

A black and white photograph of Cde. Samora Machel. He is in the foreground, smiling broadly, wearing a dark suit and a white paper hat. He is holding a white sheet of paper in front of his face. To his right, another man's face is partially visible, also smiling. In the background, a large crowd of people is gathered, some looking towards the camera. The image has a grainy, high-contrast quality.

Cde. Samora Machel

Mozambique: From Machel to Chissano

Words of the Late President Cde Samora Moises Machel at Non- Aligned Summit in Harare, August 1986

Your Excellency Robert Gabriel Mugabe
Prime Minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe and Current
Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement

Your Majesties

Your Excellencies Heads of State and Government

Distinguished Delegates

Ladies and Gentlemen

In 1970 we met in Lusaka. Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe were not sovereign states. Our liberation movements were not full members, merely observers. Sixteen years later the heads of state and government are meeting in Harare, capital of an independent Zimbabwe, after our Foreign Ministers had met in Luanda, capital of an independent Angola. Alongside us who are already full members of the Non-Aligned Movement, are seated the PLO and SWAPO as recognized representatives of their peoples.

Our country is rich in natural resources, with fertile land, vast water and power potential and substantial mineral deposits.

Mozambique's coastline stretches for two thousand six hundred kilometres along the Mozambique channel, a sea route of great geostrategic significance.

Mozambique, with its ports and railways, is the natural economic opening to the sea for the hinterland of our region, and is an essential piece of the SADCC cooperation plan.

By virtue of our anti-racism, economic potential and regional role, strategic position and historical dependence on South Africa, Mozambique is a prime target in the framework of Pretoria's regional strategy.

So Pretoria took the option of pursuing and intensifying aggression through armed bandits, in violation of the Nkomati Accord.

In the light of the irreversible advance of the struggle of the South African people, in the light of the developments in the armed struggle for liberation in Namibia, and with a sense of growing international isolation, the Pretoria regime is now seeking to give a new face to armed banditry.

In this context, Pretoria and the international circles that support apartheid, are installing operational bases for the armed bandits outside South Africa.

This manoeuvre is aimed at spreading the conflict between the peoples of the region and apartheid into relationships between member countries of the Organization of African Unity.

Mr Chairman,

Over the past two years we have witnessed in South Africa a people's struggle unprecedented in that country's history. The South African people, under the leadership of the African National Congress, and mobilized in the United Democratic Front, the unions and other patriotic and democratic bodies, have taken the initiative in transforming the society. Their struggle is already irreversible and will cease only with the end of apartheid. Killings and massacres are signs of despair on the

part of those who never expected to see their power and hegemonic myth challenged by the people they always regarded as inferior.

The South African people through struggle are beginning to build a united, democratic and anti-racist nation. Blacks, coloureds, Asians, white - South Africans of all races and creeds, or varying social origin, struggle side by side and with the inspiration of the successes already achieved. An increasing number of South African whites, churchmen, students, thinkers, academics, workers, businessmen are speaking up for an end to apartheid and for a negotiated settlement with the ANC. Within the very bantustans the people rise against the regime and its lackeys, exposing the racist illusion of a fragmented and submissive South Africa.

The South African economy, the barometer by which the regime and its backers measure the country's political stability, has reached crisis point. The illegal flight of capital is a daily event, and a revealing symptom of the system's breakdown.

The message that reaches us from South Africa is one of courage, sacrifice and confidence of victory.

The heavy tribute the people are ready to pay for freedom is weighted just in the past two years by thousands of patriots murdered by apartheid.

Mr Chairman,

There is no such thing as democratic apartheid. There is no humane apartheid. There is no peaceful apartheid. Apartheid is the denial of justice, equality, and social norms, it is an institutional form of violation of all human rights. Apartheid, like colonialism, cannot be reformed.

Apartheid, like colonialism, must be eradicated.

The warmongering circles, internally and externally, that support the Pretoria regime, are still searching for a formula that would allow an end to the apartheid system, but maintain the current character of power. In the hope of gaining time and rolling back the victories of the region's peoples, these circles are ready to foment conflict, including a race war which could encompass the region and degenerate into confrontation with forces from outside the continent.

South Africa is a state excluded from the international community by its racist policy.

It is apartheid that alienates the white South African population from their character and destiny as Africans, that prevents their identification as part of an African people. The white South Africans are not rejected in Africa. Southern Africa already furnishes a model of this reality. In our countries skin colour is not a criterion of nationality. In each of our countries there are numerous white citizens, with all the constitutional rights of citizens. This is an essential feature of the civilized alternative that our countries provide in the region.

The Pretoria regime must negotiate with the ANC. It is already the consensus of the international community that for such a dialogue to be constructive requires:

- the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners;

the legalization of the ANC and other democratic organizations;

- repeal of racist legislation.

Mr Chairman,

In Namibia the people under SWAPO's leadership have for twenty years been struggling with weapons in hand for their freedom and independence. Pretoria stands against Namibian independence. The current pretext is the presence of Cuban troops in Angola.

Namibia is a former German colony. All the former German colonies in Africa - Cameroon, Tanganyika, Burundi, Rwanda and Togo achieved independence in the decade of the 60's. Angola was still a Portuguese colony, with Portuguese troops on its territory, when South Africa declared the annexation of South-West Africa.

Eight years before Angola became independent, the United Nations formed the Council for Namibia with the duties of bringing the territory to independence. Pretoria opposed the process. In 1978 the UN Security Council by a unanimous vote and after acceptance in principle by the South African Government approved Resolution 435. Pretoria is blocking implementation of the resolution.

The historical record shows that for more than two decades the question of Namibian independence had nothing to do with the presence of Cuban troops in Angola.

It is contrary to international law and ethics to make Namibian independence contingent on issues extraneous to Namibia and over which the Namibian people exercise no power to interfere or right of decision. It is imperative that the international community intensify all forms of support to the national liberation struggle led by SWAPO, and pursue the efforts in favour of scrupulous regard for Resolution 435 of the UN Security Council.

Mr Chairman,

The international community believes that the application of mandatory global sanctions against South Africa is an effective method to drive the current leaders in Pretoria into dialogue and to prevent the spread of war.

South Africa threatens reprisals on neighbouring countries in the event of sanctions. In truth, South Africa has since 1975 been applying undeclared sanctions against the countries of the region, in addition to the destruction caused by its aggression. The damages caused within the ambit of SADCC, since 1980, have risen to more than ten thousand million US dollars.

South Africa destroys the communications and transport lines that underpin the region's economic life. It repeatedly sabotages access to the Mozambican ports of Maputo, Beira and Nacala and to the Angolan port of Lobito. These ports serve Swaziland, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Zambia and Zaire.

Eloquent examples include sabotage of the fuel storage depot and the port marking buoys system at Beira carried out by South African commandos.

The Pretoria regime has deliberately diverted rail and port freight naturally consigned to Mozambican ports. It has reduced to fewer than two thirds the number of Mozambican miners employed in South Africa and abrogated the preferential gold price clause in remittance of their wages. South African companies in Mozambique were systematically stripped of assets. The undeclared sanctions against our country have hit all the traditional sectors linking the two countries that generated foreign exchange for the Mozambican economy.

Sanctions are already being applied against us. South Africa applies effective sanctions against its neighbours.

A mountain of prejudices and sensibilities divides the South Africans and clouds their vision. When all South Africans

overcome this mountain, they will see how fine and wonderful their country could be for everyone.

It has become necessary to intensify the diplomatic struggle, to back the demand for the eradication of apartheid as the principal cause of destabilization and war.

Mr Chairman,

The peoples' right to self-determination and independence has become more of a reality. Mankind long ago enshrined this right. The majority of our states represented here were born out of the battle for implementation of this principle.

In Western Sahara, Palestine and East Timor, heroic and determined people facing difficult conditions affirm their inalienable right to independence and sovereignty. They are people who set a supreme example of love of freedom, by being ready to sacrifice life itself to have a country. They are defending the principles enshrined in the Non-Aligned Movement.

Mr Chairman,

The United Nations declared 1986 as International Peace Year. However, as we review the international scene we note sadly that this aim - of stable and enduring peace - is still a distant hope.

Peace is mankind's most precious possession. Never before was it so great a challenge to man, so necessary a condition for survival of the species. The struggle for peace entails total removal of the danger of a nuclear holocaust.

The resumption of dialogue between the USSR and the US is positive. We believe that the continuance of these negotiations will be beneficial in all spheres of detente, and especially in the disarmament field. We hail the Soviet Union's decision to extend a unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests.

These changes provide eloquent evidence of the speeding up of history that has occurred in southern Africa.

The People's Republic of Mozambique will do all it can to support our chairman in carrying out a complex and difficult task that honours all the peoples of southern Africa.

Mr Chairman,

A quarter of a century ago when the first Summit was held, in Belgrade, 26 states took part.

Twenty five years on, we can measure the enormous successes achieved in the struggle for freedom, independence, equality of man and progress. More than a hundred states, nearly two thirds of all sovereign countries, comprise the Non-Aligned family.

Our assembly is being held on the frontier of apartheid. The years since the previous meeting of the movement in southern Africa, in Lusaka in 1970, have been marked by great victories in the struggle for national and social liberation for peoples.

This period has brought an end to colonialism in Africa, except for Namibia. Tyrannical regimes have been overthrown in Latin America, in Africa, in the Gulf, in Asia. We have brought to the centre of events the pressing problems concerning the New Economic Order and the New Information Order.

We have made mankind aware of the really appalling crisis that follows the pillage of the third world. The external debt which is a manifestation of the latter condemns our countries to wretchedness and exploitation, to the loss of sovereignty over economic and social policy.

Our victories have been achieved through tenacious struggle against the forces of imperialism and reaction.

Mr Chairman,

The constant enemy of our peoples attempts an organized riposte to our victories through a sophisticated, violent and vicious counter-offensive.

It employs varying tactics that have a common objective of

containing the peoples' movement for emancipation and reducing our countries into political, economic, social and ideological surrender to imperialism.

In some instances, the weapons are economic pressure and blackmail, and deliberate disinformation. In others recourse is had to the brute force of military aggression and terrorism.

The dominant trend, from the part interventionism by expeditionary forces, is now to have recourse to local forces for repression of the peoples' movement for emancipation.

Regional gendarmes are appointed with the task of putting into operation a policy of subversion, terrorism and aggression.

Interference in internal affairs, terrorism, direct or indirect occupation of territory, destruction of states comes to the fore as a dangerous international practice.

These phenomena are occurring today throughout the third world. The destruction of the Lebanese state provides tragic evidence of the policy. Angola and Nicaragua are just two of the states subjected to this practice of aggression.

The broad mass media, cinema, television, newspapers and radio, publishing propagate an ideology that responds to and endorses the intervention and aggression of certain states against the sovereign countries of the third world.

Imperialism would have it believed that violence stems from the struggle of peoples for their freedom and that their shelling, invasions and massacres are peaceful acts.

When we look for the causes of violence we find domination over people. Domination, colonialism, racial discrimination, dictatorship is imposed with brutality, is nurtured on violence, encourages war. Freedom, independence and democracy are roads to peace.

The roots of violence in southern Africa are to be found in foreign occupation.

Colonialism brought massacres, destruction of states and political systems, pillage of resources, exploitation of peoples, a denial of their personality, culture and history. There is violence in the despoiling of land, in forced labour, in racial discrimination. There is violence in making citizens into foreigners in their own country.

Imperialism conceived of southern Africa as "White Africa", with its centre and metropole in South Africa. The white population would be made the instrument for occupation and domination.

Victory in Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe brought an advance of freedom and democracy to the borders of apartheid in South Africa and of colonialism in Namibia.

The political plan for a "White Africa" and South Africa's aim of regional hegemony were stymied. The Pretoria regime found itself obliged to review its strategy.

The myth of racial superiority had led the apartheid regime to believe in the invincibility of the white regimes, seeing in them its instrument for hegemony in the region.

Its basic strategy was therefore to defend the bastions of racism and colonialism. As it was not expecting the defeat in Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe it had not prepared alternatives. But with the defeats, Pretoria adopted a strategy of aggression and recovery of ground.

The strategy was deployed in two main vectors: the plan of a constellation of states aimed at cutting down our countries to the role of bantustans, and destabilization with the aim of destroying our own states.

In the overall strategy, South Africa took care of repression against the ANC and SWAPO and aggression in Angola, while the illegal regime of Southern Rhodesia was the main agent of destabilization in Mozambique and in Zambia. At the same

time South Africa began a range of economic measures against Mozambique with the aim of weakening the capacity of response to Rhodesian aggression, and of forcing abandonment of the application of Rhodesian sanctions decreed by the Security Council.

Despite the destruction and other economic damage to the region, the strategy did not prevent the Zimbabwean people's victory.

The creation in 1980 of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) gave the momentum to organizing and defining a cooperation strategy, with the aim of economic development for our countries and reducing their dependence on South Africa.

To Pretoria, SADCC puts paid to the former's plan to dominate the region through the constellation of states.

Since 1980 the region has seen a broad escalation of the process of destabilization.

Destabilization is global. It aims at the whole region and takes many forms. South Africa deploys intensive diplomatic activity, subversive propaganda, economic pressure, military aggression.

Internationally, Pretoria seeks to disguise aggression against our area as part of the East-West conflict.

It is the wish of the peoples and states of southern Africa to give more substance to the alliance against colonialism, against apartheid and the war policy.

South Africa, by drawing on the ties of dependence forged by the colonial system, uses economic blackmail and applies sanctions against the states in the region.

The illegal Rhodesian regime began the destabilization of our country, through settlers, collaborators, common law criminals and other anti-social elements.

With the fall of the Salisbury regime, Pretoria took over direct command of terrorism against Mozambique. It is in Pretoria that the recruiting methods, terrorist aims and operating targets of the bandits are decided.

One has seen within South Africa itself, among Mozambican migrants, particularly illegal migrants, who are highly vulnerable.

The other form of forced incorporation occurs within Mozambique, in the countryside. Peasants who are taken prisoner are forced immediately into crimes in their own village so as to compromise with armed banditry before their own community. Adolescents from 13 and 14, whose personality is not yet shaped and who are more susceptible, are kidnapped and initiated into a life of violence and crime.

The terrorists are typified by the most criminal and destructive brutality. Mutilation and random slaughter of defenceless civilians is combined with targeted slaughter of doctors, engineers, journalists, nurses, agricultural technicians, local leaders of democratic organizations. The armed bandits burn alive bus passengers and peasants in their huts. Foreign technicians, priests and nuns, clergy of various faiths are kidnapped and sometimes murdered.

Pretoria seeks the break-up of Mozambique as a national entity, to destroy the state, to block nation forming and to place our country at the mercy of its hegemony.

These are just a few instances of the impact of external aggression against Mozambique.

Our government has assessed the direct effects of this undeclared war at more than four thousand million US dollars, nearly double Mozambique's foreign debt. The estimate does not include the indirect effects of the blockages in production, the strangulation of the distribution, transport and shipment system. Nor does it include the cost of rehabilitating the

economic and social infrastructure that has been destroyed.

Terrorism against Mozambique is solely an instrument of an external plan. The absence of the most basic national feeling is shown by the methods, actions and aims of banditry. The use of Mozambicans as tools of terror and destruction is manifest in the policy of replacing white casualties by black casualties, cutting costs in aggression, running a cheap war.

Only an external plan could conceive of such cruelty and so great a destructive fury. Only external aggression could decide that schools, hospitals, public transport, ambulances, the humblest possessions of the poorest peasants should be burned and razed.

Only a foreign plan could conceive of the perfidy of using a scourge such as drought to organize a veritable genocide. The vehicles carrying food, drugs and clothing, including gifts from the international community, are chosen targets. This food, these drugs, the clothing are burned with the vehicles that carry them and with the occupants. Just this, coldly planned in Pretoria, has brought more than a hundred thousand deaths.

It is disturbing to note that these terrorist groups enjoy open support and complicity in certain western countries that declare themselves as champions of the struggle against terrorism.

Terrorism as a form of external aggression now affects several countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America who are represented in this hall.

For 22 years the Mozambican people have been struggling to establish peace, in the consciousness that it is the precondition for development.

In the framework of our peace policy we in March 1984 signed with South Africa an Agreement on Non Aggression and Good Neighbourliness.

The Nkomati Accord requires the South African regime to put a stop to its destabilization of Mozambique and to renounce aggression against our country. This it did not do.

The People's Republic of Mozambique as a Front Line State is viewed by South Africa as a model that must be smashed.

The People's Republic of Mozambique has installed an anti-racist society with equality for those of all races, a society that aims to remove all forms of discrimination and exploitation.

Mr Chairman,

In this context, the transformation of the Indian Ocean into a demilitarized, nuclear-free, zone of peace is an earnest desire for the bordering countries and a responsibility of our movement. We are deeply concerned to note the increasing presence of foreign forces and military bases in the area contrary to the wishes of the majority of the international community and the relevant resolutions of various international bodies.

This tendency has aggravated the situation of tension and

instability obtaining in the southern part of our continent.

We reaffirm once again our unqualified support for the efforts under way within our movement and the United Nations for the holding in Colombo, Sri Lanka, of an international conference on the Indian Ocean.

The Mozambican people are proud of the new society they are building, a society where man is simply man, Mozambican man, irrespective of race, ethnic origin, or creed. We are struggling for a society in which our children grow in peace, enjoy a happy childhood, school, health care, clothing, shoes, bread and playthings.

We dreamed of an independence in which our children would not grow up under the shadow of war, or scarred by violence. But external aggression has not yet allowed the dream to come true.

The war that is forced on us feeds on blood and human life. The war brings destruction and makes even harder our struggle against backwardness and underdevelopment.

South African destabilization is an aggression that seeks to make our peoples bow down and surrender to the hegemony of alien interests. It is an aggression against the principles of international law and against the Non-Aligned Movement.

It is a duty of every country, and of the non-aligned especially, to initiate practical measures to support the establishment of peace and tranquillity, and the preservation of our freedom and independence.

In July 1977 the Security Council called on the international community to give military assistance to Mozambique in facing Rhodesian aggression.

Today it is the entire region that is under aggression from South Africa. The international community's responsibility has not been reduced but on the contrary enlarged.

Supporting the establishment of peace and tranquillity in Mozambique and southern Africa means intensifying concrete material backing for strengthening our defence capability.

We need to guarantee that our soldiers, as fighters for freedom and independence in the region, benefit from the material and moral conditions that will enable them to face up successfully to the aggression.

The people of Mozambique will march on in the certainty of victory.

A LUTA CONTINUA

Thank you very much.

Thanks go to ZIMOFA who have made this supplement possible, in solidarity with the people of Mozambique, in the continued struggle for self-determination and national sovereignty.



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Words of the President Joaquim Chissano at Press Conference in Maputo, December 1986

Question (Stern Magazine, Fed. Republic of Germany) — After invoking the Nkomati Accord and the limitation on existing personnel of the A.N.C. offices in Maputo as a result of that Accord, what is the position of the Peoples Republic of Mozambique towards the A.N.C., in your own words one of the most important organisations fighting against the South African regime.

Answer — The Nkomati Accord undertakes that South Africa will not support any groups or individuals that will attack Mozambique or will destabilize our country in any way. On the other hand, the Peoples Republic of Mozambique must not support any violent actions against the Republic of South Africa. This is the essence of the Accord in relation to the support given to groups or individuals. As far as the limitation of the A.N.C. personnel in Maputo is concerned, this is not the real issue of accord, but both sides reached agreement on the reduction of the personnel in the A.N.C. offices in Maputo, which means that the existence of the office of the organisation was not in question. We were, therefore, surprised when the South Africans bombed the offices of the A.N.C.

Secondly, under the Accord, we are free to receive any South African citizen, as long as he/she will not engage in any violent actions against South Africa from Mozambique.

We can receive any refugees from South Africa and place them wherever we wish, in accordance with international laws. This is the answer to the first part of your question.

In relation to our position towards the A.N.C. it is very clear: we support the struggle of South African people under the direction of the A.N.C. and other democratic organisations within South Africa. What we can not do is to help the A.N.C. to launch violent action in the Republic of South Africa. We pledged not to do it. Apart from that, we support the A.N.C. politically, morally and diplomatically.

Question (Antonio Couto, KANEMO) — The strategy of destabilization by South Africa affects, as is well known, Southern Africa. However, Mozambique is the main target for that destabilization. Mr. President, in your Excellency's opinion, what is the reason for the interest in Mozambique.

Answer — In the first place, because Mozambique is a country that reached independence through a people's war that defeated a colonial-fascist regime, the victory took South Africa by surprise. For that reason only, South Africa had to take precautions for this surprise not to be repeated. As a result, it had to stop the consolidation of Mozambique as an independent country. That is why from the beginning (South Africa) it joined forces with the minority regime of Southern Rhodesia in order to try and sabotage the independence of Mozambique. South Africa and Rhodesia did not want the same to be repeated in Rhodesia, but that finally happened. Now, it is the same South Africa that has to defend itself by defending its apartheid system. That is the very reason why (South Africa) does not want the independence of Namibia so that there should not be another instance of a country which is independent through a people's war.

But your question is: why Mozambique? Our country, after independence, showed the viability of an anti-racial society and the viability of fast development in a newly independent country in this region. Do you know that from 1975 to 80 and 81, Mozambique was developing itself in a very normal way, which caused admiration in many countries of the world, mainly African countries. This means that the country was getting rid of

its dependency on South Africa. And this did not please the South African regime.

Secondly, South Africa wants to maintain the dependence of all the countries in region, as a means to defend apartheid. After all, that dependence makes South Africa richer. Mozambique is a country with all the conditions for a fast development if there is no destabilization. It enjoys a good climate, in spite of four years of drought; it has a hard working people and a good economic system as was shown during its first five years of independence. Moreover, it has the infrastructures—the harbours and the railways—that serve the hinterland countries. If we wish to take those countries away from South Africa's economic dominance we will have to get these infrastructures working. Not only do we have to avoid that they be targets of attack, but we also have to rehabilitate them in order that they be able to transport the maximum amount of goods.

Nowadays, South Africa is receiving goods that come from these hinterland countries and it is receiving goods that come from outside these hinterland countries. This gives a lot of profit to South Africa and at the same time imposes the dependence of these countries on South Africa. These countries are Zaire, Malawi, Botswana and Zimbabwe. As a result, you can see that there are various interests of South Africa in relation to Mozambique: the interest of not allowing Mozambique to be an example of a developing non-racial democratic society where all the work for social development is smooth; where health and education are promoted without discrimination. That is not in South Africa's interests. Those are the 'sophisticated weapons' (do you remember how our Comrade President used to speak about the 'sophisticated weapons'?) that the apartheid regime intends to destroy for Mozambique to be known worldwide as a country of hunger; of people unable to govern themselves; a country of disease and of debts. And South Africa makes its propaganda in that line. That is why we are attacked and why we are South Africa's favourites.

Question (The Guardian Newspaper, Great Britain) - Mr. President, what could you say about the military situation in the Zambezia Province, after the massive infiltration of terrorists coming from Malawi and about the external support that your country has been receiving to fight terrorism.

Answer - The situation in the Zambezia Province is still bad, because there was a large infiltration into the province. We are taking the necessary steps (which are not centered in Zambezia Province alone) aiming at transforming the overall situation. We are sure that the situation will change in our favour. To achieve that we co-operate with the friends that want to help us. You know that Zimbabweans are fighting side by side with us. That Tanzanians have been co-operating with us for a long time. But now I am not going to describe the tasks of the Zimbabweans.

To answer the second part of your question, I would say that we appealed to the Non-Aligned Movement countries for help from all member countries. The answers are arriving, at least, with the intention of helping us. We are discussing with some of these countries the means and forms of helping us. I am not going to comment if such help will involve air, land or sea forces or equipment only or even if their participation will be political, diplomatic, that is, civil. I will not do it because it is obvious that I do not want to inform the enemy about our plans, either by assertion or exclusion.

Question (Izvestia, Soviet Union) - Would it be possible to reach

a political solution for the terrorism through negotiations between the FRELIMO Party and the so-called Renamo.

Answer - First of all I do not know what 'Renamo' is. It is the first question that arises when we speak of negotiations between FRELIMO and Renamo. We know the terrorists that exist in Mozambique and we know they were created by the Portuguese fascists and the South African and minority regimes of Southern Rhodesia. We know that we are fighting against them.

We know that there are cases of negotiations being held with terrorists that had taken over airplanes or other means of transport, in order to save the hostages, but I don't know of any negotiations with any terrorists that only terrorize the victims, that practice genocide against the people of the country. What I do know is that it is the task of a responsible government to defend itself and to defend the people and that is what we do. And in this case this is not only the task of the government. It is the people itself that fights this terror, that gets itself ready to confront the terrorists and this is being done.

Question (Albino Magaia, Director, Tempo Magazine) - Mr. President, my question is about the Joint Malawi-Mozambique Commission for Security. The newspapers say, today, that they are meeting now. Due to the connections between Malawi and South Africa, won't the same thing happen which happened to the Joint Mozambique-South Africa Security Commission? I mean that this commission will not function because of the double face that Malawi has towards the problems in our region.

Answer - When a delegation from Malawi came to Maputo to convey their greetings and also to propose that this meeting be held, we made it clear that the mission of a joint commission between Malawi and Mozambique is to create the conditions for security and peace between the two countries. Therefore, to study the means for the involvement of Malawi in such a way that the rail and harbour facilities that serve Malawi from Mozambique would be functional for the benefit of Malawi itself and the whole region, therefore of the SADCC countries.

I think that it is not possible that what happened with the South Africans will happen with Malawi. Malawi has to take a positive position or a negative one. There is no half way. Therefore we invite this country to participate in the efforts for peace. We do not mean that this country will have to bring its armed forces as Zimbabwe did, for example. This commission must study what Malawi should do in its own territory, with us, and what contributions it must give in order to achieve Malawi's own economic objectives from Mozambique. In other words, Malawi must participate in the elimination of the armed banditry, must contribute to stop the use of Malawian territory by the armed bandits, with or without the approval of the Malawian government. This is not a commission of enquiry. We don't want to know about the Government of Malawi's merits at this stage. We are interested in a definite stand that will be relevant for the common objectives of the two countries and of the whole region.

Question (Swiss Television) - The question of the rehabilitation of the Mozambican railways and harbours is a fundamental one, not only for Mozambique but also the development of the region. But that is dependent on military and economic questions. On the one hand an intensified co-operation between the Front Line states, in the military field, could solve the security situation. On the other hand, a joint project with the Western countries, E.E.C., Nordic Countries and the United States of America, could solve the financial situation. To what extent does this complicated political, economic and military operation seem desirable to you and, above all, viable in the short term.

Answer - Thank you. I started this press conference by thanking the work that the international press has done which has resulted in the great sympathy that today we enjoy the world over. We

are ready to develop the three main directions of this struggle we are engaged in. It is a diplomatic, economic, political and military struggle. When we say economic we mean social, as well. In our country, there is a growing understanding of the need to dedicate ourselves to all these sectors. And there is a growing interest in the world, on the part of governments, to participate in the struggle, either diplomatically, militarily or economically. In this I include all the countries--western and not western. There is not a definite limit of those who are going to be occupied with military questions alone or economic ones alone. In many western countries, they talk, nowadays, about the need to support our country militarily.

Therefore, we are, as I told you when answering the previous question, increasing our efforts with organizations, with groups of states and individual countries, including the United States of America, Great Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, France, Spain, Portugal, Brasil and also Third World countries, through the Non-Aligned Movement. We have, therefore, the hope that in the near future we will start to feel the results of that work. That's why, I also said in the beginning, that I would not be able to answer your questions completely. I hope that within a few months, the questions will find answers which are more and more complete. We are optimistic. We know it is going to be difficult. We are taking steps that are difficult ones. But we think that the results will be beneficial in the shortest space of time if we decide to bear the difficulties. And we are prepared for that.

Question (BBC, Great Britain) - There are recent allegations by the South African government, in particular by its Minister of Defence, General Malan, according to which the ANC are operating from Mozambique. What comments do you, Mr. President, have in this regard?

Answer - We do not have much to say. The problem is whether or not they want to know. We know and they know as well, that the ANC is not operating from Mozambique. This is not because the South Africans wish it so but because we want it so. They know that the ANC is not operating from Mozambique. If they can at least show us how the ANC operates from our country, we are ready to stop it whenever we can. South Africa uses such an argument to justify its negative attitude towards Mozambique. It has always been this way.

Question (New York Times, United States) - Are you talking about the support South Africa gives to Renamo? Do you accuse RSA of violating the Nkomati Accord?

Answer - Yes.

Question (same journalist) - Can you give us details on how they do it?

Answer - Yes. We have a lot of information on how the terrorists that operate from Malawi do so because the South Africans work with them, organize them and supply them through means that they themselves know. We have information concerning the systematic violations of our air space by planes from South Africa and other places but which we know to be directed by the South African services.

Question (same journalist) - Having such facts in mind, do you think of terminating the Nkomati Accord?

Answer - I do not see why the Nkomati Accord should be ended because it is valid in its own right. The Nkomati Accord is a correct accord and for that reason we do not wish to end it. What we want is to put together the means that may compel South Africa to take up its responsibilities and comply with the accord. If the accord were to end we would not have means to compel South Africa to follow it, simply because it would have ceased to exist.

Question (Arlindo Lopes, Noticias and Domingo) - President, Sir, we know that an economic rehabilitation programme for

our country is being prepared. Would your Excellency wish to tell us the general lines of the project that will certainly involve all the national productive forces and require more foreign investment.

Answer - Economic rehabilitation is a very complex process and encompasses many demands. It is doing to demand many sacrifices from our people. But it is a process that envisages a radical transformation of the development of the economy of our country always to the better. It is not a question of resorting only to foreign investment.

In the first place, it is demanded that we rely on our own forces, using to the best advantage all our resources, organising ourselves in a better way in the management of our economy. We must mobilize all our forces. As you see, there is, from the start, a need for more intensive work from our Party and our State, for the creation of mechanisms that will allow a greater liaison and a constant presence at the base; closer connection between the base and management and a greater presence of management at the base. To achieve these objectives, we have very concrete directives from our Central Committee, since its fifth session. We are working arduously so that in a short time we can start applying those mechanisms. Economic rehabilitation will aim at, in the first place, ending with hunger. Therefore, it will concentrate very much on the development of our agriculture. Many of our resources are going to be directed towards agriculture. The objective is to produce enough food for the population and also to supply our industry, especially that which produces consumer goods of first necessity for the population.

In the second place, agriculture will aim at producing goods for export, in order to reduce our dependency on foreign loans and credit. We must decrease our dependency on the outside world. Industry will also be developed, especially the industry that supports agriculture. Hence, resources will also be directed to these areas.

Austerity measures will be imposed as well as corrective measures that will impinge on many matters in the midst of the state structures and the social sectors. This is one of the matters that, presently, will be clearer; we shall have, in a short while, our Popular Assembly and it will answer your question better. Afterwards we shall have a lot of work, we in the direction of the Party and you, in particular in the Press, to explain all the measures that we are going to take and to indicate to our people that they are measures of hope. Here, in Mozambique, we would say that we are going to take out the 'matequenha'. And when the matequenha is taken out, it hurts. But once it is out we are happy and relieved. In conclusion, it will hurt, but we must accept this 'surgical operation'.

Question (unidentified) - This question concerns the tragic event of the past October 19th at Mbuzini. Does the President or the Mozambican Government have any ideas of what had caused the crash of the plane where President Samora Machel died?

Answer - I do not want to be like the South Africans that state conclusions before the start of the investigations. We are still investigating the causes. Certainly, we have intriguing questions that we pose ourselves but we must await the end of the investigations to be able to make the necessary deductions.

Question (Carlos Cardoso, AIM) - Before the death of President Samora Machel, the Mozambican Government issued a communique warning of the imminence of a direct South African attack to the country. Has the situation changed or does that possibility still exist?

Answer - Yes, that possibility always exists. South Africa never ceases to present arguments that serve only to build a climate of greater tension and hostility. Here in this very same room we heard journalists saying that South Africa continues to insist that there are ANC bases in Mozambique to attack South Africa.

We have also heard that there is great movement along the

border and that may constitute a sign of provocation. But we are taking the necessary steps so that those provocations do not succeed. We are trying to keep calm and to maintain the necessary contacts in this situation, which is normal between two countries. We hope that the South Africans would understand--and they will understand one day--that they will not stop the struggle against apartheid in South Africa by attacking Mozambique. Mozambique is not the reason behind that struggle in South Africa. In RSA the fight against apartheid started much before we started our fight for independence. It is not because of these sporadic accusations, made quite often, on the existence of infiltration of people coming from Mozambique that makes up the struggle in South Africa. It is a fact that there is a fight already there.

Question (same journalist) - One hears of a Renamo, that is getting stronger and that the Mozambican army cannot stop their actions

Answer - It will put an end to them (the actions). The people will stop them. No one can be stronger than the people. And the people are with their government and their party.

Question (Unidentified) - Can you give us details concerning violations of Mozambican airspace when bringing supplies to the terrorists? How many violations were recorded on the last occasion? And, in relation to the war itself, does your Excellency, the President, believe in a military solution and how long will it take?

Answer - A moment ago, I spoke in Portuguese when I replied to a similar question. I said that the nature of the battle we fight here is military, economic, social, diplomatic and political. We must win in all these areas. We are not depending on the military only. For the military side to be successful, it needs the support of the others. And all the others need the support of the military sector.

Concerning the violations, I did not bring with me a list of the dates mentioned in the reports that we received from our Forces (Defence and Security) to give to you now. But we do have that information on the violations of our air space.

Question (Unidentified) - Can you tell us when was the last time?

Answer - The whole operation through Malawi has been supported by various means, including air support.

Question (Unidentified) - Even supply flights?

Answer - Yes. You know how the South Africans have operated till now. They choose the manner of supply: they land on air strips, send parachutes, use helicopters, and so on.

Question (Unidentified) - What is the reason for including the economic aspect in the envisaged solution for the terrorist problem?

Answer - Let me answer briefly your question, which is the easiest that has been put to me at this press conference. You know that our people must dress and feed themselves. If they manage to do that, they will be in a better position to resist any threat. They resist, even now, that they are hungry. Imagine what they would be if they were well fed, if they could have the medicine, clothing, shoes and later, the equipment for the soldiers and the people, if they could have food. All this is economy. This is based on the economic development, on the availability of all means to feed the people and the combatants. All this, I repeat, depends on the economic struggle.

Translation by Lucille Salbany

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