would need 30 years to catch up with even the least developed countries of the Common Market.»

All this is because of the wars: «about 50 per cent of the state budget is allocated for military expenditure without any corresponding increase in productivity . . .» «If the present rate of expansion of of resources allocated to defence is maintained, in the not too distant future we shall reach the limit of our resources».

He describes the country's depopulation through immigration, attributing this to the fact that the people have lost their sense of civic duty, they have no interest in political problems because they are never invited to discuss or participate in them. And within the system itself there are growing signs of disintegration with dissent reaching «alarming proportions, even in those organisations where discipline is most rooted: the church and the military».

In the international field, Spínola warns that Portugal is heading for «total isolation» like a «foreign body in the pro-

cess of being rejected». «. . . Even our friends are timid in their support» and «. . . already some voices are murmuring suggestions for our exclusion from NATO».

(2) Reasons for the Crisis.

The crisis, says Spinoła, is the direct result of the colonial wars, which experience shows they have lost. Portugal can neither afford the vast expenditure required, nor continue to furnish the necessary human resources: «. . . our capacity to mobilise is reaching its limit». Spinoła lays responsibility for the impending ruin of his country on what he calls «the old hermits», those who are turned towards the past and living «in a halo of spiritual greatness but debilitated and very poor». It was their retrograde policies, he maintains, that produced the outbreak of war in the first place, instead of seeking flexible solutions adapted to the 20th century.

On page 124 Spinoła describes very neatly what is in effect the difference between his thinking and that of the 'old hermits'.

«. . . The overseas territories must be an integral part of the Portuguese nation», but «there is a very dangerous contradiction in the assertion that the overseas territories are already a part of the Portuguese nation, just because the law says so. . . While we continue to confuse what it is with what we would like it to be, we will never resolve our contradictions».

Another negative result of their position, he maintains is that it provokes an opposite reaction of advocating the complete abandonment of the overseas territories, a position described by Spinoła as 'unbearable radicalism'.

Spinoła's pragmatic solution

Finally, Spinoła presents his 'pragmatic' solution to save the situation. A prerequisite, he maintains, is to put an end to traditional justification for Portugal's presence in Africa. «We have to destroy the myth that we are defending the west. . . the truth is that the interests of the west we claim to defend have not coincided with ours in recent times. . .». «We have to destroy the myth that the civilising mission is the very essence of the Portuguese nation.»

The objectives of Spinoła's plan are spelled out quite clearly: «to prevent the amputation of the African territories from Portugal, one by one.» But this cannot be achieved by military means (the error of 'the hermits'), as was demonstrated by the American defeat in

Vietnam; and the same will happen to Portugal unless the government changes its policies.

«To try to win a war of subversion by military means is to accept defeat in advance, unless one possesses unlimited capabilities to prolong the war indefinitely, turning it into an institution. Is this our case? Obviously it isn't.»

A purely military solution having been ruled out, the only alternative solution is a political one «to remove the desire to fight of the mass of the fighters by ensuring their adherence to the established order», . . . introducing and promising reforms that mean improved living conditions and granting more autonomy. But he is careful to add the rider, «. . . this however, within the context of the Portuguese nation.»

In this way, although the nationalist movement, that «new, powerful and explosive phenomenon, the emergence of peoples who are awakening», may not be stifled, it can at least be kept under control. «. . . We must put ourselves in the position of anticipating events, in order to prevent them or at least to have the possibility of controlling them». And the reforms will also bear positive results internationally. «We must opt for a political line which, owing to its reasonableness, can be supported by any of the blocs, or at least by one of them. . . Many of the countries hostile to us would like to support us if we were following principles that could be politically defended in the international context». Moreover, many hitherto unconsidered possibilities are presented by such a policy — even collaboration with socialist countries (hence the need to drop the 'defence of the west' argument): «We do not see the least grounds for reluctance in opening ourselves to the east if there is anything from the East which could tip the scale in our favour.»

For these manoeuvres to acquire credibility, it is necessary that they are shown to have the total support of the people in the colonies. Spinoła proposes a referendum. Here again he barely conceals the fact that the aim of the referendum is to provide a showpiece for the outside world rather than a genuine attempt to find out what the people want. «We shall be unassailable from the moment that the socio-cultural groups we integrate affirm through a process of clear and unequivocal choice their wish to continue being Portuguese». And there will be no danger that they vote the wrong way, as the referendum will be preceded by a period of 'preparation' of 'our Africans'.

Spinoła ends the book with specific suggestions for the 'political structuring of the nation' namely «the regionalisation of the political and administrative structures of our African States within the framework of a federation». The aims of this structure have been outlined above and the organisational details need not concern us here.

Suffice to say there is only a slight difference of degree between Spinoła's plans and those set in motion by Prime Minister Caetano in 1972 when he introduced the new constitution granting elections, statehood and autonomy to the colonies. And Caetano, one of the founding fathers of Portuguese colonial policy, has clearly no intention of granting much liberalisation, let alone independence. He himself has frequently said so.

the war is lost

In summary, the book 'Portugal and the Future' is important in so far as it contains the clearest exposition to date of the thinking of one of Portugal's top military strategists and a man of considerable influence. Spinoła admits that the war is lost and that it is a national disaster — both militarily and in terms of its domestic repercussions. Portugal is determined to stay in Africa, and for that other ways must be found. He believes that his 'pragmatic' solution, «self-determination for the overseas population by their integration in the Portuguese Republic», is the answer. The last half of the quote shows what he really means by self-determination. As does the following: «The Overseas Territories are a prerequisite for our survival as a free and independent nation. Without the African territories, the country (Portugal) will be reduced to a voiceless corner of a gigantic Europe and will have no possible trump cards to play to assert itself in the concert of nations; it will end by having a merely formal existence in a political framework where its real independence will be totally jeopardised.»

But just as the strategic hamlets policy failed as a new 'military' weapon, so too will any attempt at a political sleight of hand. It's too late. FRELIMO is active already in the heart of the country and its influence covers the whole of Mozambique. Even in areas not yet touched by the war people know of the kind of life being built in the liberated areas. They are waiting impatiently for the war to reach their zones. They want political and economic freedom and will settle for nothing less.



In our last issue we published the first in a series of articles from overseas support groups describing their activities. The first article was from Canada, now we focus on the support movements in three Italian towns, Reggio Emilia, Bologna and Milan

In a Reggio Emilia workshop a FRELIMO militant learns to make artificial limbs.

July 16, 1974, will mark the fourth anniversary of the twinning of the S. Maria Nuova hospital, Reggio Emilia, and the Central Hospital Cabo Delgado in free Mozambique.

The twinning was established immediately after the International Conference of Solidarity with the Peoples' Struggles in the Portuguese Colonies, held in Rome from July 27 to 29, 1970.

On July 17, 1970, the Council of Administration of the S. Maria Nuova hospital supported by all progressive political forces and trade unions decided on the twinning as an instrument of permanent solidarity with FRELIMO. A few weeks later, the first medical supplies were sent off.

Since then there has developed an intensive stream of activities aimed at mobilising the maximum political solidarity with and medical assistance for the people of free Mozambique.

Linked to the twinning, a 'Committee for medical aid to the people of Mozambique' was formed. This Committee consists of representatives from political parties, trade-unions, democratic organisations, co-operative movements, local organisations and hospitals in the province.

From the very beginning the committee has steadily pursued two aims. Firstly, it is working to spread information about the struggle of the African people against colonialism and to build up a strong

Reggio Emilia: allies in the struggle

relationship of solidarity between the workers of the Reggio Emilia area and the struggle for national liberation being waged both by FRELIMO and the Mozambican people, and by the other liberation movements. Secondly, it provides material assistance.

The Committee's many activities and initiatives over the past few years are too numerous to detail here. The following are a few of the most important.

The fortnightly magazine 'L'Arcispedale',

the organ of the Council of Administration begun in July, 1970, with a circulation of 2,300, contains a regular feature entitled «For the Freedom and Independence of Mozambique».

During this year, through the magazine, leading cadres of all organisations in the province of Emilia, hospital workers and the readers have received a constant stream of information on the struggle of the African people against colonialism, particularly about Mozambique, and on the initiatives taken by the Medical Aid Committee within the twinning agreement. In addition to being an expression of solidarity, the magazine has become a channel of communication and liaison with organisations and youth associations in various towns, engaged in fighting against colonialism.

The material assistance we provide is undoubtedly very small compared to the enormous needs of the liberation movement. However, the collection and shipment of these supplies are a focal point for the mobilisation of working people in support of the legitimate fight of the liberation movement. One outstanding example of this was the collection of funds to build the operating theatre at FRELIMO's hospital in Mtwara. Eighty per cent of our hospital's employees contributed to the collection.

Periodic shipments of goods needed by FRELIMO are organised: medicines, vitamins, milk powder, stretchers, fabric, canned meat, artificial limbs and labo-

ratory equipment for repairing them, hospital linen, beds, teaching material, refrigerators, washing machines, etc.

Another important contribution has been the provision of artificial limbs for fighters who lose limbs in combat. The orthopaedic workshop in Reggio Emilia is currently providing artificial limbs for 13 Mozambican patriots. An orthopaedic specialist visits the Mtwara hospital every year to complete the rehabilitation of amputees. More than 50 fighters have already recovered their mobility thanks to the artificial limbs.

Another important activity of the committee is the preparation of nursing personnel for FRELIMO's clinics and health posts. Staff are sent to the Mtwara hospital (a nurse has been working there for more than two years) and groups of Mozambican patriots are received in the Reggio Emilia hospital. This is a rather complex arrangement but produces good results. At the moment the second such group, four women and one man, are living, studying and working in Reggio Emilia. They are attending nursing class, learning Italian and working in the obstetrics, gynaecology and first aid departments.

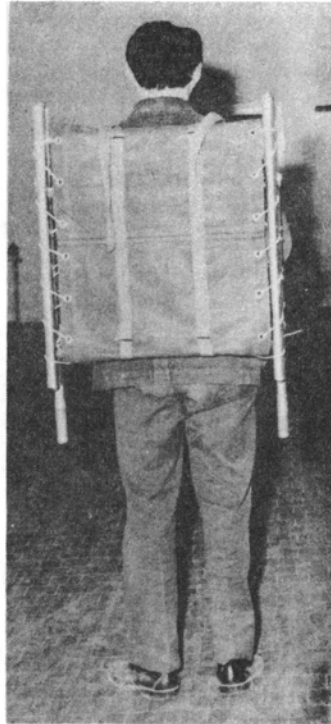
In order to gain a better understanding of FRELIMO's conditions and needs, in 1971 a medical delegation visited the Mtwara hospital, the Tunduru camp and the Bagamoyo School - FRELIMO installations in Tanzania. It prepared a detailed report on the health situation and needs of the liberation movement.

In 1972, the first delegation from the Reggio Emilia Medical Aid Committee visited the liberated areas of Cabo Delgado. They assured the people there of the solidarity of the Italian people. A great deal of material was collected during the visit and presented in a special documentary film 'Ten days with the Combatants in Free Mozambique'.

This documentary is a vivid testimony to the struggle of FRELIMO: its struggle to build a new society in the zones liberated from Portuguese colonialism, life in the military bases and villages in the areas of N'gapa and Nangade and the popular nature of the fight for liberation.

This documentary on FRELIMO's struggle has been well received by the public; it has proved a useful instrument to enable the Italian people to understand better the conditions of the liberation movement.

In addition, the committee held an important exhibition of photographs entitled «Angola, Guiné-Bissau and Mozam-



Reggio Emilia's special stretcher for FRELIMO

bique - Three Liberation Wars». The display of photographs and texts, spread over 100 stands, illustrated the most important aspects of the people's struggle for freedom and independence: the actual armed combat, the efforts to found a new society in the liberated areas, the struggle against the fascist government in Portugal, and international solidarity.

This method of mobilisation - the documentary and exhibitions - are being used increasingly in our political activities. There have been demonstrations of solidarity in virtually every commune of the province, involving political parties, trade unions and co-operatives.

Through the committee's initiatives a comprehensive programme of activities has been drawn up that now encompasses the whole city and its inhabitants. All these initiatives - hospital treatment for wounded combatants, nursing courses, the provision of medical supplies, the collection of funds - have progressively mobilised the mass of the people precisely because they are not seen as simple humanitarian acts of solidarity but as progressive and political moves in support of the struggles of FRELIMO, MPLA and PAIGC.

The experiment started in Reggio Emilia has spread to other cities of the district and into other districts. One after another, new associations have been formed, new committees of solidarity and support

movements. There has been the twinning of the town of Forlì and an Angolan hospital, of the Ravenna hospital and a hospital in Guiné-Bissau. A friendship pact has been signed between the town of Bologna and the FRELIMO educational camp at Tunduru.

After starting in Emilia, solidarity has spread to other districts such as Lombardi, Piemonti, Lazio and Toscana. The commune of Scandicci has linked itself with the Guiné-Bissau hospital of Mendes Guerra.

A national solidarity conference against colonialism and imperialism, for the Freedom and Independence of Angola, Guiné-Bissau and Mozambique was held in Reggio Emilia in March, 1973, accompanied by impressive popular demonstrations in the town and dozens of demonstrations in other cities both before and after the conference. This is the direct result of the developing and more mature consciousness of solidarity with the people of Africa in their fight against colonialism.

The National Solidarity Conference was the occasion, the instrument, to give more incisiveness to the political movement of solidarity with the liberation movements of Angola, Guiné-Bissau and Mozambique. And this was manifested by more powerful support and a more widespread involvement of social and political organisations throughout the country. The establishment of the National Solidarity Committee, set up after the Reggio Emilia Conference is the outcome of this event.

The main national parties participated in the conference and joined the National Solidarity Committee: Christian Democrats, Communist Party of Italy, Socialist Party of Italy, P dUP and important sections of the Republican Party of Italy, the national leadership of the youth organisations of the C.D., P.R.I., P.C.I., P.S.I., P dUP, as well as the International Union of the Christian Democratic Youth. In addition, we must also mention the involvement of the National Secretariat of CGIL, the Regional Secretariat of the CISL, the National Federation of Metalworkers and the National League for Autonomy and Local Power.

The involvement of the main Italian political forces in support of the Liberation movements was reinforced by the meeting after the conference between the C.D. P.C.I., and P.S.I. and the FRELIMO delegation led by its President, Samora Machel.

Our immediate objective is to go beyond solidarity. The involvement of the main

political and democratic forces is necessary if Italy is to contribute towards the political isolation of Portugal, and recognise the liberation movements as the official representatives of their respective peoples. This is the way to make Italy resolve the constant contradictions between, on the one hand, an extensive popular movement of political solidarity, supported even by political democratic forces within the government, and on the other hand, the official position taken by the Italian government internationally, which is unclear and ambiguous.

In order to achieve this objective, all the solidarity committees must increase their pressure on the Italian government so that,

in keeping with the new positions of the UN, Italy introduces a new policy towards the African continent. A policy with the following fundamental principles:

- no political, economic, military or diplomatic support for Portugal.
- official recognition of the liberation movements as legitimate representatives of the Angolan and Mozambican people;
- official recognition of the new state of Guiné-Bissau and its government;
- pressure on Portugal aimed at ending the colonial war and the opening of negotiations with the liberation movements in full recognition of their rights

to independence.

These are also the objectives of all the solidarity committees.

To conclude this summary, we would like to quote the President of the Giunta of Emilia – Romagna, when he welcomed the leaders of the liberation movements of Angola, Guiné-Bissau and Mozambique to the Reggio Emilia Conference:

«Our solidarity with the people of Mozambique, Guiné-Bissau and Angola is solidarity in struggle. It is based on the awareness of the universal and inseparable political developments which involve all men who are genuinely concerned with the problems of peace, the self-determination of peoples and the development of civilisation. The forces for peace and human rights must continue fighting against the permanent danger of nuclear destruction, against the danger stemming from cold war tensions, especially in the Middle East, against the division of the world into various opposing military forces and the arms race, against the remnants of colonialism, against malnutrition and underdevelopment.

With this universal vision of the current and future problems of mankind, we congratulate the Vietnamese people for their victory, as a victory of all the forces for peace and progress in the world.

With the same commitment, we are standing at your side in your fight against imperialism, and against the violence of colonial exploitation, which, the more it is isolated and condemned by the conscience of mankind, the more ruthless and brutal it becomes.

Reggio Emilia Municipal workers demonstrate in support of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies during the 1973 National Solidarity Conference



Bologna's pledge of friendship

The Committee for Free Mozambique was formed in April 1972 following the signing of a friendship pact between the commune of Bologna and the FRELIMO education centre in Tunduru, Tanzania. In keeping with the spirit of this pact the Committee assumed responsibility for initiating a series of activities in solidarity with the people of Mozambique fighting for the independence of their country. Animal husbandry, agriculture, education and handicrafts were designated as specific areas for material aid. In addition to representatives of the commune itself, the provincial administration, the co-operative movement, the trade unions and other organisations and bodies in the

town, joined the committee.

In June, 1972, the first shipment of goods from Bologna, drugs, food, clothing and writing materials, reached Tunduru. The following month a delegation of technicians and civil servants visited the education centre. This delegation, led by municipal councillor Renzo Riccardi, was able to study the conditions there and identify the most important needs of the people.

The trip to Tunduru enabled us to write technical reports on agriculture and animal husbandry and a plan for the cultivation of essential vegetables, based on our observation of educational and climatic

conditions, was sent to the camp. At the same time the agricultural co-operatives of Bologna sent a shipment of clothing, fertilizers, insecticides, seeds and farm equipment. They have since sent further shipments of agricultural and medical supplies.

Meanwhile, the committee itself was publicising the struggle of the Mozambican people both within the town and throughout the province. It promoted debates and provided documentary material. The most important event was an exhibition of photographs, held in October 1972 in the Palazzo d'Accursio. This was attended by a large number of people, particularly young people.

Following the exhibition, the panel of the committee began a long and fruitful tour of cultural clubs, people's houses, and headquarters of parties. In this way an increasing number of people was able to learn about the efforts of the people in Mozambique and in the other Portuguese colonies, who are on their way to winning their independence.

During the national conference in Reggio Emilia which the Bologna committee helped organise, it was agreed to produce an Italian edition of the journal 'Mozambique Revolution'. This commitment was made possible through the assistance of Graficoop, a typographic co-operative society in Bologna. Following a friendship pact with the FRELIMO press centre

in March 1973, they assumed responsibility for printing the magazine. The Italian editorial staff which translates 'Mozambique Revolution' intends, with this initiative, to offer to the various political forces in Italy an instrument for debate within the solidarity movement with the African peoples struggling against colonialism and imperialism.

It should be mentioned here that these activities in support of FRELIMO and the other African liberation movements are spreading rapidly throughout our country. For example, a committee has been formed in Imola, a town 40 kilometers from Bologna, to provide technical assistance as well as the organisation of meetings and other activities. And sub-

stantial mobilisation is underway in other regions of our country. Recently in Milan and Turin, where there are active committees, as well as Bologna, Florence and Rome, meetings have been held on the problem of the recognition of the Republic of Guiné-Bissau.

The Bologna Committee for Free Mozambique, in keeping with the pledge made by the municipality, intends to continue in this manner, calling for an ever-increasing participation of political and social forces. It intends to make its contribution towards the establishment of a national movement, by identifying at national level forms of struggle and objectives for the focus of the democratic movement in Italy.

Milan group heightens people's awareness

The 'Liberazione e Sviluppo' (Liberation and Development), movement began in 1971 when a number of local groups split away from 'Mani Tese', a charitable aid organisation. Mani Tese was criticised for its total lack of political analysis, and its ideological vacuum as regards the real problems of the so-called 'Third World'. Consequently, for some time after its formation 'Liberazione e Sviluppo' was immersed in analysis of the essential aspects of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Out of this phase emerged the decision to support the liberation struggles of the African people still subjected to colonialist and racist oppression, through propaganda and in a practical way. In its support work Liberazione e Sviluppo has always tried to maintain the greatest unity among the forces which subscribe to the internationalist tradition of the workers' and people's movement.

It aims to build a stable and lasting alliance within the broad framework of the Italian left.



Milan demonstration organised by 'Liberazione e Sviluppo'

These policies have been responsible for successful demonstrations which at times might have seemed too ambitious for a movement such as ours, that doesn't have a mass base.

In particular, we should mention the International Meeting on the Liberation Struggle in the Portuguese Colonies. This was held in Milan on April 8 and 9, 1972 and attended by representatives of the liberation movements and of parties and movements of the Italian left. Its most significant result was to heighten the Italian people's awareness of this problem: ever since the liberation struggles in Angola, Guiné-Bissau and Mozambique have had full recognition in our country. This, coupled with intensive groundwork by local groups enabled us to achieve extensive mobilisation: for example, in front of the Portuguese Consulate in Milan on July 24, 1973, to protest against massacres in Mozambique and the aggressive war of extermination being waged by Portugal. Here, for the first time in

years, 10,000 comrades from all the left organisations demonstrated under common banners and slogans. The demonstrations after the assassination of Amílcar Cabral, Secretary-General of PAIGC and to mark its first anniversary were of a similar nature. Following the latter, Italian trade unions resolved to agitate against the supply of arms to the Portuguese fascists.

This is how Liberazione e Sviluppo is working today. It also works through its documentation centres in Milan and Rome and its local press sections, which ensure a constant stream of news to the media as a means of forming public opinion.

Specific activities of practical support also fall into this category of political initiatives: the financing of the construction of MPLA's School Centre 'Augusto Ngangula' and similar projects involving the supply of medicines to the combat areas.

27 April, 1974

**STATEMENT BY THE FRELIMO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
ON THE EVENTS IN PORTUGAL**

on 25 April, 1974, we learned from radio broadcasts about the coup d'état in Portugal by the armed forces which resulted in the ousting of the government of Marcelo Caetano and its replacement by a "Junta of National Salvation". This movement, according to its promoters is intended to provide a solution to the present crisis which the Portuguese regime and society are going through after 13 years of colonial war.

The coup d'état which has just taken place cannot be seen in isolation. It is a result of the new awareness of growing sectors of the Portuguese people that the purpose of the colonial war launched by the fascist regime is to suppress the colonised peoples' aspiration to independence and freedom and is against the desire for well-being and political and social democracy of the Portuguese people themselves.

At this time we hail, in the first place, the Portuguese democratic forces which for many years have been actively and courageously opposing the colonial war. This growing awareness is closely bound up with the affirmation of the unshakable will of the Mozambican people, and of the peoples of Angola, Guine-Bissau and Cabo Verde islands, to achieve independence and freedom. This will has taken on material form in the armed struggle for national liberation, which has been steadily growing and has already reached vital regions of our country. The coincidence between the crisis of the regime in Portugal and the great advances of the national liberation struggle in Mozambique over the past two years is no accident, but additional proof of the impact of our struggle on the situation in Portugal. The determinant factor of the situation in Portugal and the colonies has been and still is the struggle of our peoples. And the fundamental issue upon which the solution of all other problems depends is the independence of the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Guine-Bissau and Cabo Verde islands, as well as that of the remaining Portuguese colonies.

As far as the Portuguese people are concerned, to the extent that the principles contained in the proclamations that the leaders of the coup d'état have made up to now are put into force, this will doubtless be a step forward towards the establishment of democracy in Portugal. The young people who engaged in action aimed at putting an end to 48 years of uninterrupted dictatorship in Portugal, acting in line with the aspirations of the Portuguese people to realise their legitimate right to democracy, liberty and real independence, are the same young people who, when they were made to fight against our people, understood the unjust nature of the war in which they were engaged and the character of the regime which forced them to give up their lives for the defence of interests contrary to the interests of their people. The establishment of democracy in Portugal would be a victory for the Portuguese people, a victory at which we would rejoice.

For the Mozambican people, under the leadership of FRELIMO, the correct definition of who is the enemy has always been an essential point of principle. The enemy of the Mozambican people is not the Portuguese people, themselves victims of fascism, but the Portuguese colonial system. And an important section of the Portuguese army itself was made to understand that it was not defending the interests of its people in the colonial war when it felt the growing disaffection of Portuguese opinion with regard to the war it is waging in the colonies. If our struggle thus contributed to the Portuguese people's struggle against fascism and to win their right to democracy, FRELIMO cannot but congratulate itself for having contributed to this. But just as the Portuguese people have the right to independence and democracy, this same right cannot be denied the Mozambican people. It is for this elementary but essential right that we are fighting. The objectives of FRELIMO are very clear: the total and complete independence of the Mozambican people and the liquidation of Portuguese colonialism. The Mozambican people are an entity quite distinct from the Portuguese people, and they have their own political, cultural and social personality which can only be realised through the independence of Mozambique.



We are not fighting to become Portuguese with black skins. We are fighting to affirm ourselves as Mozambicans, without this meaning contempt for the Portuguese people or any other people. In this respect, FRELIMO reaffirms its wish to fully co-operate with all peoples in the world on a basis of independence, equality, respect and mutual interest. FRELIMO also reaffirms that the definition of a Mozambican has nothing to do with skin colour or racial, ethnic, religious or any other origins. Members of FRELIMO are all Mozambicans who adhere to its programme of struggle against Portuguese colonialism, for the independence of Mozambique. FRELIMO is not a racist organisation and it is not waging a racist war. We reaffirm here what we declared in July 1972 when we opened a front: "On starting the struggle in Manica e Sofala where an important section of the Portuguese community in our country is established, we reaffirm that our struggle is not against them, that our victory can only benefit those who live from honest labour, those who suffer from colonial and fascist exploitation. The Mozambican people fraternally call upon the Portuguese soldiers, the Portuguese people to join the common effort of liberation. At the same time as hailing the growing support from white Mozambicans for the struggle for national liberation, we wish to warn certain sectors of the European population of Mozambique against the attempts of the ultra-racist forces, encouraged by the neighbouring racist countries, to transform our armed struggle for liberation into a total war between whites and blacks. This manoeuvre has as its purpose to make the white settlers participate actively in suppressing our people. That attitude makes them instruments of other forces and does not serve their own interests or the interests of the Mozambican people".

Freedom and independence, the affirmation of our own personality — these then are the objectives of our struggle. FRELIMO fighters are not professional soldiers. They are the Mozambican people in arms. They are, before all else, political militants who have taken up arms to put an end to the daily violence of colonial domination, exploitation and repression. It is up to the Portuguese government to learn from past experience and understand that only through recognition of the right to independence of the Mozambican people, led by FRELIMO, their authentic and legitimate representative, will the war end. Any attempt to elude the real problem will only lead to new and equally avoidable sacrifices. The way to solve the problem is clear: recognition of the Mozambican people's right to independence. If, however, the objective of the coup d'état is to find new formulae to perpetuate the oppression of our people, then the Portuguese leaders are warned that they will face our firm determination. The Mozambican people, over 10 years of heroic armed struggle, have endured heavy sacrifices and shed the blood of their finest sons and daughters to defend the inalienable principle of their sovereignty as a free and independent nation. Politically and militarily tempered, encouraged by the growing successes of the armed struggle for national liberation, more united than ever under the leadership of FRELIMO, the Mozambican people will not retreat before any sacrifice in ensuring that their rights and fundamental aspirations triumph. We cannot accept that democracy for the Portuguese people should serve as a cover to prevent the independence of our people. Just as Caetano's era clearly demonstrated that liberal fascism does not exist, it must also be understood that there is no such thing as democratic colonialism.

At this moment it is important that all the forces in solidarity with the people of Mozambique and with the peoples of Angola, Guine-Bissau, Cabo Verde and Sao Tome e Principe, continue their action for the recognition of our right to complete independence. They must remain vigilant in the face of any manoeuvres aimed at blocking the process of our total liberation coming not only from the Portuguese government, but from the regimes in South Africa and racist Rhodesia. It is also essential that the forces which support our struggle step up their assistance of every kind to the liberation movements, so that with the end of Portuguese colonialism, the aspirations of our peoples, which are those of all of mankind may be fulfilled.

INDEPENDENCE OR DEATH
WE SHALL WIN

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
FRELIMO

Every victory is a reminder of Mondlane's achievements

On 25 September, 1964 a small group of about 250 FRELIMO fighters started the liberation war in Mozambique. Five years later the armed struggle had spread through three provinces and FRELIMO had grown into a powerful political and military force. More than any other single factor, responsibility for this lies with Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, FRELIMO's first President who asserted that armed revolution was the only way to gain independence, and who, in the early years, crucial to all future developments, welded together a powerful and united political movement.

On 3 February, 1969 President Mondlane was assassinated by the Portuguese colonialists. But despite his physical elimination he has continued to influence the development of our struggle. Indeed, all the victories achieved since his death — the liberation of most of three provinces, the construction of a new way of life there, the advance of the war front to the centre of the country — can be traced back to the unity and political orientation he gave to the movement.

The unity he fought so hard to achieve has continued to be consolidated and strengthened. The enemy's purpose in assassinating him was to destroy FRELIMO, on the assumption that without its leader the movement would crumble. But it was precisely because Eduardo Mondlane was a great leader, representing the people's interests, the organisation he built up was strong enough to withstand his loss and to emerge even more determined in the fight.

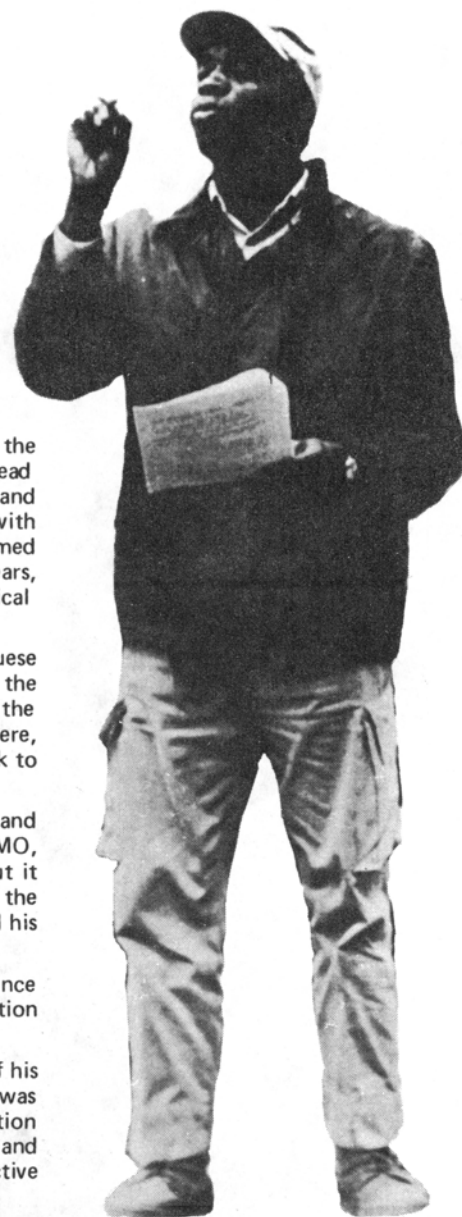
He constantly applied the basic principle that ours is a political struggle and hence a political perspective should guide the solution of all problems and the completion of all tasks.

The definition of the enemy in terms of exploitation, rather than the colour of his skin, a position firmly held by Comrade Mondlane and the whole movement, was only possible with a correct revolutionary political line. Moreover, this position has proved particularly important with our advance into new areas like Tete and Manica e Sofala where a large section of the white population has made an active contribution to the progress of the struggle.

The assassination of Comrade Mondlane had an opposite effect to that expected by the Portuguese. But the colonialists did not learn, they continue with their policy of assassinating the people's leaders. Last year they assassinated Comrade Amilcar Cabral, Secretary-General of the PAIGC and in Mozambique they have recently intensified the infiltration of agents into the liberated areas with the specific mission of killing FRELIMO leaders. Such attempts to change the course of the war are a clear sign of the desperation of the Portuguese colonialists.

The fifth anniversary of the death of Comrade Mondlane is being commemorated in Mozambique by increased political and military activities to hasten the fall of Portuguese colonialism, and to end, once and for all, oppression, crime and terrorism in our country.

3 February, 1974.



FEBRUARY 3 :
FIFTH
ANNIVERSARY
OF THE DEATH
OF FRELIMO'S
FIRST PRESIDENT



VENCEREMOS