



cfm news & notes

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Mozambicans,
Workers, peasants, and fighters,
Mozambican people,

In the name of all of you, at 00 hours today, 25th June 1975, the Central Committee of FRELIMO solemnly proclaims the total and complete Independence of Mozambique, and the creation of the People's Republic of Mozambique

President Samora Machel

On June 25th of this year, the People's Republic of Mozambique was proclaimed an independent nation, climaxing a ten year armed struggle led by FRELIMO (The Front for the Liberation of Mozambique) which brought the end of 470 years of Portuguese colonial presence in this East African country. In the course of the armed struggle, FRELIMO changed from a nationalist coalition of pro-independence forces into a mass-based revolutionary organization-- an organization which is now in the process of transforming Mozambique into an egalitarian socialist society. Although to an outside observer, the new Mozambique is well along the path to socialism, FRELIMO sees the present stage in much more modest terms. Party leaders emphasize that the assumption of state control is only the beginning. "We now have political power," Marcelino dos Santos, FRELIMO Vice-President and Minister for Economic Development and Planning told us in an interview, "We now have to realize the aspirations for which our people fought."

The task will not be an easy one. Ravaged by a decade of war and by a particularly vicious form of colonialism, which aimed at maximizing returns on labor, land, and resources while keeping real development to a minimum, the Mozambican economy was in a state of near-collapse when the FRELIMO-dominated Transitional Government was announced nine months prior to independence. Politically, great differences exist between the "liberated areas"-- the

one-third of the country which FRELIMO had succeeded in freeing from colonial control during the war--and the rest of the country. In the liberated areas, FRELIMO-style socialism is already being implemented: production is organized collectively, mass participation (women included) is stressed, and every working adult is responsible for a variety of tasks, including production, defense, and child rearing. Moreover, educational and health care facilities were set up for the first time.

FRELIMO is now faced with the task of bringing socialist development to the southern regions of the country, where it could operate only clandestinely during the colonial period. Here live the bulk of the country's nine million people, and here the inequalities of the colonial system are immediately apparent.

Nowhere is the disparity between the colonial legacy and the egalitarian society FRELIMO envisions more glaring than in Lourenco Marques, Mozambique's capital, largest city, and chief port, located at the southernmost end of the country. Downtown Lourenco Marques, where a well-dressed, mainly white clientele frequent chic shops and pleasant cafes, has the air of a European rather than an African city. The high-rise apartment blocks and opulent beachfront hotels (serving mainly South African whites) stand in stark contrast to the squalid, crowded slums without running water or electricity of the outlying African districts.

FRELIMO's main political emphasis in the ex-colonial regions is on organizing hundreds of "grupos dinamizadores" (loosely translated as "activating groups"). The grupos are responsible for the difficult task of political mobilization as well as for providing rudimentary social services. The work of the grupos was very much in evidence in Lourenco Marques during the independence celebrations. Neighborhood grupos were in charge of decorating the residential and downtown areas. Every street in the city, from the broad tree-lined boulevards of the business area to the twisted dirt paths of the outlying slums were covered with colorful banners reading "down with elitism" "FRELIMO is the people" and "long live the struggle of the people of the world against imperialism."

The grupos have also begun to make more long-term changes in Lourenco Marques. In the African neighborhoods the grupos have organized a crash program of literacy classes, some taught by children as young as ten or eleven (under the Portuguese, 90% of the country's population was illiterate). "People's stores" have been set up to insure the supply of basic foods and to prevent black-marketeering. Apart from residentially based grupos, worker grupos are being formed and in some cases, they have taken over the management of factories abandoned by fleeing Portuguese owners.

Politically, the grupos have provided an effective means of spreading FRELIMO's ideology and getting people politically involved at the local level. At one not-uncommon meeting in a Lourenco Marques shanty town, over 1000 people turned out to hear a report on the situation in Angola given by three MPLA representatives. On the same evening, in an affluent, predominantly white

neighborhood, the local grupo committee was planning a forthcoming literacy campaign. (One of the more interesting aspects of the political climate of Lourenco Marques is the enthusiastically pro-FRELIMO attitude of many of the Portuguese who chose to remain after independence. FRELIMO's non-racialist political philosophy and the fact that whites are also enjoying political freedom for the first time has created a sense of racial solidarity that is unique in Africa.)

FRELIMO's aim is to eventually transform the grupos into party committees, like those already in existence in the more politically advanced liberated areas. The grupos were also to begin immediately the tasks of "national reconstruction", as FRELIMO terms its overall political-economic development program, before more formally organized national programs can be set up. The grupos provide a means of channeling local enthusiasm into concrete projects: directing the revolution from the top down is contrary to the mass participatory ideology of FRELIMO, and, moreover, the party doesn't have the trained cadres to administer programs on the local level at the present time.

Each grupo is divided into working sections for administration, political mobilization, information, education and culture, finance, social affairs (for dealing with problems such as drunkenness and family discord), and production. The political mobilization section has a special subsection of the Organization of Mozambican Women (OMM) while the education section has a special subsection for adult literacy: raising the status of women and expanding literacy being especially important to FRELIMO.

Graca Simbine, the new Minister for Education and Culture and the only woman in the new cabinet, explained to us that the work of the grupos in each of these areas will provide a base from



Crowds view Independence Day Parade

which to design future national programs. "We want to start from our own experience and learn from the people," she told us.

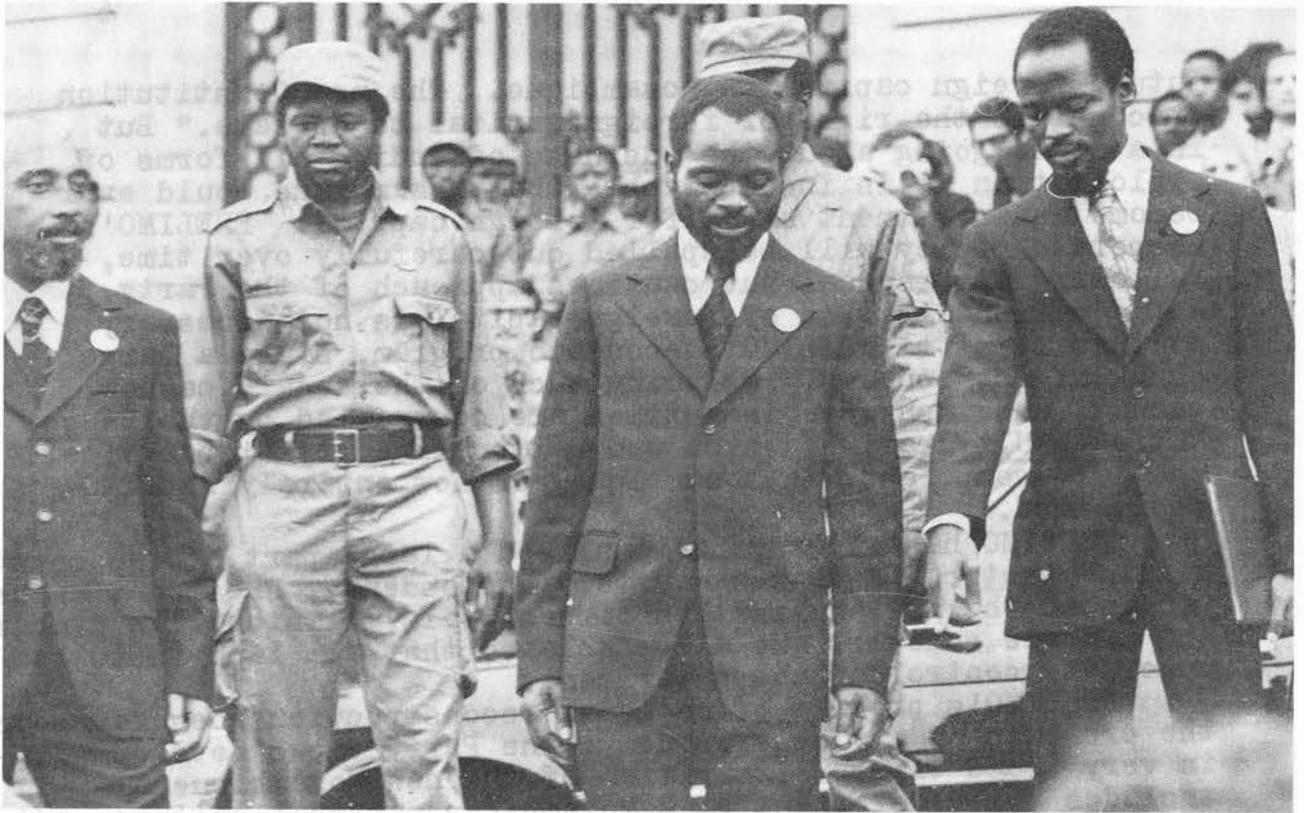
Toward this end, FRELIMO has established a system of national seminars, in which grupo leaders and others working within FRELIMO organizations from different regions of the country come together to share experiences and to establish national guidelines.

Being rather free-wheeling organizations, the grupos sometimes haven't worked out as intended. In some private business firms the management has used the grupo structure as a kind of company union, a way of keeping workers in line. The faults of the present-day grupos were described in an important national meeting of FRELIMO district committee leaders held in February. The final report of the meeting noted the presence of "reactionary elements" and "opportunists" within the grupos as well as the insufficient number of political cadres available to run grupo programs. But the grupos are clearly a necessary element at this stage of Mozambique's revolution, and, despite their shortcomings, they have had remarkable success in mobilizing a population which less than a year ago was under the grip of one of Africa's most oppressive colonial regimes.

National Reconstruction

FRELIMO's first task in its broad program of national reconstruction will be to repair the country's shattered economy. Mozambique is an agricultural country: its industrial sector is small and its mineral assets remain largely unexplored. Under the Portuguese, agricultural production provided the income needed to keep the colonial system running. The Portuguese did not rule with a light touch: subsistence farmers were forced to use much of their land for cash crops for export--sugar, cotton, cashews and tea--at the expense of basic food production. The difference between the artificially low prices paid to the farmer (and the low wages of workers on the large plantations) and world market prices represented a substantial part of Portugal's colonial surplus. The policy was neither just nor particularly efficient; peasants had little incentive to produce higher yields since to do so would only increase the flow of income to the colonial treasury. The land allocation system precluded adequate food production, a problem which has been compounded by the return of thousands of refugees who had fled Mozambique to escape colonial terror, the release of thousands from Portugal's system of aldeamentos (strategic hamlets), and recent floods and periods of draught. As a result of colonial inheritance, FRELIMO assumed control of an agricultural country facing the threat of extensive famine.

According to Marcelino dos Santos, FRELIMO will focus in the beginning on rural development. The party's agricultural development program has two basic objectives: to make the country agriculturally self-sufficient as soon as possible and to transform the lives of the peasants along socialist lines. The key



element in this policy will be the creation of rural communes--self-sufficient agricultural units of 500 or more families. FRELIMO is using extreme care in the selection of sites for the new communes; the availability of water, good soil, and access to markets being the principal criteria. By exercising careful planning, Mozambique should avoid many of the pitfalls of the comparable program of ujamaa (socialist) villages in neighboring Tanzania, many of which were set up in unviable areas.

In the northern provinces, the scene of the armed struggle, FRELIMO is converting the aldeamentos into communes.

The aim of the commune movement is, in the words of dos Santos, "to bring progress to where the people are" thus helping to prevent the chronic problem of rural to urban population flow which has subverted the development plans of other African countries. As envisioned, each commune will have its own primary school, health clinic, cultural facilities, and light industry. Translating these plans into action will be no easy task, since there is an enormous shortage of trained personnel.

Industrial development in the new Mozambique will be adjunct to agricultural development, in that it will be largely confined to the processing of agricultural goods for export. According to dos Santos, further industrialization is necessary to insure Mozambique's economic independence, but given the more basic tasks of providing food, education, and health facilities for its people, industry will remain a secondary priority for "2-3, perhaps 5 years."

Conspicuously absent from the public statements of FRELIMO officials are any precise directives on the role of present and

future foreign capital in Mozambique. The new Constitution "recognizes the right of foreign capital to operate." But in a state going about the business of ending all forms of exploitation it is inconceivable that Mozambique would ever become an investment haven for foreign capital. FRELIMO's corporate policy will be spelled out carefully over time, following the radical but cautious approach of the Party. Rapid nationalization of foreign capital is not necessary at this point to FRELIMO's economic program, since a large chunk of the economy, including much of the sugar, cashew, cement, and insurance industries are controlled by the Banco Nacional Ultramarino, which was nationalized by Lisbon after the 1974 coup, and, in Mozambique, is now entirely FRELIMO-controlled.

FRELIMO has already nationalized a large part of the country's service sector. Four weeks after Independence, President Machel announced the nationalization of hospitals, clinics, law practices, and private schools. He also declared that all land is to be under the control of the government.

FRELIMO's program of national reconstruction goes far beyond the creation of a viable economy: the Party views development in very broad terms. Its vision of the new Mozambique also includes the development of a Mozambican national culture, and an educational system which reflects the Party's egalitarian ideology.

FRELIMO's emphasis on promoting Mozambican culture out of its many regional traditions is an outgrowth of its policy of promoting national unity "from the Rovuma to the Maputo", a phrase referring to the rivers which mark the northern and southern ends of the country which is heard constantly in FRELIMO speeches. Developing a sense of a national culture is no easy task: the Portuguese, of course, had no interest in promoting Mozambican culture. The high rate of illiteracy and communications difficulties in this 1300 mile long country compound the problem. FRELIMO is going about promoting its cultural program in various ways. The February Party conference resolved to establish a special national commission to research cultural manifestations--customs, traditions, plays, dances, songs, poetry, and sports. Cultural exchanges at every level will be stressed. A good example of this cultural cross-fertilization campaign came during the independence celebrations when each of Mozambique's ten provinces organized ten cultural troupes, which were in turn sent out to perform in all the other provinces.

Graca Simbine outlined FRELIMO's cultural policy to us: "FRELIMO recognizes that culture reflects how people really feel and think. Therefore, we are encouraging cultural expressions. We need to understand who we are, what we want to be. If we want to introduce a new mentality, we will have more impact if we start from what is most important to the people, if we understand their culture."

Simbine went on to discuss FRELIMO's educational plans. The new Mozambique will have "centers of education, not schools," she

said. "We are preparing people for life and therefore we will have a full program involving production and sports as well as booklearning." Students will spend part of their time working on development projects, a policy already in practice in the liberated areas.

FRELIMO's most serious immediate problem is the shortage of teachers. The small number of teachers in the liberated areas--barely adequate to the needs of these regions before independence--now face the added responsibility of serving thousands of returning refugees. In the ex-colonial areas, many teachers have fled the country. Those who remained were of course, trained within the colonial educational system and will have to be retrained in accordance with FRELIMO's political and educational line. FRELIMO is trying to get as many new teachers into the field as quickly as possible by holding short, minimal teacher training courses, which will be supplemented by additional training during school vacations.

Women

In its development as a revolutionary party, FRELIMO has stressed women's equality. According to President Machel, "The liberation of women is a fundamental necessity of the revolution, the guarantee of its continuity, and the precondition of its victory." In 1967, FRELIMO formed a Women's Detachment to train women for military and political work. By 1972, FRELIMO had expanded its military operations to four of the country's nine provinces, which made the creation of a broader-based women's



Independence Day Parade: Unit of FRELIMO Women's Detachment

organization an imperative. In that year, the Organization of Mozambican Women (OMM) was founded as a mass women's organization within the structure of FRELIMO.

Deolinda Quezimane, the Secretary General of OMM, described to us what FRELIMO terms the "double exploitation" of women under the traditional and colonial systems. Traditionally, women were subject to forced early marriages, and a system of bride-price in which divorce was almost impossible: women were, in effect, a form of property. Women went through an intensive initiation period in which they were taught blind subservience to men. The colonial system reenforced discrimination against women. Also, many women were forced into prostitution by economic hardship, made worse by the loss of men to the war and to South Africa's mines.

OMM's program is multi-faceted: it is working to increase the number of girls in schools, is establishing day-care centers and orphanages, and is trying to change the attitudes of both men and women regarding women's role. OMM also sends women to the Women's Detachment for military training. Each grupo dinamizador (in the ex-colonial areas) and party committee (in the liberated areas) has a special sub-section on women's issues under OMM. Concretely, FRELIMO has abolished initiation rites in the liberated areas and has abolished the bride-price system nationally.

Rhodesia and South Africa

Apart from its domestic program, FRELIMO's major area of concern is the vast web of economic and political links tying the new state to the white minority regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa. The Mozambican port of Beira continues to be Rhodesia's main link to the sea, although Vice-President dos Santos told us that the expected announcement of a trade and transit embargo against the Smith regime would be made "soon." The decision made by the Commonwealth Conference to establish a fund to compensate Mozambique for the economic losses it faces by severing its Rhodesia ties was welcome news in Lourenco Marques.

Politically, FRELIMO discounts analyses which see Mozambican sanctions as the "death blow" to the Smith government. Sanctions will, according to dos Santos, "allow more possibilities for a negotiated settlement" but will not bring about Smith's downfall without the full implementation of sanctions by other countries. If this cooperation is not forthcoming, then armed resistance will follow. FRELIMO has let it be known that it will fully support military action against Rhodesia if it is necessary to bring about majority rule. It has been reported that Mozambique has given the go-ahead for the establishment of Zimbabwean guerrilla bases inside Mozambique.

Relations with South Africa are more complex and will prove to be more difficult to change in the long run than relations with Rhodesia. FRELIMO has no intention of establishing diplomatic

relations with South Africa, but Mozambique's economy will continue to be intertwined with that of its apartheid neighbor for a long time. This leads to some rather difficult problems: DETA, the Mozambican national airline has one flight a week to Dar es Salaam; it flies daily to Johannesburg. During the independence celebrations, honored foreign delegations were put up at Lourenco Marques' luxurious Polana Hotel which is wholly owned by South African interests. Economic ties with South Africa account for 25% of Mozambique's foreign exchange revenues, and include the important road, rail, and air links connecting Lourenco Marques with Johannesburg, the large South African tourist trade, and the flow of Mozambican laborers to the mines of the Transvaal.

Under the current arrangements, over 100,000 Mozambicans a year journey to work in South Africa's mines. The contract system provides a necessary and cheap supply of labor for one of South Africa's most important industries, and, in plain economic terms, an otherwise non-existent source of wage employment for a quarter of a million workers from the surrounding countries. FRELIMO's belief is that to call for an immediate end to the contract labor system would mean hardship for the thousands of families who depend on the wages remitted by the miners. At the same time, FRELIMO views the present system as morally and politically untenable. FRELIMO will probably adopt a disengagement plan along the lines of that suggested by Tanzania's foreign minister, John Malacela. Basically, the Malacela plan has two parts: the four principal suppliers of labor to South Africa--Mozambique, Malawi, Lesotho, and Swaziland--should act together as a cartel and establish a schedule of progressive reduction of the supply of miners. Secondly, South Africa would have to pay a large recruitment tax for each miner, which would go directly into developing sources of employment within each of the countries.

FRELIMO is faced with another dilemma which is in many ways similar to the problem of contract miners; namely, what to do with Lourenco Marques' large population of prostitutes. As a sexual playground for South Africans and as a major port town, Lourenco Marques is a well-known center of prostitution. Thousands of women are drawn to the city through a complex and highly organized recruitment system (organized in part by the city's three major brewing companies). FRELIMO's initial enforced ban on prostitution met with considerable resistance from prostitutes who argued (like their male counterparts in the mines) that they had families to support and had no other way of making a living. At the present time, the bars along the city's sin strip must close their doors at seven PM and prostitutes have adopted quieter methods of soliciting. Meanwhile, FRELIMO is searching for more acceptable means of employment.

Overall, FRELIMO's policy toward South Africa will be one of steady disengagement--developing other sources of foreign exchange, developing its links to Tanzania, Zambia, and Swaziland, and not letting Mozambique become a part of the detente strategy of the Vorster government.

FRELIMO and the future of Mozambique

FRELIMO leaders are careful to point out that eliminating the colonial legacy and creating a socialist Mozambique will be difficult, much more difficult than winning state control. But despite the mass poverty and uneven development that characterizes present day Mozambique, FRELIMO is confident that it will achieve its ambitious goals. The party has a secure political direction, it enjoys the overwhelming support of the people of Mozambique and perhaps more importantly, it is sincere in its desire to "learn from the people." The future of Mozambique is a very hopeful one.

INDEPENDENCE WEEK IN MOZAMBIQUE

The Committee for a Free Mozambique was invited by FRELIMO to send two representatives to Mozambique's independence celebration in June. Other members of our Committee attended the independence week activities as press representatives or as delegates from other invited organizations. Several groups, including churches and non-governmental agencies, which had supported the work of FRELIMO over the past years, sent representatives as well. As FRELIMO Vice-President and Minister of Development and Economic Planning, Marcelino dos Santos told us: "The celebrations were a meeting of friends." Thus the United States Government (and the French and West German Governments) which had given support to the former Portuguese colonial government's war efforts against FRELIMO were not invited.

Tourists were not allowed in Mozambique during independence week or the week preceeding. This policy was partly due to a shortage of hotel accommodations with so many invited guests and press people in Lourenco Marques; but more importantly, perhaps, was the necessity for security. "Work, unity, and vigilance" is an important FRELIMO slogan. The outbreak of violence in Lourenco Marques last September, inspired by rightwing interests opposed to a FRELIMO government, is still a vivid memory. It occurred just after the Lusaka Agreement between FRELIMO and the Portuguese Government had been signed setting forth the conditions and steps for independence. Since that time FRELIMO, and particularly President Samora Machel, have invested considerable energy retraining the guerrilla army into a peacetime security force. The presence of soldiers on the streets of Lourenco Marques and at all independence activities was a constant reminder of the need for vigilance.

During independence week, delegates were housed in Lourenco Marques' finest hotels. Somewhat ironically, one of our group was assigned to the Hotel Cardoza whose swimming pool is pictured in the CFM slide show as a symbol of European affluence.

Lourenco Marques is a large European-looking city with wide boulevards, tall buildings, sidewalk cafes, and nearby beaches dotted with lovely private residences. The city looks modern and comfortable, the stucco homes with manicured lawns contrasting sharply with the row upon row of tin/straw homes for the majority of the population in the outlying areas called suburbs. The kind of development Lourenco Marques represents -- a sophisticated tourist trade, retail businesses, and port traffic for South Africa -- is likely to be difficult to integrate into a new Mozambican socialist economy emphasizing rural communal life.

Lourenco Marques exuded political messages and popular spirit in its independence decorations. Huge pictures of Samora, Marcelino, and leaders from the past -- FRELIMO's first President Eduardo Mondlane and women's leader Josina Machel -- were seen on buildings, in store windows and on walls and lamp posts. Sayings and slogans were strung across the streets on banners and were also in windows and on walls. "Viva FRELIMO," "FRELIMO is the guide of the people," "Down with Imperialism, Colonialism, and Exploitation," "Women's Liberation is a Fundamental Necessity of the Revolution," "Production Liberates the People," and "In Study Is the Secret of Victory," are just a few examples.

Downtown stores had elaborate window displays, models of African villages and miniatures of Mozambican farms. It was strange to see the office of an American company with a FRELIMO flag and pictures of Samora in prominence.

Throughout the week of celebrations and even afterward we set up meetings with the new government. The FRELIMO protocol office provided us with an interpreter, a Portuguese Mozambican secondary school teacher who had been educated in South Africa. We also shared a minibus with representatives of FRELIMO support groups from West Germany, Holland, Belgium, and Canada. The support group representatives met several times while we were in Lourenco Marques to share experiences about our efforts to assist FRELIMO and other liberation movements in Southern Africa, to pool our knowledge, particularly about such critical situations as the current struggle in Angola, and to develop ways to better disseminate and pool information.

The festivities started officially on Monday afternoon, June 23, with the triumphant return to Lourenco Marques of Samora Machel after 13 years away fighting for independence. We went out on the street near our hotel to watch the procession pass by. Most of the people standing with us were of European origin, not surprising because the hotel was located in a wealthy section of the city. What was somewhat surprising was the incredible excitement these people showed anticipating their first view of the person who would be their President in independent Mozambique. As we waited there were frequent outbursts of FRELIMO songs and chanting of FRELIMO slogans.

It has been reported that over the last two years almost half of the 200,000 Europeans living in Mozambique have left. This exodus has been somewhat of a self-selection process with those opposed to an independent Mozambique under FRELIMO either returning to Portugal or moving to South Africa or Brazil. Those Portuguese, or Mozambicans of European origin, whom we met, appeared to support FRELIMO and were enthusiastically participating in independence activities and worked voluntarily as guides and interpreters.

When the President's party finally did pass by, the entire cavalcade of cars looked so ordinary (an uncommon sight when compared to the pomp and extravagance exhibited in other countries) that Samora himself was barely visible. The same was true the next evening, independence eve, at Machava Stadium at the outskirts of town where at midnight the Portuguese flag was to be lowered and the Mozambique flag raised and national anthem played for the first time.

The flag lowering didn't take place until 12:20 because heavy rains prevented people from reaching the stadium by midnight. Our group abandoned its minibus a mile away and walked through the rain and mud for the last mile.

Shortly after midnight Samora Machel, other FRELIMO leaders and invited foreign guests arrived in a collection of Mercedes, Peugeot, Renaults, even a Mustang and VW, along with a local taxi cab and a motorcycle brigade. They motored once around the stadium. By this time FRELIMO chants and songs were drowned out by a crescendo of cheers and shouts from the Mozambicans packed into the stadium. The ceremony was brief yet powerful, the honor guard advancing and lowering the Portuguese flag, symbolically ending more than 500 years of Portuguese colonialism. Then the new Mozambique flag was raised, unfurling in the rain. The design pictured the industrial production and working class symbol of a gear encasing the other symbols of the Revolution -- defence and vigilance in the gun; agricultural production and the peasant class in the hoe, knowledge and the value of education in the book, and a red star for the international spirit of the Mozambican people.

The outer rim of the stadium wall was flanked by soldiers. Many of them had probably been guerrilla fighters. How different it must have seemed and how exhilarating to now be guarding and protecting a freedom which they themselves had been instrumental in achieving.

We didn't get back to our hotel until 3:30 in the morning. However, when we arrived, we could hear FRELIMO songs from the kitchen. Several of us went into the kitchen to congratulate the Mozambicans there on their independence and to join with them in FRELIMO cheers.



CROWDS AWAITING SAMORA'S TRIUMPHANT RETURN TO LOURENCO MARQUES

June 25, independence day itself, was filled with three major events. Samora Machel, President of FRELIMO, was invested as President of the People's Republic of Mozambique in a declaration read by FRELIMO Vice-President, Marcelino dos Santos. Thus, as the rightful leader of Mozambique, Samora was formally bequeathed his position not by the existing Portuguese government but by the Central Committee of FRELIMO. At that time Samora gave his important Message to the Nation, the most significant speech presented during the independence period. (This speech is being reprinted in the October Southern Africa Magazine, 244 W. 27th Street, New York, New York 10001.)

Next came the stone laying ceremony for the Monument to the Heroes of the Struggle for National Liberation. In the afternoon the People's and Military March Pass took place, an extraordinary parade involving a representation of the life and history of the Mozambican people. There were the usual groups of small bands, workers, many sections of the army and the police, peasants, women, all marching, singing, and waving banners. More unusual were the floats (mainly trucks) which depicted with great imagination and ingenuity the principal agricultural and industrial work of the country, by showing in different stages a process such as growing sugar (refining, packaging) or building a bus on different floats. Also dramatized was the nature of colonialism, the military seizures by Portugal, the negative role of the church, forced labor, prostitution, the massacres and then the liberation, the people's army, and FRELIMO. One float carried a huge map of Mozambique with chains connecting it to massive dollar signs. Sayings, production goals, and handwritten signs covered the floats. It was an educational event, filled with humor, enthusiasm, and much participation.

After the parade, the crowd which had been thickly seated on makeshift stands and near the road began to move forward. Joachim Chissano, the new Minister of Foreign Affairs, spoke with the people. He said they didn't need the police to control the people, and asked whether or not they were organized. "Yes, we're organized," replied the crowd. "If we're organized then the President's car can pass," Chissano answered. "The Comrade President is not here for a vacation, he is here to stay." The crowd backed away and the President's car passed.

The 25th closed with a State Banquet given by the President on behalf of the Mozambican people, for the international delegates to the celebrations. There were delegates from all over the world. Most prominent were the Africans. Other delegations included the Chinese, the Vietnamese, both north and south, Cambodians, North Koreans, the Scandinavian countries, Britain, the Socialist countries of Europe, the USSR, Mexico, and Cuba. The banquet was held at a camp grounds, not far from the beach. Like so many of the official events, there was an atmosphere of camaraderie, propriety yet informality. Samora spoke about each delegation. In the case of Western support groups he emphasized that he would say they were groups from "western" countries and not "capitalist" countries, reiterating the traditional FRELIMO distinction between a government and a people.

Beginning on Sunday, June 22, there was a week of daily performances of plays, films, dances, poetry readings, and sports events. Such cultural festivities occurred throughout Mozambique, as did the visual culture of art, signs, and sayings. Each province developed ten different artistic troupes representative of their cultural traditions and sent one to each of the ten provinces to perform as part of the independence celebrations. As a result representatives from

all regions and tribes joined in sharing their particular cultural heritage with other Mozambicans, a concrete step toward building feelings of nationhood and national unity. "Abolish tribalism," "abolish regionalism," and "national unity is a key to progress" were among the political slogans on walls and on banners across the streets in Lourenco Marques.

The plays usually had historic themes, some about the ancient days of the Monomatapa empire and the inroads of the colonialists and their allies; the resistance of the people, the advent of FRELIMO, and so forth. Other performances focused on the political development of FRELIMO, its internal problems and deviant political lines represented by the elitism of Simango and the personal greed and regionalism of Kavandame; the assassination of Mondlane, the armed struggle and mobilization of villagers and the routing of the Portuguese (with magnificent caricatures of the Portuguese military leaders like Kaulza de Arriaga). Many shows included dances, some of men coming home from the mines, some with children, some very choreographed with young men and women in bright shirts and shorts. All of the performances were carried out with enthusiasm, vigor, humor, and a desire to engage the audiences which consisted of families with children in arms, young people, older citizens, and foreign guests.

A particularly moving moment during a play on the history of women in Mozambique came with a poem entitled in English translation "I Accuse," recited by an ex-prostitute, now a militant in the FRELIMO army. In emotional tones, the Mozambican woman castigated the Portuguese system of colonialism which she believes forced her into a situation where she had no alternative for survival but to live the life of a prostitute.



WOMEN DANCERS AT INDEPENDENCE CELEBRATION

When we spoke with Graca Simbine, the new Minister of Education and Culture, the week after independence, she stressed the importance of culture as another kind of mobilization for people, a way to "rediscover ourselves." "We must learn who we are and what we want to be," she said. FRELIMO clearly understands that reality -- people's culture was a strong part of the celebrations.

Sporting events were a continuing part of the festivities. There were basketball, tennis, judo, horse shows, racing, roller hockey, cycling, swimming, sailing, and chess competitions. International teams from other African countries and Holland participated plus interprovincial teams. A Chinese martial arts team also performed throughout Mozambique during the celebrations. The Festival of the Continuadores (children -- continuers of the revolution) was a culminating event for many during independence week. Held on the 26th in the stadium, more than 100,000 people came in the afternoon to see thousands of children engage in gymnastic feats and dances. The Festival opened with the lighting of the Torch of Unity, with a flame that had been carried by foot runners through each province in Mozambique, from the Rovuma to the Maputo Rivers which mark the country's northern and southern borders. There were so many children assembled at the festival, not all of them could perform. Again, like so many of the events the participants were capable yet not unduly regimented. Their acts consisted of various types of dancing, singing, and chanting.

Each delegation that remained in Lourenco Marques was invited to meet with Marcelino dos Santos. Three of us spent more than an hour talking generally about the celebrations, foreign policy (Rhodesia, South Africa, foreign investment), plans for developing communal villages, the role of industry, etc. (See other section of newsletter.)

The first time we met government people was at an international delegates' reception at Government House, where we were ushered into a room, announced by Comrade Chissano, and directed to greet President Samora and Vice President Marcelino. Samora's parting words to us were, "We know your situation is difficult and we appreciate the contribution you have made to our struggle. Continue the good work."

The second chance we had to speak directly with FRELIMO leaders came on July 1, when the new government was installed. Most delegations had already left Lourenco Marques; only the press, new embassy officials, and some support group representatives remained. We witnessed the swearing in ceremonies where each new Government minister read a statement of loyalty to the people of Mozambique, signed it, and then embraced with Samora. Alberto Chipande, the military commander of FRELIMO, was one of the first to be installed, as Minister of Defense. His embrace with Samora was an emotional high point and lasted for what seemed to be a very long time. The power of that moment for both of them and for us watching -- reflecting back on the long years they worked so closely together as political comrades, military strategists, and guerrilla fighters, in what many believed was an impossible struggle -- was almost too overwhelming to be appreciated.

A receiving line where those present could congratulate the new officials and champagne followed. Upon seeing us Samora paused, thought about the name of our Committee -- the Committee for a Free Mozambique -- and then his eyes sparkled as he said, "Oh, the button, the button." He was referring to the button produced by CFM, and sent to FRELIMO, which had a picture of Eduardo Mondlane and the words FRELIMO VENCERA.



committee for a FREE MOZAMBIQUE

September 8, 1975

Dear Friend of Mozambique:

The people of Mozambique have been living in a politically independent nation under the leadership of FRELIMO for almost three months. Development policies of the new government are beginning to emerge. This issue of News and Notes includes two articles. The first deals with the current situation in Mozambique from a political and economic standpoint. The second article is a firsthand report on the independence week celebrations in Lourenco Marques, written by members of our committee who were there as invited guests of FRELIMO. (Incidentally, no CFM funds were used for their trips -- we weren't sure that was clear from our last newsletter.)

Recently, working members of CFM have been engaging in discussions concerning possible future directions for our group. There are several areas of support work for FRELIMO which we would like to pursue: 1) research on subjects of importance to FRELIMO, such as on American corporations which are in Mozambique; 2) financial and material support, including assistance to representatives of the FRELIMO government when they are in New York and at the United Nations; and 3) periodic News and Notes to communicate new developments in Mozambique and in other areas of southern Africa. We have decided to put out four issues of News and Notes a year and to continue to work on FRELIMO related projects. In addition, we plan to work more closely with Southern Africa magazine. We believe this publication provides excellent coverage of events in Southern Africa and suggest that you subscribe (send \$6.00 to Southern Africa Committee, 244 West 27th Street, Fifth Floor, N.Y., N.Y. 10001 for a one year subscription).

At this time we are following very closely the situation in Angola, particularly the influence of the American government and American corporations. Enclosed is a leaflet on this topic. We hope our readers will be alert to the possibility of the United States Government exerting its power to force certain policies in Angola, against both the will and the interests of the people there.

Shortly before independence, the Committee for a Free Mozambique presented FRELIMO with an independence gift of \$1650 to be used for educational purposes. This use of the contribution was suggested by Bill and Ruth Minter, two CFM members who have been working at the FRELIMO Secondary School for over a year and a half.

This News and Notes has cost us over \$200 to print and mail! As in the past, we need your contributions. We hope you will continue to support us.

A Luta Continua!
Committee for a Free Mozambique

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