

# MOZAMBIQUE REVOLUTION



Portuguese soldiers with FRELIMO

(see story inside)

Front cover :

PORTUGUESE SOLDIERS WITH FRELIMO

From left to right:

JOÃO BORGES GOMES (prisoner)

MANUEL DA SILVA LOPES (deserter)

MANUEL DE JESUS SAMPAIO (deserter)

AMÉRICO NEVES DE SOUSA (deserter)

FERNANDO DOS SANTOS ROSA (prisoner)

MOZAMBIQUE LIBERATION FRONT

FRELIMO

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MOZAMBIQUE REVOLUTION

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# EDITORIAL

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The year which is now drawing to a close was for Mozambicans full of success, despite many difficulties. In fact, it was during the year of 1968 that, for the first time, our army launched large-scale actions against the enemy forces, attacking their garrisons, destroying posts, capturing weapons and ammunition, killing and wounding many enemy soldiers and capturing some of them.

The enemy lost their initiative on most of the fronts. The action of our guerrillas was such that the enemy forces had to resort to cowardly air-raids as the only means of acting against us. This year our forces severed most of their land communications in Cabo Delgado and Niassa: roads, railways, etc. In order to face the intensified enemy air-raids, our army did not confine itself to using anti-aircraft guns, which have nevertheless been very useful during the past four years; our forces went further and carried out direct attacks against air-fields destroying many aircraft. Such was the attack against the airfield of Mueda, last August, in which twelve enemy aircraft were destroyed.

It was also in this year, in March, 1968, that FRELIMO resumed its military offensive in the important province of TETE. Here the imperialist and racialist forces are trying to establish their last economic and military stronghold to defend their interests in the rest of southern Africa. Our forces continue to advance on this new front despite an intense concentration of enemy troops, reinforced with white racialists from South Africa. Only a few days ago the enemy, confused by the action of our guerrillas, bombed civilian populations in Zambia. This provoked a counter-attack by Zambia, resulting in the death of some Portuguese soldiers. With the intensification of our political activities, with increased material regularly captured from the enemy, there can be little doubt that the armed struggle in TETE will be crowned with even bigger successes in 1969. The order of the day for FRELIMO is: Cabora Bassa delenda est- Cabora Bassa must be destroyed!

The year of 1968 also witnessed progress in the fields of agricultural production: an increase in the number of shambas and the establishment of new co-operatives, as well as advance in the fields of education and health.

During the course of the year, four journalists, including a woman, have visited the liberated areas and written detailed articles about our



struggle and our life there.

It was during this year, 1968, that FRELIMO held its second Congress, the first to take place in national territory. The resolutions of the Congress are already widely known, but we must mention here some of its most important results.

First of all there was the reorganisation of the top directing body of FRELIMO. Before the second Congress, there was only one directing body: the Central Committee, with three functions: legislative, administrative and judicial. At the second Congress the Central Committee was expanded from twenty to forty members, comprising people elected by the Congress and by the Provincial Councils and has responsibility for legislation. The Political and Military Committee was established to study and resolve the urgent problems of the struggle in these spheres and to submit semi-annual reports to the Central Committee. Finally, the Executive Committee consisting of the President, the Vice-President and the Secretaries of the Departments, direct the struggle, carrying out the policy established by the Central Committee within the directives laid down by the Congress itself.

This reorganisation of the top structural organs is already proving highly successful. The expansion of the Central Committee to double its original size permitted the inclusion of militants who work in the political and military front lines. The presence of these new members has made a valuable contribution to the work of the Central Committee and has reduced the distance that was developing between the cadres and the masses. Moreover, the fact that the new Executive Committee has only administrative functions eliminated any sense of inaccessibility, which was a contradictory factor in a revolutionary and popular movement like FRELIMO.

The effect of this reorganisation had a striking impact on the first meeting of the new Central Committee in August, 1968. The new members introduced a stimulating and refreshing spirit into the meeting. Problems were discussed with a frankness worthy of a fighting movement, and the decisions and conclusions were unequivocal.

It would not be honest to end without referring to some of the problems which our organisation has faced during the year 1968.

It is too much to expect that FRELIMO should have achieved so many victories against the enemy and yet not have suffered any setbacks. During the past year, the enemy has not just confined themselves to confrontations on the battle-field, where they suffer constant punishment. The traditional cowardice of the Portuguese Government forced it to resort to all kinds of tricks in an attempt to compensate for defeats being suffered on the military front. We have already referred to the indiscriminate use of air-craft against the innocent and defenceless population. In these air-attacks it is naturally the people who suffer, particularly the women,

old people, children and the disabled.

The Portuguese pilots amuse themselves by bombing everything that has life or economic value with incendiary bombs such as napalm, killing people, destroying crops, cattle, etc. The aim of the enemy is to exterminate our population and destroy our people's means of livelihood.

In addition, during 1968, the enemy also tried to create divisions between the people and the leaders of FRELIMO, among the leaders themselves, between the cadres and the units, among the students and their teachers and the leaders of the movement, aimed at creating confusion and weakening the struggle. In order to achieve maximum results the enemy used everything within its reach: tribalism, regionalism, racialism, and even the christian religion. In certain spheres of our work, where we were caught unawares the enemy achieved some temporary victories. Such was the case of the attack by stooges against the FRELIMO office in Dar es Salaam, on 9 May, in which our brother MATEUS SANSÃO MUTHEMBA lost his life. It was also the cause of disturbances by undisciplined students which forced our secondary school to suspend its classes for some months. In all these events, one could see the dominant theme of the enemy action: to do anything that would weaken FRELIMO through dissension.

Finally, we must say something about the disappearance of Antonio d'Oliveira Salazar, former President of the Council of Ministers of the fascist Portuguese Government, who has been near death for the past three months. The Portuguese Government decided to hand over the reins of power to Professor Marcelo Caetano, former Minister of the Colonies, President of the Corporative Chamber, and Rector of Lisbon University. We consider that the removal of Dr. Salazar has very little significance in the political life of the people of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea. The impending death of Salazar is a biological fact, its political meaning is minimal; consequently it interests only the Portuguese people. Professor Caetano is one of the architects of the fascist political system which has controlled Portugal for the past forty years. While Minister for the Colonies, he created many of the cruel laws so characteristic of Portuguese colonialism. Since his investiture as Prime Minister of Portugal in September, 1968, Professor Caetano has said nothing new to make us reconsider our opinion about him, namely, that he is one of the creators of Portuguese fascism and that he is ready to continue the Salazarist policy of oppression, exploitation and massacre of the African people.

During 1968 we learned many lessons, and through the difficulties widened our experience and knowledge in many fields. These will help us in our actions in the new year, 1969. We now know that we must intensify our vigilance against the infiltration of enemy agents; we must put into practise the programmes drawn up by the Congress; we must step up the armed struggle for liberation. Those of our people who were waiting for Salazar to die hoping that this would produce a change in the policies of the colonial, fascist government have now seen their mistake. The only way of liberating our country is by the people's own efforts.

The war will continue until victory is won.

# PORTUGUESE SOLDIERS WITH FRELIMO

In October, 1968, three more Portuguese soldiers deserted from the colonialist army and sought refuge with FRELIMO. They are living in a liberated area of our country, under the protection of the guerrillas, together with two other Portuguese soldiers who were captured last March.

Who are these soldiers? Where do they come from? What are their thoughts on the war being fought in the colonies? Why did they desert? A member of our Information Department interviewed them and has presented the following report:

MANUEL DE JESUS SANTOS is twenty-two, is a carpenter like his father, and was conscripted into the army at the age of nineteen. He was posted to Mozambique and became a corporal, but was later demoted for insubordination. As part of his punishment he was posted to Mueda to work on the building of a hospital. He eventually deserted from Mueda because of the way he was treated in the Portuguese army. It is interesting to note that although the Portuguese authorities talk of "overseas provinces" and claim to treat them just like any other province in Portugal, even white Mozambicans are considered inferior to white Portuguese. Manuel, in fact, was born in Mozambique and had this to say on the subject:

"I deserted from the post of Mueda. Soldiers there are treated like dogs. I also ran away because of the way that I saw the Mozambican people are treated. I am considered a Mozambican (and I consider myself one) and was thus treated differently to the Portuguese from Portugal. This happened to all white Mozambicans" - an interesting comment when the "overseas provinces" are claimed to be just as much a part of Portugal as any of the provinces there. "I decided to desert soon after I arrived in Mueda. My original plan was to desert with other Portuguese born in Mozambique, but this was not easy to organise as it was difficult to have confidence in the others - anyone could be an agent of PIDE. The sort of thing that disgusted me, for example, was to see a Mozambican being beaten just because he could not speak Portuguese. If Mozambique could one day be independent it would be wonderful for all of us". (We must not be deceived by this remark. Although there may be, among the Mozambican-born Portuguese, some who would accept to be ruled by Africans, almost all of them desire something like a unilateral declaration of independence, Rhodesian style, which would allow them to use for themselves the fruits of the exploitation of our country and our people.)

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Told would find Chinese, Russians...

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He has also described their meeting with FRELIMO, "After deserting we spent

several days in the bush, and suffered greatly from hunger and thirst. Then we were seen by a FRELIMO soldier. We were unarmed and talked to him and he took us to a shamba, where we met a FRELIMO hunter who treated us very well. From there we were taken to a FRELIMO military base. I must thank FRELIMO for the way I was received. I never thought I would be treated so well by them". Manuel's description of the Portuguese army contrasts sharply with his observations on FRELIMO. "I am very surprised at your morale. I have seen for example that when there is an air-raid the FRELIMO people go to their shelters singing and without panic. If that had been the Portuguese, they would even have been crying. I was surprised when I came here, because I thought I would find Chinese, Russians, Cubans, Algerians and Tanzanians, as the officers tell us in Mueda. They tell us that the difficulties of the war stem from the fact that strangers are fighting against Portugal, that they have already seen white men and that if it were only Mozambicans they could be easily caught. But now I know this is a lie".

AMERICO NEVES DE SOUSA is twenty-eight and a shoemaker and tailor. However, he says that he did not fully qualify as a tailor and he can't quite make coats properly. "But I am very good when it comes to shoes. I can do the whole job right from the design to the finished shoe". When he was eighteen, like thousands of other low-paid Portuguese workers, he went to France illegally and worked there for ten months. When he returned he was conscripted into the army. He served in both Guinea and Angola, before being sent to Mozambique where he arrived on 16 February, 1968. He was first posted to Nampula where he worked in the military tailoring shop. Then, one day he received orders to go to Mueda. "In Nampula everyone talked about Mueda. Every day there were soldiers coming from there, killed, wounded and crippled. I arrived in Mueda on the 12 May - it was in a state of war. I didn't know whether it was against Tanzania or what. The officers said the war was against Russia."

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#### Betrayed not betrayer

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I had been in Mueda two days when the command company returned from an operation. I saw that one of the soldiers had his hands covered in blood. I asked where it came from and he replied that they had attacked a village and killed the whole population with knives - old people, women and children. I felt absolutely disgusted. If soldiers want to kill each other, that's all well and good, but to murder women and children, I could not stand for that. I deserted because I was conscious that the war was inhuman, we had no right to fight against a people who want their freedom. I also deserted because I was treated like a slave in the Portuguese army: I was there for eight years. I was unhappy, demoralised - I decided to run away from the bloody officers. I know that some people will say I betrayed my country. But I did not betray her: it was me who was betrayed just as all the people of Portugal are being betrayed: because the poor people in Portugal are very badly treated."

"At the headquarters the commanders used to say that if someone got lost in the bush, or ran away, he was finished: he would die of hunger and thirst, or be killed by FRELIMO bandits. In Mueda they said that Fernando had been tied to a tree and killed with arrows. The officers assured us that they had seen him dead. But I didn't believe them. I started to prepare my escape. I had about twenty men ready to escape with me, but we had to run away earlier because one of my friends was going to be arrested - so we had to advance our plans and only three of us could come".

The third member of the group is MANUEL DE SILVA LOPES who was born in Santa Eulalia, Portugal. He is twenty-two and a bricklayer. He was conscripted into the army in 1966 and trained in artillery. He claims to have completed his primary education, i.e. attended school until the age of thirteen, but as he is completely illiterate this seems highly unlikely. He is by far the weakest member of the group and indeed, gives the impression of being slightly dim-witted. He seems incapable of thinking for himself and always follows the lead of the other two. As the other two explained, they brought him along because he was going to be punished for threatening an officer at gun-point.

The two prisoners were captured in separate operations on the 7 and 24 March respectively.

JOAO BORGES GOMES is twenty-two years old. He attended school until the age of thirteen and then went to work on the land until the age of twenty-one when he was conscripted. He spent three months as a recruit under regular training and then another three months receiving specialised training as a sniper before embarking for Mozambique on 31 January, 1968. He was eventually posted to Chai, which the day after his arrival, was attacked by FRELIMO. During the fighting he was injured and while still unconscious was taken away by FRELIMO. Since that time he has been with us receiving medical treatment and has now completely recovered.

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Don't know why fighting

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When asked to comment on his treatment by FRELIMO he stated: "I was well treated and have no complaints to make. Of course, there was sometimes a shortage of food. That is why it took me several months to recover. But this was because we were in the fighting areas and so I understand". On being asked why he came to Mozambique, if he came to defend his country, he replied: "No! I came like all the other Portuguese soldiers. We were forced. We don't have anything to defend here. Only the officers say that everything is calm in Mozambique. We soldiers are only fighting because we have been ordered to fight. When we go to the bush on an operation we are afraid, and pray that the enemy will not appear. We are not fighting for anything. You, FRELIMO, are fighting to defend your country, Mozambique,

and for freedom. We fight for nothing. We don't know why we are fighting - we are only carrying out orders.

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No war?!

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FERNANDO DOS SANTOS ROSA is twenty-four, married with one child. He had two years of primary education and then became a shepherd. From the age of fourteen he worked on the land. In October, 1965 he ran away to France to avoid conscription. He worked for fourteen months in a factory. Then he received a letter from his father asking him to return home for a family reunion at Christmas - one of his brothers was returning on leave from military service in Angola. So he returned with his other brother who had also been working in France. However, when Fernando tried to go back to France, he was caught by the Spanish police. He was under arrest in Portugal for one month and then released in order to get married. Three months later he was again arrested, but this time by the military police for evading his conscription. He spend 5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> months in the army in Portugal and was then posted to Mozambique, where he was sent to Nambude. There the officers said that there was no war, only half a dozen bandits in the bush who were not dangerous.

Some days after his arriyal, on the 11 February, his platoon went on a patrol into the bush. "About 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> kilometres from the post we hit a mine. The African guide in front was gravely wounded and two soldiers were killed. We immediately returned to the post and did not leave again until 9 March, when we went out on an operation against a FRELIMO base. We marched the whole day with only one combat ration - food for one meal. A helicopter was supposed to come later and bring more food, but did not appear. We camped and left at 6.00 the following morning. After a few hours the platoon in front fell into an ambush. There was heavy fighting and several soldiers were killed. When the fighting was over, this platoon refused to continue in front, so the commander ordered my platoon, which had been in the rear, to go to the front. We set off towards the south, by now very hungry and thirsty - only the soldiers, that is, because the officers had plenty to eat and drink. As the guide knew that there was water in the east we headed in that direction. We reached the water late at night and camped there. Early next morning when we went to put water in our canteens, we noted a small path. It was decided that this might lead to the FRELIMO base, so the commander ordered us to prepare to march. However, FRELIMO soldiers had organised an ambush ahead of us. The guide saw them and opened fire. There was heavy fighting with bazookas and mortars. Some of our soldiers were killed, others wounded. Eventually the FRELIMO group retreated south but, instead of ordering us to pursue them in that direction, the commander ordered us to organise a search in the east. We thus headed east. The officers started eating again. For the third consecutive day we had no food. Apparently, as they knew we might be near a FRELIMO base, they had not sent out the helicopter to bring us food. Consequently, we did not eat."



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## Mutiny threat

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"That afternoon we started to rebel, saying that we had to go back. But the commander said that we could not return until we had entered the enemy base. So we talked to the chiefs of sections, who talked to the chiefs of platoons, who in turn addressed the commander of the company. The chiefs of platoons were very confused and did not know what to do. Eventually, we threatened to mutiny unless we went back to the post. By this time it was raining very heavily. The commander had no alternative but to allow us to return to Nambude. The next day the commander of the battallion flew out from Mocimboa da Praia to look for us near where the FRELIMO base was supposed to be. He did not see us because we were well on our way back to Nambude.

"He was furious and came to Nambude intent on taking disciplinary action against the company commander for not accomplishing his mission. However, the latter explained that the troops had threatened to shoot him because they could not last out any longer without food. So we were all ordered out on parade and addressed by the battallion commander. He said that in Angola four independent companies went eight days with only three meals in order to enter an enemy base, but they succeeded. What about you? he said. There was no answer. Anyway, I am sure he was lying. It is humanly impossible to be eight days under fire without food."

After this incident Fernando's company stayed in the post until 4 March, when a football tournament for all the teams in the post had been planned. But at 5.15 a.m. FRELIMO attacked the post. "At the side of the post where FRELIMO entered there had been only four sentries on duty and heavy rain was falling. I had finished my sentry duty at 5.00 a.m. and was already in bed. I had only taken off my boots because at 7.00 a.m. we took our coffee. I had been in bed only a few minutes when I heard the cannons and mortars. I went outside the barracks, saw there was heavy fighting, and went back inside again. Suddenly, a mortar hit the roof and destroyed it. I saw that there were already many FRELIMO soldiers inside the post, so I went and lay on my bed and put the mattress over me. Then another shell exploded, this time inside the barrack room. I was lucky. I didn't die because I was protected by the mattress. Shortly afterwards, FRELIMO soldiers entered the barrackroom and caught me."

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## Want to go home

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When questioned about the general attitude of Portuguese soldiers, Fernando replied: "They cannot fight with courage. What are they defending here? We fight because we are forced to. Where I was, for example, all that we longed for was that we would never find the enemy. All we wanted was to

return to Portugal, to our families. They tell us that all Portuguese men who are not invalids must fight to defend their country. But in Portugal there is no war and we wonder, if our country is being threatened, why do they send us away from her?"

It is remarkable how, time and again, the same points are raised by these five soldiers. The phrase "the officers told us" crops up again and again. The officers told them of FRELIMO brutalities, and they found out for themselves that this was a lie. They were constantly being told that there was no war - just a handful of bandits, until they arrived in the bush and could see for themselves. Then they were told that there were difficulties only because they were fighting foreigners. The reasons for this extensive propaganda are obvious.

The Portuguese authorities cannot admit the strength and power of FRELIMO. They cannot admit that they are engaged in a full-scale war against the Mozambican people because they will reveal how ludicrous is their claim that Mozambique is just another province of Portugal. Moreover, the morale of their troops also has to be taken into consideration. These poor ignorant people are shipped to Mozambique by the thousand and forced to spend four years in the bush when they never wanted to leave Portugal in the first place. So they have to be convinced that they are loyally defending their mother-country.

By emphasizing the brutality of the "bandits" in the bush, they are desperately trying to revive the soldiers flagging morale. It is their aim to demonstrate to the troops that they are the forces of law and order fighting a small group of terrorists and thus detract attention from such questions as what exactly they are fighting for. But surely the mere fact that they should feel the necessity to do this is an indication of growing discontent among the rank and file. The three deserters now with us certainly bear out this point. Indeed, they claimed that more were ready to join them, but their plans suddenly had to be advanced and they left earlier than expected. Moreover, there were many others who had expressed similar feelings but who dare not act out of concern for their families at home, fear of being found out by PIDE, or merely out of belief in the officers' propaganda concerning FRELIMO brutality.

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#### Portuguese also exploited

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But the growing number of Portuguese soldiers who desert in Guinea, Mozambique and Angola, show that all this propaganda is unsuccessful. The Portuguese soldiers cannot understand how they are supposed to be fighting for Portugal in a foreign country. All they want is to go home to their families. They, and the majority of Portuguese soldiers, are



very simple people - peasant, bricklayer, carpenter, tailor - whose position at home is one of extreme poverty. They are forced by their low wages to go abroad illegally to get work; they are forced to suffer crippling and death in order to protect the overseas investments and financial interests of their masters. Not one of these soldiers has had any higher education than the primary level, some as little as two years and one is completely illiterate.

This fact explains our policy of clemency to deserters and prisoners, which seems so strange to people familiar with Portuguese brutality, both to prisoners and civilians. We will kill Portuguese soldiers to drive them away from our country, but we have no quarrel with the Portuguese people. The same capitalist interests that exploit the Mozambicans have their stranglehold on the Portuguese people too. Which is yet another reason for the army officers and politicians to spread their propaganda. For if the soldiers in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea begin to question their presence here, and to act accordingly, as did these deserters, they might eventually start to question their situation at home.

The Congress reaffirms the total solidarity of FRELIMO and of the Mozambican people with all forces fighting against colonialism, imperialism and exploitation of man by man.

The Congress reaffirms the determination of FRELIMO and of the whole people of Mozambique, to contribute more and more towards the unity and consolidation of the general movement against colonialism and imperialism, for the economic, political, social and cultural emancipation of all people.

...we salute the Portuguese people who are fighting strongly against fascism, for democracy and freedom.

(Extracts from FRELIMO's II  
Congress General Declaration).

SOLDIERS OF THE PORTUGUESE COLONIALIST ARMY  
KILLED IN ACTION IN MOZAMBIQUE

(As announced by the Information Services  
of the Portuguese Armed Forces)

Lieutenant		ANTONIO JOAQUIM PRIMO CANHÃO
Sub-lieutenants		MANUEL FRAGA CARVALHO JOAQUIM MANUEL RAMOS MANTAS
Sargeants		SANTOS ANTUNES JACINTO RODRIGUES TIMOR HENRIQUE TEIXEIRA RODRIGUES ELIAS MACHAVA MANUEL DA SILVA
Corporals	15/66 043829/67 11396/67 1310/66 077028/66 020493/68 069313/68	ANTONIO BARREIRA CUNHA HORACIO SOUSA ROCHA CRISTO RODRIGUES DA COSTA VALDEMAR FERNANDES CARVALHO MANUEL TEIXEIRA MONTEIRO SEBASTIAO COELHO TRINDADE AMARAL ALMEIDA LOPES
Privates	111969/67 0452214/67 109435/67 109969/67  069955/67 713261/66 712962/66 379/68	JACINTO MANUEL DE SOUSA MANUEL ANJOS PINTO FERNANDO JOAQUIM JESUS MAGALHÃES JOEL SANTOS FONTES DINIZ CHAIBO MATEMGUE AJUSSA EDUARDO URLUSSA AMIZE JOAO MANUEL SANTOS PERPETUO JOAO ERNESTO TIAGO JORGE BANDE MULAU MUHAMEDI MUSSA ALI PEDRO IMALA MANUEL ANJOS PINTO GRANADO MANUEL MARQUES JACINTO MANUEL DE SOUSA BERNARDO MILHO EMILIO XAVIER PEDRO CANDIDO TEIXEIRA ANTONIO MARIA MINGUES MANUEL JOAQUIM ROQUE AGIBO CELUMANE

# FRELIMO

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## Communique

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In the fighting areas, our attacks against the Portuguese forces are being intensified - in particular, our mine operations, ambushes and assaults against enemy bases (later in this communique, we shall recount some of those operations, in Cabo Delgado and Niassa Province). The Portuguese have been forced to acknowledge the extensive development of our struggle: in the September issue of their Information Bulletin of the Portuguese Armed Forces in Mozambique, they announced that during that one month alone, their forces were engaged in 9640 actions and 145 operations against the "terrorists" in Mozambique.

In the liberated areas, our control is being consolidated: we are developing production, building more schools, establishing medical services, establishing a people's administration. In October, 2 journalists from the United Arab Republic, Mr. HAMED SULIMAN and MOHAME SAID, from "El Mosawar", were in free Mozambique. In November, a writer and journalist, Mrs. BARBARA LYSSARIDES spent 11 days with FRELIMO in Cabo Delgado Province.

In October, 3 more Portuguese soldiers deserted from the post of MUEDA and sought refuge with FRELIMO, stating that they did so "because we don't want to die in an unjust and inhuman war, which only brings profit to the capitalists, who exploit us." Two other Portuguese soldiers are also with FRELIMO, in Mozambique: they were captured in attacks against the posts of NAMBUDE and CHAI.

Our struggle is advancing successfully.

### SOME MILITARY OPERATIONS

#### CABO DELGADO PROVINCE.

On 2nd September, enemy troops from MUEDA left their post to attack one of our bases. During their march, they twice fell on our mines. Our guerrillas were alerted by the explosions and mined a large area that the Portuguese would have to cross to reach our base and placed FRELIMO flags in the mined area. When they caught sight of the flags, the Portuguese approached to take them. Six were immediately killed, and 5 others were wounded. Subsequently, they gave up their operation and returned to MUEDA.

On 4th September, an enemy convoy left NEGOMANO for MOCIMBOA DA PRAIA. On the way the front lorry was destroyed by a mine: several soldiers were killed, others were wounded.

On 20th September a Portuguese convoy of 18 vehicles carrying troops, left MUEDA for SAGAL. When it reached MATUKUTUKU, it hit a mine and the 2 front lorries were blown up.

On the same day (20/9/68) an enemy unit left NANGOLOLO with the intention of attacking villages in the zone of TUMBATE. As they were drawing near, they stepped on our mines and suffered a number of casualties. The population, alerted by the explosions, organised an ambush, which resulted in 5 Portuguese killed and 2 wounded. The Portuguese ran away, and stopped to rest some miles further. Here they were again attacked, this time by our guerrillas: more of them were killed and wounded. After this attack a helicopter came to retrieve the dead and wounded: it made 3 trips, each time accompanied by 2 planes which bombed the surrounding countryside.

On 11th October, a Portuguese company went out on patrol from the post of NANGADE. Three times they stepped on our mines, and many of them were either killed or wounded. After falling on the third mine, they decided to retreat to NANGADE. However, as they were far from the post, they sent for lorries from NANGADE to fetch them, together with their dead and wounded. Three lorries left NANGADE: 10 kms. away, in SIMILA, our guerrillas had mined the road. The first lorry was completely destroyed, and the 2 others were forced to return. Eventually, a helicopter had to fetch the dead and wounded and the company had to return on foot.

#### NIASSA PROVINCE.

The enemy company camped in LIGOMA, left their post: their mission was to destroy the people's crops. The following day it was sighted near the village of MUCUPO, near Lugenda river. While the Portuguese soldiers were having lunch, our guerrillas attacked. Eleven Portuguese were killed and many more wounded. They scattered in various directions and only regrouped much further on, in order to beat a hasty retreat to LIGOMA. Here they quickly collected together their weapons, ammunition, documents and other material, burnt some of their huts and went to seek refuge in the nearby post of CANDULO. They had realised that our guerrillas would probably attack the camp, which they later did. As it was already deserted, they merely burnt the remaining huts, and destroyed what was left of the camp. This operation took place on 11th September.

On 19th September, a guerrilla unit organised an ambush on the road between LUATIZE and CHICONONO. At 11 a.m. a convoy of 5 lorries fell into the ambush. The rear lorry, loaded with troops, was destroyed: 8 soldiers were killed and many wounded. A helicopter came to pick up the dead and the wounded went in the remaining lorries, which were forced to return to

CHICONONO.

On 22nd September the enemy left REVIA for LUGENDA, and the following day were located by our guerrillas as they camped on the shore of LUGENDA river. We attacked at 7 p.m. and we estimate that about 15 enemy soldiers were put out of action.

On 29th September, an enemy unit of marines left METANGULA for CHINUNE. They were ambushed in the zone between LISSEFA and CHINUNE, suffering 11 killed and 5 wounded.

The Portuguese troops of MEPONDA went out, on 10th October, aiming at attacking one of our military bases. They were ambushed in KATINGOLE. Twelve were killed and many more wounded.

On 12th October, marines coming from METANGULA camped in the region of CHINUNE, near lake Niassa. On the same day, at 5 p.m. they were encircled and attacked by our guerrillas. Eighteen of them were killed and 20 wounded.

7 December, 1968.

# A victim as Cabora Bassa war looms

Tribune Africa News Service

BEIRA.

MOZAMBIQUE TERRORIST movements operating from Zambia are reported to be stepping up their efforts to secure a foothold in the northern area of the Tete district, as a prelude to harassment of the Cabora Bassa dam construction project.

One of the latest casualties on the Portuguese side in this largely forgotten but deadly little war was the commandant of the Tete police, Lieut. Antonio Canhao.

The 32-year-old police officer was killed this week in an ambush near the Zambian border while he was driving back to Tete after one of his frequent visits to lonely outposts along the border.

He was driving along a bush-track when he saw freshly-dug

earth ahead, indicating a possible mine.

Before the party could take cover, a burst of machine-gun fire raked the leading vehicle, driven by Lieut. Canhao.

## FIRE BACK

He fired back and continued to direct the fire of the African soldiers with him until the terrorists were driven off.

But the wounds he suffered from the first hits proved fatal and Lieut. Canhao died in Tete

hospital three hours later, leaving a young wife and two children.

The incident in itself was a minor one, typical of the campaign that has run for four years now and which has cost the lives of hundreds of Lieut. Canhao's countrymen.

Soon a new police commandant will be on his way to Tete, the patrols will go on, and more young lives will be lost.

• See Features Section

"THE SUNDAY TRIBUNE (SA), 20.10.1968

# INTERVIEW

We had to work growing tea, but we didn't know what it tasted like.

I come from Zambezia Province and am a peasant from that Province. My name is JOAQUIM AMERICO PAULO MAQUIVAL. I come from Milange and I am 25 years old. All my family are peasants. We cultivate millet, cassava, beans, sugar cane, etc.

We also had to work on the government land, at least it isn't government land, it belongs to a company but it was the government which made us work on it. It was the land of the Sociedade de cha Oriental de Milange. The government came and arrested us in our villages and sent us to the company; that is, the company paid money to the administration or the government and then the government arrested us and gave us to the company.

I began working for the company when I was 12; they paid me 15 escudos a month (53 cents U.S.). I worked from 6 in the morning until 12 noon when we stopped for two hours, then again from 2 until 6 in the evening. The whole family worked for the company, my brothers, my father - my father is still there - my father earned and still earns 150.0 escudos a month (5.3 dollars); he worked from morning to evening. He has to pay 195 escudos (7.0 dollars) yearly tax to the government. We didn't want to work for the company, but if we refused, the government sent police to the villages and they arrested those who refused and if they ran away, the police sent out photographs of them and a hunt was started. When they caught them they beat them and put them in prison and when they came out of prison, they had to go and work for the company, but without pay; they said that as they had run away they didn't need the money.

Thus, in our own fields only our poor mothers were left who could not do much. All we had to eat was the little that our mothers were able to grow. We had neither sugar nor tea.

We had to work growing tea, but we didn't know what it tasted like. Tea didn't come into our homes.

The Portuguese wage earners earned well. At the end of a month they would buy a new car perhaps, while we couldn't even buy tea and at the end of the year we didn't have enough to buy a bicycle.

Later, when I was 15, I went to a mission school and I managed to get my certificate. It was a Catholic Mission. We had to work there; we had to work in the priest's fields. The government gave the missions money for our education but we didn't know and we worked in the fields because they said it was necessary to pay the missions.

In 1964 I joined FRELIMO because our people were exploited. I still did not know properly what to do about it. The people didn't know what to do. We had heard that our neighbour, Malawi, had been liberated and would come and liberate us, but we soon learnt that it was we who would have to liberate ourselves. The party told us that we, and no one else, are responsible for ourselves.

Some comrades came to explain things to us, and before, right at the beginning, the radio told us that FRELIMO, led by Comrade Mondlane, was fighting for the liberation of us all.

I joined FRELIMO and went into the fighting force. I have fought in Niassa and in Cabo Delgado. I come from Zambezia, a Chuabo, and I have fought in Niassa where the people are Nyanjas and they received me like a son. I have worked among Ajuas, Macuas who received me as if I were their own son. The colonialists try to deceive the world, to hide the truth, they say that our people are divided into hostile tribes, but we all face the same enemy: Portuguese colonialism.

I want to repeat; the Portuguese are great liars. For example, they say that we are terrorists; this is false; it is they who are terrorists and bandits.

For example, in our units and on missions, we have often come across unarmed Portuguese civilians. We didn't harm them. We asked where they were coming from, we explained our struggle to them, our suffering, we received them kindly. We do this because our struggle, our war is not against the Portuguese people; we are struggling against the Portuguese government, against those who turn their weapons on the Mozambican people, we are at war with those who injure the people. FRELIMO is the enemy of the enemies of the people, but we are not the enemy of the Portuguese people. We know that it is not all the people of Portugal who exploit us, but only a minority who is also exploiting the Portuguese people themselves. Among the people of Portugal there are also people who are exploited. FRELIMO cannot fight the people, cannot fight against the exploited.

But the Portuguese soldiers are terrorists. They do no respect our people; they want to injure them, to beat them and now to kill them. I have often seen this. One day, because we had destroyed a train at Catur, the soldiers came to take reprisals on a village pointed out by a traitor. They arrested an old man called Moussa, responsible for the organisation of the local party branch. They beat him, tied him with ropes and took him to the post at Catur. There they beat him with rifle butts and then hung him head down over a fire. Thanks to the revolution he was not killed: that evening he managed to escape and to rejoin us. We healed him and he is again working for the revolution.

The war has changed the People's situation. Where war has already broken out the people are no longer beaten, there are no longer taxes which exploit the people, the people are not humiliated. There are hardships but this is the price of victory. We are glad to fight.



# Joint communique on VIETNAM

## LONG LIVE THE VICTORY OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE

The revolutionary and fighting people of Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Angola, South Africa and Comores, led by their vanguard national liberation organizations, FRELIMO, ZAPU, MPLA, ANC (SA) and MOLINACO respectively, salute the heroic and revolutionary people of Vietnam in their latest victories over U.S. imperialism and its satellites.

The U.S. imperialist forces supported by the reactionary forces of several satellite countries have for many years waged the most rapacious and inhuman war of aggression against the struggling people of Vietnam. Their reactionary imperialist violence was repelled by the revolutionary peoples war waged by the Vietnamese people under the valiant leadership of President Ho Chi Minh in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and President Nguyen Huu Tho of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front.

In the long years of resolute struggle, the Vietnamese people enriched the experience of all oppressed people's struggle for their freedom and national dignity. They have made an historic contribution in the modern science of revolutionary peoples war, opposed to aggressive, imperialist violence and suppression. The South Vietnam National Liberation Front has irrevocably emerged as the only genuine representative of the interests and sovereignty of the people of South Vietnam.

The current announcement by the Johnson Administration of the cessation of U.S. bombing on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is not only a massive defeat for U.S. imperialism and its satellites, but also a monumental and historic victory for the revolutionary forces of Vietnam and the rest of the world. We call upon the whole of the progressive mankind not to allow the Johnson Administration to use the announcement of the cessation of U.S. bombing on the D.R.V. and acceptance of the N.L.F. at the Paris talks as a gambling point in the U.S. Presidential Elections. All revolutionary, democratic and peace forces in the world should continue to redouble their pressure on the U.S. imperialists to end the bombing on both the D.R.V. and South Vietnam for all time; to recognise the N.L.F. without stipulating conditions, as the sole representative of the South Vietnamese people and, above all, withdraw U.S. and satellite troops from Vietnam.

We also salute all revolutionary and progressive people in the U.S. who have consistently opposed U.S. aggressive intervention in Vietnam. We shall continue our solidarity with them in the struggle to gain the liberation of the Afro-American people from racial humiliation and exploitation of the U.S. ruling class.



Long Live the Sacred and Just Struggle of the Vietnamese People!  
Long Live Peace, National Independence and Social Progress!  
Down with U.S. Imperialism!

FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front)  
ANC (SA) (African National Congress of S.A.)  
ZAPU (Zimbabwe African Peoples Union)  
MPLA (Peoples Movement for the Liberation of Angola)  
MOLINACO (National Liberation Movement of Comores).

Dar es Salaam  
2 November, 1968

## **VIETNAM message to FRELIMO**

FRELIMO Headquarters,  
Dar es Salaam.

On the occasion of the day of international solidarity with the people of Mozambique, we present cordial salutations and militant solidarity. While intensifying resistance against American aggressors, the people of South Vietnam entirely support the just war of the Mozambican brothers against Portuguese colonialism, firmly convinced that their victory is certain. We hope that the fighting solidarity between the people of Mozambique and South Vietnam will develop daily.

South Vietnam.  
20 September, 1968.

NGUYEN NGOC THUONG  
PRESIDENT  
South Vietnamese Afro-Asian  
Solidarity Committee.

# MOZAMBICAN TRIBES AND ETHNIC GROUPS

## THEIR SIGNIFICANCE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION

The classic definition of a tribe implies a group of people occupying a specific region, speaking the same language or dialect, tracing their (real or mythical) historical origin to a common point, sharing the same religious beliefs, and accepting the same political authority. This definition is applicable to many human groups in the world today. However, the Mozambican tribal or ethnic reality is not quite so simple.

The cultural factors which characterise the majority of the Mozambican tribal groupings are:

1. common language, including dialects;
2. common characteristic habits and customs, such as the graphic and expressive arts;
3. common economic and family organisation.

Added to this is the fourth element: common geographical location. The linguistic expression to which we refer here includes the use of certain dialects, which often act as lines of differentiation between populations which in fact belong to the same group.

If we consider the Mozambican population on a linguistic basis, without taking into consideration the dialects, we can identify the following tribal or ethnic groups:

1. NYANJA, who occupy the Eastern and Southern shores of Lake Niassa;
2. MACUA (and their dialects) who occupy the province of Mozambique and parts of Zambezia, Niassa and Cabo Delgado;
3. YAU (AJAU), who occupy most of Niassa, and parts of Cabo Delgado;
4. MACONDE, who constitute almost half of the populations of the Cabo Delgado province;
5. SENA, living in part of Zambezia and Manica e Sofala;
6. NDAU-NYAI-SHONA, found in most of Manica e Sofala;
7. TSONGA-VATSUA-RONGA, occupying most of the provinces of Inhambane, Gaza and Lourenco Marques.

Apart from these ethnic groupings, there are others, who, in spite of having characteristics more or less distinct from the tribes mentioned above, consist of few people, speak more than their own language, and can therefore be identified with the population of the larger ethnic groups, e.g. the CHOPE group whose members identify themselves with the TSONGA-VATSUA-RONGA groups;

or the BITONGAS, who are completely identified with the VATSUA; and the NGONI from Tete, who are identified with the Njanjas etc.

The most obvious cultural differences between the tribes derive from their economic life, since cultural development depends on the necessity for survival and on the material conditions of each region. Our economy has for many years been a subsistence economy, resulting in the production of goods which the geographic environment favoured, to be exchanged for essential commodities from other regions. Thus, there arose specific traditions in each area, e.g. the BITONGAS are experts in making fish-nets and boats whereas the VATSUAS are experts at making straw articles, based on the material conditions dominating their geographical environment.

The longstanding economic relations between the various Mozambican ethnic groups have also facilitated a cultural exchange which continues today. Everyday social contact, inter-tribal marriages, forced mergers through conquest, have resulted in the mingling and fusion of usages and habits. We are certain that, if colonialism had not imposed forced geographical separation, the natural process of social and cultural assimilation which was taking place in the whole of southern Africa would have seen the fusion of the different ethnic groups into one single people.

## II

### The Mozambican Ethnic Groups and the Struggle for National Liberation.

The relative ease with which the Portuguese have conquered and controlled several parts of our country since the sixteenth century, the conquest of southern Mozambique since the last century and the imposition of their authority until September, 1964 was to a great extent due to the tribal and ethnic divisions of our people. The Portuguese, aware of the cultural and historical contradictions among us, used them, manoeuvring one tribe against another. Thus, by the policy of "divide and rule" they succeeded in systematically destroying our political power and conquering the whole country. Faced with this typically imperialist tactic, our people did not know how to defend themselves, and only reacted against the enemy as isolated groups.

There were counter-attacks against the Portuguese in several areas, but they failed because each force of resistance was localised, inspired and launched in isolation - we were as yet lacking in national consciousness. While the Portuguese oppressed all of us equally, while the colonialists exploited us all without distinction, while the Europeans enslaved us all, we, Africans, suffered separately and reacted in isolation.

It took us a long time to understand that the heavy burden of slavery which was oppressing each of us was the same. It took us many years to learn that, without uniting first and acting together against our

oppressors, we would never be free. This lesson has been learned by us through the experience of many centuries of suffering under the yoke of Portuguese colonialism. It has been a lesson learned at the cost of much blood in the concentration camps, in the plantations, where we have been forced to work together, and where our backs were tattooed with whipping; in the prisons where thousands of our brothers died, often only because they could not pay one of the many taxes; in the "administracao", where we have suffered together the strokes of the vicious holed palmatoria. Those amongst us who had to sign up as indentured labourers in other countries learned the lesson of unity, sweating and suffocating together in the deep gold mines of South Africa, in the sugar plantations of Natal, in the tobacco plantations of Rhodesia, or on the farms of the Boer and British colonists in the Transvaal. It took a long time and a great deal of suffering for us Mozambicans to learn the lesson of National Unity. If we had understood earlier the need for national unity against the Portuguese, they would not have been able to defeat the forces of GUNGUNHANA at the end of the last century; the war of MAKOMBE in Tete would have been the beginning of the struggle for national liberation; and the massacre of Mueda on 16 June would not have been so easy.

### III

#### FRELIMO and the Mozambican Ethnic Groups.

FRELIMO is a nationalist political organisation with members from all parts of Mozambique. It therefore recognises the existence of tribes or ethnic groups. The Mozambican nation, as well as most of the nations in the world, is composed of people with different traditions and cultures, but united by the same historical experience and the same political, economic and social aims, engaged in the same sacred task — to fight for their liberation. In the past the Portuguese took advantage of the natural divisions which separated the population of one region from that of another, or one cultural group from another. They used the traditional antagonism between the tribes to further their own ends.

Today FRELIMO is engaged in the task of uniting the people against the invaders, transforming the energies accumulated during centuries of separation imposed by colonialism, into an invincible force against the common enemy, by using the talents of each tribe, for the success of the struggle.

By using the experience gained during the centuries of oppression and exploitation during which our people suffered as one, FRELIMO is fusing together the energies up till now dispersed, and transforming them into national energies, an organised fighting force. FRELIMO is creating a nation which is liberating itself from the Portuguese yoke.

The struggle for national liberation is itself a process of creating a new reality. While our past was characterised by linguistic, cultural and historical divisions, our future is being established on a basis of unity. Our political organisation is one, as is our military force; we have a single administrative structure which is establishing the basis of our economy and social order.

The positive elements of our cultural life, such as our various forms of linguistic expression, our music and dances, the regional idiosyncrasies in birth, growth, love and death will continue to flourish and embellish the life of our nation after independence. There is no antagonism between the existence of a number of ethnic groups and National Unity. We fight together; together we are rebuilding our country, creating a new reality - a new Mozambique, united and free.



