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**Collection/Office of Origin:** Speechwriting, White House Office of  
**Series:** Speech File Backup Files  
**Subseries:** Chron File, 1989-1993

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**OA/ID Number:** 13709  
**Folder ID Number:** 13709-005

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**Folder Title:**  
President Chissano (Mozambique) Departure and Luncheon Toast 3/13/90 [OA 6854]

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING,  
PER E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.3 (C)

*RML 10/15/04*

THEMES FOR LUNCHEON TOAST  
ON THE OCCASION OF THE OFFICIAL WORKING VISIT OF  
MOZAMBIQUE PRESIDENT JOAQUIM CHISSANO

Bilateral Relationships

- o U.S. Mozambique relations are excellent.
- o We are very excited about the positive political and economic reforms President Chissano has been undertaking in Mozambique.
- o Personal ties contribute to warm feelings between our peoples as well as governments.

Political Setting:

- o We commend your very significant political reforms over the past year:
  - New Constitution calls for direct election of the President and greater guarantees of individual and private property rights;
  - 5th Party Congress affirmed pragmatism over ideology and removed Marxist state ideology.
  - Greater freedom of religion.
- o Mozambique's moderation in the region has set a positive example. It has contributed to the peaceful trend in the region and successes in South Africa, Namibia and Angola.

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Economy

- o We applaud your economic reform efforts, your adherence to the Economic Rehabilitation Program supported by the IMF, and your promotion of the private sector.
- o Despite a destructive internal conflict, the government achieved a 4.5 per cent growth rate. There is a general feeling that the economy is beginning to show results.
- o Your economic reforms will provide the catalyst for sustainable, private-sector led growth.
- o Continued reforms will provide the best mechanism for continued growth.
- o The U.S. remains committed to continuing its support for Mozambique's humanitarian and development needs.
- o We applaud the proposed Constitutional guarantees on private property rights.

Pro Renouveau  
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Apr 18

after lunch

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DEPARTURE STATEMENT  
ON THE OCCASION OF THE OFFICIAL WORKING VISIT OF  
MOZAMBIQUE PRESIDENT JOAQUIM CHISSANO

3/13/90  
Chissano

President Chissano and I and our delegations have had a very productive meeting and working lunch this afternoon.

During our talks, we discussed several bilateral matters, including our strong endorsement for the government of Mozambique's positive political and economic reforms.

We discussed the Mozambique peace process, President Chissano's initiative to promote direct talks with RENAMO and the U.S. role in that process. We reviewed ongoing developments in the southern African region and the trend toward political solutions and regional cooperation.

We touched on common concerns such as refugee issues and Mozambique's humanitarian crisis.

I would note that the United States underscored its desire to be of whatever assistance is needed in the Mozambique peace process. We feel the government has already undertaken many significant reforms which meet RENAMO's demands. We also feel that it is important for the government and RENAMO to engage in direct talks at the earliest opportunity to avoid further

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humanitarian crisis

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up for.

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suffering. We wish to reiterate that the United States remains a close friend of President Chissano and the government of Mozambique. We remain committed to helping meet Mozambique's humanitarian and development needs..

The United States remains fully committed to cooperating closely with Africa to help that continent develop and prosper. Our interests and those of Africa are closely linked, and Africa will continue to be a region of major U.S. focus.

Like many of his counterparts, President Chissano, and his government <sup>has</sup> ~~have~~ in recent years, begun to create more market-oriented economic systems and more open political systems while allowing a freer flow of ideas. As we have learned in Eastern Europe, democracy is an essential ingredient in development. <sup>and</sup> We commend President Chissano for taking steps toward democracy parallel with steps toward economic reform.

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Report

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→ Staffed for FRIDAY  
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(Smith/Blessey)  
11:30 A.M.  
March 8, 1990  
CHISSANO

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CHISSANO DEPARTURE  
TUESDAY, MARCH 13, 1990  
DIPLOMATIC ENTRANCE  
1:15pm

It is a great pleasure to welcome President Chissano to the White House as my guest. More than two thousand years ago, a prophet once said there are four things that can never be recaptured. "The spoken word; the sped arrow; time past; the neglected opportunity." //

This afternoon, President Chissano and our delegation had a very productive meeting and working lunch. // We used that opportunity to discuss important bilateral matters -- including America's strong endorsement of the government of Mozambique's political and economic reforms. //

These reforms have enhanced the ties which link Mozambique and the United States. Strengthening rights central to America: The right to vote and to own property. The right to worship as we please and to be free of violence. //

These reforms have buoyed the Mozambique peace process -- which we discussed today. As has President Chissano's initiative to promote direct talks with RENAMO and the U.S. role in that process. // They have also meant more liberalization and privatization. And led Mozambique to endorse the Economic Rehabilitation Program supported by the IMF.

David Miller x. 3393  
John Odway

Scott/HB  
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For that, Mr. President, I salute you. Yet we look forward to even further reforms. So we talked today of common concerns like refugee issues and Mozambique's humanitarian crisis. Reviewing ongoing developments in the Southern African region. And exploring new ways to propel the trend toward political solutions and regional cooperation. //

In all of this, we pledge our assistance. // ~~For we are aware how violence can maim a Nation -- and so vow to help meet Mozambique's humanitarian and development needs.~~ // And I am confident of your involvement. <sup>For</sup> Already we have seen your government take significant steps to heal divisions which harm your Nation. And we urge all parties to talk at the earliest opportunity to avoid further suffering.

*Chung*

*NSC  
Draft*

Like many of your counterparts, President Chissano, your government has, in recent years, begun to create more market-oriented economic systems and more open political systems while allowing a freer flow of ideas. // As we have learned in Eastern Europe, democracy is an essential ingredient in development -- and we commend you for taking steps toward democracy parallel with steps toward economic reform.

Mr. President, ours is the chance to act not merely for Mozambique -- or any single country -- but rather, all of Africa. Helping democracy enrich a continent, and your continent enrich the world.

There is an ancient proverb which goes, "God guides whom He wills toward a straight path." The path toward progress and

*C.P.  
T.H.*

freedom is paved with opportunity. Today, we spoke of how we can walk that path. And I look forward to working with you toward peace and democracy in Mozambique and the region.

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→ Staffed for FRIDAY  
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(Smith/Blessey)  
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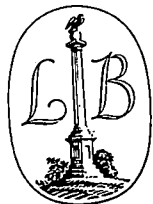
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*A collection of passages, phrases and  
proverbs traced to their sources in  
ancient and modern literature*

FIFTEENTH AND 125TH ANNIVERSARY EDITION  
REVISED AND ENLARGED

## John Bartlett

*Edited by EMILY MORISON BECK  
and the editorial staff of Little, Brown and Company*



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3/1/90

Mozambique (Pres. Chissano 3/1/90)

Randall Leacey 647-8434

Mozambique Embassy

~~742-7979~~ ~~742-7979~~ 258-11-742-79

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293-7146 Amb. ✓

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395-5221 (2) Situation Room fax

85 287 - Unofficial visits w/ Pres. Samora Machel in 84 as Pres.

Phillip Hughes x 2224

Wed. 3:00 p.m.

Conversation w/ Pres Ferrero

Soccer, jogging

Pres 1984

Min. of For Affairs - 1985 - working breakfast w/ R.D. Bush → veterans of Moz Lib. team

Against rat of soccer league

Country w/ many resources  
has pot. to be strong  
& free

Working to help  
save the people  
& esp- children

Encyclopedia

Jet Nov, 24, 86  
p. 24-7

Jackson & Chissano

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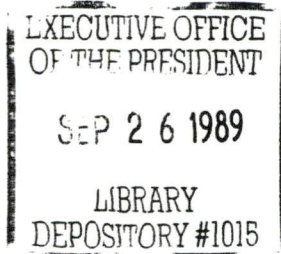
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# Mozambique



United States Department of State  
Bureau of Public Affairs

May 1989



**Official Name:**  
People's Republic of  
Mozambique

## PROFILE

### Geography

**Area:** 789,800 sq. km. (303,769 sq. mi.); about twice the size of California. **Cities:** *Capital*—Maputo (pop. 900,000). *Other cities*—Beira (200,000), Quelimane, Tete, Nampula, Nacala. **Terrain:** Varies from lowlands to high plateau. **Climate:** Tropical to subtropical.

### People

**Nationality:** *Noun and adjective*—Mozambican(s). **Population** (1985): 14 million. **Annual growth rate:** 2.6%. **Ethnic groups:** Makua, Tsonga, Makonde, and other indigenous tribal groups; about 10,000 Europeans, 35,000 Euro-Africans, 15,000 Indians. **Religions:** Indigenous African 50%, Christian 15%, Muslim 30%. **Languages:** Portuguese (official), indigenous. **Education:** *Years compulsory* (proposed)—7. *Attendance*—40%. **Literacy**—14%. **Health:** *Infant mortality rate*—200/1,000. *Life expectancy*—47 yrs. **Work force** (5.6 million est.): *Agriculture*—85%. *Industry and commerce*—9%. *Services*—2%. *Government*—4%.

### Government

**Type:** Socialist one-party state. **Independence:** June 25, 1975. **Constitution:** June 25, 1975.

**Branches:** *Executive*—president, party central and executive committees, Cabinet. *Legislative*—People's Assembly. *Judicial*—based on Portuguese civil law.

**Administrative subdivisions:** 10 provinces.

**Political party:** Front for Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO). **Suffrage:** Universal adult.

**Central government budget** (1983): \$640 million.

**Defense** (1987): 40% of government budget.

**Flag:** Diagonal green, red, black, and yellow stripes separated by white stripes. The national emblem—a gear wheel surrounding a book, superimposed on a crossed weapon and hoe—is at top left.

### Economy

**GNP** (1987 est.): \$4.7 billion. **Per capita income** (1987 est.): \$319.

**Natural resources:** Coal, iron ore, natural gas, copper, heavy minerals, bauxite, possibly petroleum.

**Agriculture** (45% of GNP): *Products*—cashews, sugar, tea, cotton.

**Industry** (35% of GNP): *Types*—consumer goods, light machinery.

**Trade** (1986): *Exports*—\$79.1 million: cashews, shrimp, sugar, tea, cotton. *Major markets*—U.S., Western Europe, South Africa. *Imports*—\$542.7 million: refined petroleum products, machinery, transportation goods, spare parts, consumer goods. *Major suppliers*—U.S., U.S.S.R., Japan, Italy, F.R.G., France, South Africa, Portugal.

**Official exchange rate** (Jan. 1989): 645 meticals = U.S.\$1.

**Fiscal year:** Calendar year.

### Membership in International Organizations

UN and some of its specialized and related agencies, including the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank; Organization of African Unity (OAU); Lome Convention; Nonaligned Movement.



## GEOGRAPHY

Mozambique's capital, Maputo, is the economic, political, and cultural center of the country. Its population has tripled since 1945. Other cities, such as Nampula, Beira, and Nacala, also are important commercial and transport centers.

Lowlands make up 44% of Mozambique's area and consist of coastal areas with altitudes up to 180 meters (600 ft.) above sea level. The central uplands (17% of the area) are formed by plateaus 180–540 meters (600–1,800 ft.) above sea level. The high plateaus (26% of the territory) range from 540 to 900 meters (1,800–3,000 ft.) high. Mountains lie along the western frontier. Africa's fourth largest river, the Zambezi, divides the country in half.

Climate varies from tropical to subtropical in all areas except the high plateaus and the mountains. During the rainy season (November–April), warmer temperatures prevail. Rainfall is irregular, and some districts, particularly in the south, are subject to severe droughts and floods. Although there are numerous rivers, their flow is highly variable.

## PEOPLE

The 10 major ethnic groups living in Mozambique are divided into subgroups with diverse languages, dialects, cultures, and history; the largest are the Makua and Tsonga. The north central Provinces of Zambezia and Nampula have traditionally been the most populous, comprising about 50% of the population. However, between 1986 and 1988, hundreds of thousands of Mozambicans fled conflict-torn areas of central Mozambique to neighboring countries or secure areas within the country.

Although subject to the influence of Islamic coastal traders and later to European influence, the people of Mozambique largely have retained an indigenous culture based on subsistence agriculture. Its most highly developed art forms have been wood sculpture, for which the Makonde in northern Mozambique are particularly renowned, and dance. Currently, the modern elite remains heavily influenced by the Portuguese colonial and linguistic heritage. However, an increasing number of Mozambicans speak English as a result of growing links with their English-speaking neighbors.

Under the colonial regime, educational opportunities for black Mozambicans were limited, and 93% of the population was illiterate. Since independence, the government has placed high

priority on expanding education, reducing the illiteracy rate to 86%. Primary school enrollment also has increased. The continuing insurgency, however, has disrupted education in many of the rural areas.

During the colonial era, Christian missionaries were active in Mozambique, and many foreign clergy remain in the country. About 15% of the population are Christian, some 30% are Muslim, and the rest are influenced by traditional beliefs.

## HISTORY

Mozambique's first inhabitants were Bushmanoid hunters and gatherers, ancestors of the Khoisani peoples. Between the first and fourth centuries A.D., waves of Bantu-speaking peoples migrated from the north through the Zambezi River Valley and then gradually into the plateau and coastal areas. The Bantu were farmers and ironworkers.

When Portuguese explorers reached Mozambique in 1498, Arab trading settlements had existed along the coast for several centuries. From about 1500, Portuguese trading posts and forts became regular ports of call on the new route to the east. Later, traders and prospectors penetrated the hinterland seeking gold and slaves. Although Portuguese influence gradually expanded, development lagged while Lisbon devoted itself to the more lucrative trade with India and the Far East and to colonization of Brazil.

In the early 20th century, the Portuguese shifted the administration of much of the country to large private companies (controlled and financed mostly by the British), which made lucrative profits by establishing railroad lines with neighboring countries and by supplying cheap (often forced) African labor to the mines and plantations of the nearby British colonies. Because policies were designed to benefit white settlers and the Portuguese homeland, little attention was paid to developing Mozambique's economic infrastructure or the skills of its population.

After World War II, while many European nations were granting independence to their colonies, Portugal clung to the concept that Mozambique and other Portuguese possessions were "overseas provinces" of the "mother country." Inevitably, sentiment for independence developed among the Mozambicans. In 1962,

several Mozambican anti-Portuguese political groups formed the Front for Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO), which in September 1964 initiated an armed campaign against Portuguese colonial rule. After 10 years of sporadic warfare and major political changes in Portugal, Mozambique became independent on June 25, 1975.

## GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

Mozambique is a socialist, one-party state. FRELIMO is the only party allowed and is the key decisionmaking organ. The most important government officials are members of FRELIMO; however, for those nonparty members, the opportunity does exist for government participation.

The legislature—People's Assembly—ratifies legislation prepared by the party. The legislature also acts as a sounding board for government proposals. In this capacity, the assembly has held discussions on draft legislation and government policies, such as the government's economic reform program and a law granting amnesty to Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO) armed insurgents who surrender. The assembly normally convenes twice a year for 1-week sessions.

The electoral process is closely controlled by the party. National elections for People's Assemblies at the local, district, provincial, and national levels were held in 1977 and 1986. The party drew up single slates of candidates for the elections, which were reviewed with the local population prior to the election. In the 1986 election, voters had some degree of choice since there were, by law, 20% more candidates than seats available in the various assemblies. Some members of the provincial and district People's Assemblies are not party members, and at least 15 members of the national People's Assembly do not belong to the party.

In late 1987 and early 1988, the government took steps to revise the constitution to increase political participation within the one-party structure. In mid-1988, the draft law on the revision was debated in various levels of the People's Assemblies and in local meetings organized by the party and government. In addition, the party is preparing for its Fifth Congress in July 1989, during which time proposals for broadening party membership and decisionmaking will be considered. As part of these preparations, FRELIMO held its second national party conference in July 1988.

Since 1980, RENAMO has waged an increasingly violent bush war against the FRELIMO government. RENAMO was created by the Ian Smith regime in Rhodesia in 1976. After Rhodesia became Zimbabwe in 1980, the South African Government began providing the insurgents with logistical support and training.

RENAMO is estimated to have 15,000–20,000 combatants. Beyond its aim to overthrow the present government, it has publicly enunciated only a vague political program, although its broadcasts and publications present an anticommunist posture.

Mozambican civilians have been RENAMO's principal targets in the war, although the insurgents also have attacked government installations and economic infrastructure. Between 1986 and mid-1988, some 100,000 civilians are believed to have been murdered by RENAMO, and about 1 million others fled to neighboring countries.

On March 16, 1984, the Governments of Mozambique and South Africa signed the Nkomati accord, which committed both countries to cease hostilities against the other and to search for ways to increase economic cooperation. The Government of Mozambique severely restricted the African National Congress (ANC) after the signing of the accord. The volume of direct South African Government support for RENAMO diminished after the Nkomati accord, but documents discovered during the capture of RENAMO headquarters at Gorongosa in central Mozambique in August 1985 revealed continuing South African Government communication with and military support for RENAMO.

Mozambique's first president, Samora Machel, died when his presidential aircraft crashed near Mbuzini on South Africa's border with Mozambique on Oc-



crew.

Machel was succeeded by Joaquim Alberto Chissano, who had served as foreign minister from 1975 until Machel's death. President Chissano has continued Machel's policies of expanding Mozambique's international ties, particularly the country's links with the West, and pursuing internal reforms. Early in his tenure, Chissano visited nearly all of Mozambique's 10 provinces to hold well-attended town meetings during which he explained the government's economic reform program, urged continuing support for the war against RENAMO, and

addressed grievances voiced by the people. Chissano also moved to improve relations with the churches, by meeting regularly with church leaders and, in June 1988, announcing the return of all church property previously seized by the government.

#### Principal Government Officials

President—Joaquim Alberto Chissano  
Prime Minister—Mario da Graça Machungo

#### Ministers

Agriculture—Alexandre Jose Zandamela  
Commerce—Manuel Jorge Aranda da Silva  
Construction and Water—Joao Salomao  
Cooperation—Jacinto Soares Veloso  
Culture—Luis Bernardo Honwana  
Education and Culture—Ancieto Dos Muchangos  
Finance—Abdul Magid Osman  
Foreign Affairs—Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi  
Health—Leonardo Simao  
Industry and Energy—Antonio Lima Rodrigues Branco



Aerial view of a port city in Mozambique.

Information—Teodato Hunguana  
 Interior—Manuel Jose Antonio  
 Justice—Ossumani Ali Dauto  
 Labor—Aguiar Mazula  
 Mineral Resources—John Kachamila  
 National Defense—Alberto Joaquim  
 Chipande  
 Presidency—Feliciano Gundana  
 Security—Mariano Matsinhe  
 Transport and Telecommunications—  
 Armando Emilio Guebuza  
 Governor, Bank of Mozambique—Eneas  
 Comiche  
 Ambassador to the United States—  
 Valeriano Ferrao

## ECONOMY

At independence, Mozambique's economy was largely based on services and the export of cheap agricultural products to Portugal. To keep the country as an outlet for Portuguese exports, manufacturing had not been encouraged. With the exodus of 200,000 Portuguese in 1975, most of the country's entrepreneurial and technical skills were lost. A disruptive series of nationalization measures sapped the remaining vitality of the modern economy.

In addition, in the late 1970s, the number of Mozambicans working abroad in southern Africa declined and ended a profitable gold-for-labor agreement with the Republic of South Africa. UN-sponsored sanctions against Rhodesia also lost the Mozambican economy \$150 million a year. As a result, the gross national product (GNP), which had declined by 17% in the last 5 years of Portuguese rule, declined by another 25% in the succeeding 4 years.

By 1980, the government had succeeded in arresting this steep decline, and modest growth was recorded in 1980 and 1981. However, economic progress has been restrained because of RENAMO attacks against economic targets, a shortage of foreign exchange needed to import capital equipment, centralized economic mismanagement, and 3 years of drought (1981-84), which severely disrupted agricultural production.

In order to revitalize the economy, the government in 1983 began to implement policy changes designed to bring the government budget under control, reform the monetary system, and create incentives for increased production by the private sector. The government promulgated a new liberalized foreign investment law in 1984 and began actively seeking foreign investment. During that year, the country also joined the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the Lome Convention. In response to these initiatives, the economy grew by about 4% in both 1986 and 1987. The government's intentions to improve health care, educational opportunities, and agricultural potential also are encouraging signs for long-term development.

## Agriculture and Industry

Agricultural development is one of the government's top priorities. About 85% of the population is engaged in agriculture, mostly in subsistence farming. Because of severe drought, especially in 1981-83, food production declined drastically, forcing Mozambique to import large amounts of food, much of it from the United States. Portions of the cash-crop sector are privately owned but because of drought, the lack of foreign exchange, security problems, and transport difficulties, production in this sector also has declined. Cashews, tea, sugar, and cotton are important exports, along with the internationally recognized shrimp that was the highest value item in 1983.

Manufacturing, concentrated in Maputo and Beira, is primarily in food

structive role in the negotiations leading to Zimbabwe's independence in 1980 and has played a similar role in the current negotiations for Namibian independence.

Mozambique maintains good relations with the neighboring black-ruled states of Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Swaziland, Zambia, and Malawi. Although Mozambique opposes apartheid, it has sought to reduce tensions with the Pretoria government and to cooperate where possible.

The basic framework for Mozambican/South African relations is the Nkomati nonaggression pact signed in March 1984, wherein each government pledged not to harbor forces trying to subvert the government of the other. Each side has accused the other of violating the accord, and in 1985, the Mozambican Government published captured documents that indicated continuing South African support to RENAMO. Recently, however, Mozambique and South Africa have opened up new areas of cooperation, such as the rehabilitation of the Cabora Bassa electrical grid and South African assistance to the port of Maputo and the rail line between the two countries.

## U.S.-MOZAMBICAN RELATIONS

The United States recognized Mozambique upon its independence. Diplomatic relations were established on September 23, 1975, and the U.S. Embassy was opened on November 8. The first U.S. Ambassador arrived in Maputo in March 1976.

In 1976, the United States extended a \$10-million grant to the Government of Mozambique to help it cope with the problems arising when it closed its borders with Rhodesia.

In 1977, largely because of concern with alleged human rights violations, the U.S. Congress prohibited the provision of development aid to Mozambique unless the president certified that such aid would be in the foreign policy interests of the United States. In March 1981, the Mozambican Government expelled four members of the U.S. Embassy staff. In response, the United States suspended plans to provide development aid and to name a new ambassador to Maputo. Relations between the United States and Mozambique then entered a period of stagnation and mutual suspicion.

In 1982, both governments made an effort to improve the relationship. Regular consultations were held that identified areas for expanded cooperation. Political discussions also led to a convergence of views on key regional and bilateral issues. The reestablishment of cooperative relations between the two governments culminated in late 1983 in the assignment of a new U.S. Ambassador to Maputo and the arrival of the first Mozambican Ambassador to Washington.

Since the exchange of ambassadors, cooperation between Mozambique and the United States has continued to expand. Discussions of issues of mutual interest are held regularly. President Machel made an official working visit to the United States in September 1985, and current President Chissano met with President Reagan in October 1987. The United States has significantly expanded its economic support to Mozambique over the past several years. In fiscal year 1988, the United States provided about \$90 million in food and economic assistance. The United States is now the largest provider of emergency food assistance to Mozambique.

## Principal U.S. Officials

Ambassador—Melissa F. Wells  
Deputy Chief of Mission—Michael E.

Ranneberger

Political Officer—Aubrey Verdun  
Economic/Commercial Officer—C.C.

Efird

Director, USAID Mission—Julius  
Schlotthauer

Public Affairs Officer (USIS)—Cynthia  
Efird

Defense Attache—Maj. Richard  
Rodrigues USA

## Offices of the U.S. Mission

U.S. Embassy—Avenida Kenneth Kaunda 193, P.O. Box 783 (tel. 74 2797, 74 3167, 74 4173; telex 6-143 AMEMB MO).

USAID Mission—Rua Faria de Sousa 107 (tel. 74 4482, 74 4484, 74 1689; telex 6-180).

USIS Office—Avenida Mao Tse Tung 542 (tel. 74 1916). ■

## Further Information

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For information on foreign economic trends, commercial development, production, trade regulations, and tariff rates, contact the International Trade Administration, U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C. 20230 or any Commerce Department district office.

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VOLUME 19

Mozambique

Meyer to Nauvoo

T H E E N C Y C L O P E D I A  
**AMERICANA**  
I N T E R N A T I O N A L E D I T I O N

COMPLETE IN THIRTY VOLUMES  
FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1829



GROLIER INCORPORATED

International Headquarters: Danbury, Connecticut 06816

ng of the body through which  
 food. In many animals the  
 ity, also functions as a respi-  
 organ of offense and defense,  
 f communication. In humans,  
 uth is used for speaking and  
 thing, as well as for eating.  
 begins at the lips and ends at  
 connects the mouth and nasal  
 hagus, or gullet, and the tra-  
 The organs of the mouth are  
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 outh.

see HARMONICA.

IN PICTURE.

k-si-bus'chən, or moxa, is a  
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 by insertion of acupuncture  
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 pecially those of mugwort  
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 ution probably originated in  
 d spread to other parts of  
 n, where it is still part of  
 h and 18th century Europe,  
 sed in place of cautery with  
 epilepsy, apoplexy, insanity,  
 s. See also ACUPUNCTURE.

an, **Daniel Patrick** (1927-  
 ologist and political leader.  
 , Okla., on March 16, 1927.  
 ork City tenements, worked  
 d bartender, served in the  
 I, and earned B. A., M. A.,  
 Tufts University. He also  
 School of Economics.  
 is a Democratic campaign  
 in the 1950's, Moynihan  
 Gov. Averell Harriman. In  
 n papers on urban affairs  
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 ecial assistant to the secre-  
 ssistant secretary of labor  
 n helped draft antipoverty  
 controversial report attrib-  
 d despair to unstable fam-  
 e fatherless, matriarchal

assador to India (1973-  
 delegate to the United  
 where he defended U.S.  
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 posture. He was elected  
 n New York in 1976 and  
 1988, in 1988 by the larg-  
 ry of New York races for  
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 4 with the Central Intel-  
 g to keep the committee  
 operations in Nicaragua.



© INGBORG LIPPMAN

Spacious Maputo, the capital of Mozambique, sprawls inland from a bay on the Indian Ocean.

**MOZAMBIQUE**, mō-zam-bēk', a country in south-  
 eastern Africa. Formerly a Portuguese colony, it  
 was called Moçambique for a small island on the  
 coast that had been named for one of its Arab  
 rulers, Musa al-Biqā. The Portuguese navigator  
 Vasco da Gama had reached the island in 1498  
 after sailing around the southern end of Africa on  
 his way to India.

The country extends more than 1,200 miles  
 (1,900 km) along the coast between Tanzania on  
 the north and South Africa on the southwest. All  
 of its landlocked neighbors—Malawi, Zambia,  
 Zimbabwe, and Swaziland—depend on the Mo-  
 zambican railway system and deepwater ports for  
 outlets to the Indian Ocean.

Mozambique became independent in 1975 af-  
 ter more than a decade of armed struggle against  
 the Portuguese. The new government had as its  
 goal the building of Africa's first truly Marxist-  
 Leninist state. But independence did not pro-  
 vide the necessary skills and financing to accom-  
 plish that objective. Although the government  
 nationalized the land, the natural resources, and  
 social services and assumed the leading role in  
 Mozambican development, it promised austerity,  
 not prosperity, to its citizens.

**1. The Land**

Coastal lowland covers two fifths of the total  
 area of Mozambique. To the west of this region  
 is a transitional zone of hills and low plateaus  
 ranging from 500 to 2,000 feet (150-600 meters)  
 above sea level. Portions of western Mozam-  
 bique form a third zone, reaching a maximum  
 elevation of 7,992 feet (2,436 meters) at Mt. Binga  
 on the Zimbabwe border. Included within  
 this region are the 6,500-foot (2,000-meter)  
 Angóni plateau in the northwest province of  
 Tete; the Namúli highlands, east of southern  
 Malawi, with an elevation of 6,200 feet (1,900  
 meters); the Gorongosa highlands in central Mo-  
 zambique; and the Lebombo Mountains along  
 the southwestern frontier.

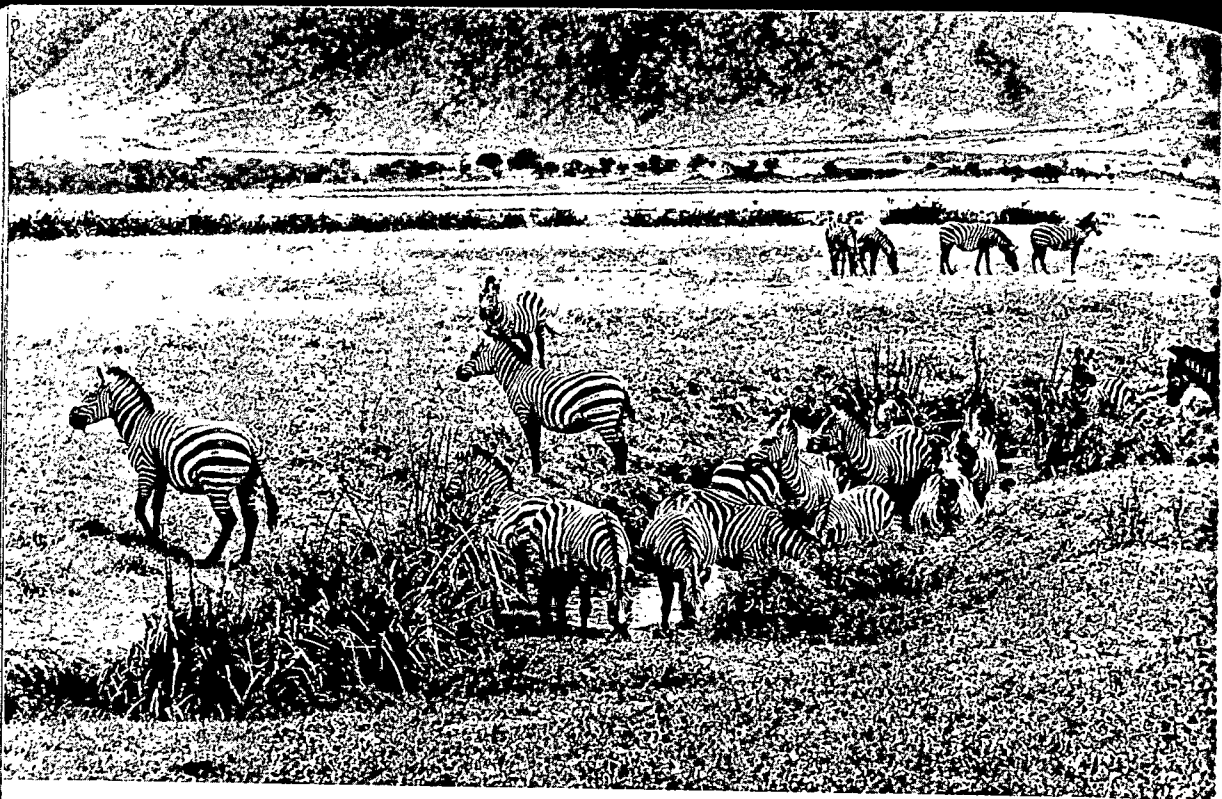
Mozambique has an extensive network of riv-  
 ers, all of which flow into the Indian Ocean.  
 The major rivers, from north to south, are the  
 Ruvuma, Lúrio, Ligonha, Zambezi, Save, and  
 Limpopo. Because variations in regional rainfall  
 make the flow of most of Mozambique's rivers  
 irregular, their navigation on a consistent basis is  
 impossible.

**Climate.** Mozambique's climate is tropical,  
 varying according to the topography. Each year  
 has a wet and dry season. Almost all of the  
 annual rainfall occurs during the October-to-  
 March wet season, which coincides with the  
 Southern Hemisphere's summer. Temperatures  
 during this period are high, varying with expo-  
 sure to the rain-bearing northeast monsoon.  
 Along the coast the wet season temperatures  
 range between 80° and 85°F (27°-29°C), with re-  
 lative humidity around 80%.

Rainfall is heavy along the central coast be-  
 tween Quelimane and Beira, averaging 52 inches  
 (1,320 mm) a year. North and south of this re-  
 gion, annual rainfall is about 30 inches (760 mm).  
 Precipitation and humidity drop in that part of  
 the plain that lies inland from the coast, but rise

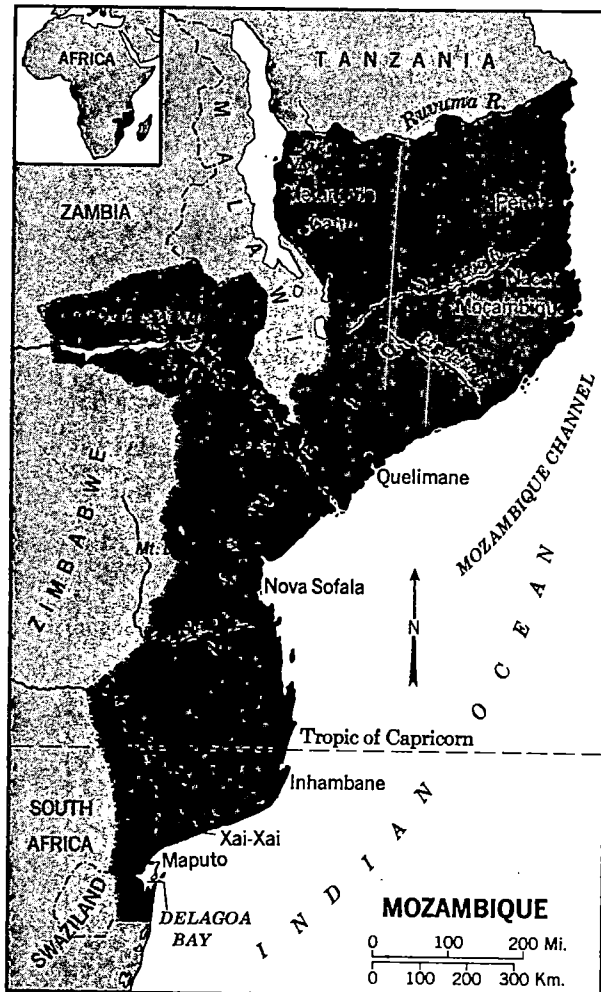
**INFORMATION HIGHLIGHTS**

**Area:** 309,494 square miles (801,590 sq km).  
**Boundaries:** North, Tanzania; east, Indian Ocean;  
 south, South Africa; southwest, Swaziland;  
 west, South Africa and Zimbabwe; northwest,  
 Zambia and Malawi.  
**Elevations:** Highest—Mt. Binga (7,992 feet, or 2,436  
 meters); lowest—sea level.  
**Population:** (1980 census, adjusted for estimated  
 underenumeration) 12,130,000.  
**Capital and Largest City:** Maputo.  
**Name of Nationals:** Mozambicans.  
**Major Languages:** Portuguese (official) and numer-  
 ous Bantu languages.  
**Major Religious Groups:** Followers of traditional Afri-  
 can religious beliefs; Christians; and Muslims.  
**Monetary Unit:** Metical (= 100 centavos).  
 For Mozambique's flag, see under FLAG, both  
 illustration and text.



HARRISON FORMAN

Zebras graze in Gorongosa National Park, the best-known game reserve in Mozambique.



again in the interior plateau. Mozambique's highest annual rainfall, 65 inches (1,650 mm), occurs in the northern mountains and along the Zimbabwe frontier. Two large sections of the interior are extremely dry: the southwestern province of Gaza, which receives only 12 inches (300 mm) of rain annually, and the Zambezi Valley around Tete.

The milder dry season lasts from April to September. During this period, the warm Mozambique Current flowing south from the equator gives the coast an average temperature of 67° F (19° C).

**Plant and Animal Life.** Mangrove swamps and coconut and date palms occur along much of the coastline, particularly beside river estuaries. Wild cashew-nut trees grow inland from the coast in the north and south. Other trees include cedar, ebony, ironwood, sandalwood, gum copal, and gum-yielding acacias. Bamboo and spear grass grow along riverbanks, and *Landolphia* rubber vines thrive in the forests. The savanna, with its flat plains, short-grass steppes, and open woodlands, dominates about three quarters of Mozambique's terrain.

Mozambique has a wide variety of animal life. Many types of antelope as well as zebras, buffalo, lions, and leopards are found throughout the country. Crocodiles and hippopotamuses are found in the rivers and lakes. The colonial government had set aside certain areas as game reserves or national parks to protect the animal life. The rhinoceroses of the northern and north-eastern regions, the giraffes of the area near the South African border, and the ostriches living between the Limpopo and Save rivers were all protected by law.

Gorongosa National Park, northwest of Beira, is Mozambique's best-known game reserve. Others are Maputo Elephant Park in the south, and Marromeu Reserve, for the protection of buffalo, south of the Zambezi delta.

The Zambesi  
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HARRISON FORMAN

zebra in Mozambique.

plateau. Mozambique's annual rainfall is 65 inches (1,650 mm), with the highest rainfall in the mountains and along the coast. Two large sections of the country are very dry: the southwestern part receives only 12 inches annually, and the Zambezi

season lasts from April to August. In this period, the warm Mozambique is south from the equator. The average temperature of

is Mangrove swamps and occur along much of the coast beside river estuaries. They grow inland from the coast. Other trees include baobab, sandalwood, gum copal, acacias. Bamboo and spear grass grow on the riverbanks, and *Landolphia* in the forests. The savanna, grass steppes, and open areas cover about three quarters of

a wide variety of animal life, including the kudu antelope as well as zebras, giraffes, and hippopotamuses are found throughout the country. The colonial government has set aside certain areas as game reserves to protect the animals. In the northern and northern parts of the area near the Zambezi and the ostriches living along the Save rivers were all

Beira National Park, northwest of Beira, is a game reserve. Other parks are in the south, and the protection of buffalo, etc.

The Zambezi is the longest African river flowing into the Indian Ocean. In northwestern Mozambique, some 250 miles (400 km) upstream, a shallow-draft ferry crosses the broad, placid river.



DICK HUFFMAN, FROM MONKMEYER

## 2. The People

Over 98% of the population of Mozambique is African. The rest consists of Europeans, Indians, East Asians, and *mestiços* (persons of mixed African-European ancestry). Some 90% of the population—almost entirely Africans—are agricultural workers. Indians and East Asians have traditionally been engaged in rural shopkeeping and urban commerce, respectively. After the beginning of 1974 the European population of Mozambique decreased drastically. Numerically this loss was offset by the resettlement of Africans who fled the country during the war for liberation—an estimated 115,000 refugees returning from Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. The exodus of 120,000 Portuguese, however, left the country short of trained personnel for the efficient operation of a modern economy.

Population density is highest in the fertile Zambezia and Mozambique provinces in the north and in the southern coastal area, which provides labor for the mines of the Witwatersrand in South Africa. The capital and largest city of Mozambique is Maputo, known before independence as Lourenço Marques.

There is considerable overlap between the African peoples of Mozambique and tribes in neighboring states. All speak Bantu languages. The major languages are Thonga in the south; Nyanja, in a variety of dialects, in the Zambezi Valley; Makua and Yao in the north; and Swahili, an Arabicized Bantu language, in the northeast and along the coast.

Tribal patterns are the result of pre-19th century migrations into the territory by peoples from the north and west and of early 19th century settlement by peoples fleeing before the Zulu armies of southern Africa. The Zambezi River is the dividing line between these groups. A third distinct region is formed by the peoples of the Zambezi Valley itself, who were influenced by the Portuguese and Arabs who used the river as their major route into the interior.

Tribes north of the Zambezi River—the Maravi, Yao, Makua (or Macua), Lomwe (Lomue), and Makonde (Maconde)—are predominantly agriculturalists. Their society is matrilineal—that is, descent is traced through the maternal line. Over 40% of the African population are in the Makua-Lomwe linguistic family. The Makua outnumber the Lomwe more than three to one. Most of the Swahili-speaking coastal people are of Makua descent.

The Makonde live on both sides of the Ruvuma River border between Mozambique and Tanzania. They have resisted the Islamization that is widespread among their Yao and Makua neighbors. Experts on African art consider Makonde sculpture, including wooden masks and statuary, to be the finest in eastern Africa.

Southern Mozambique is inhabited by tribes such as the Shona, Thonga, Chopi, and Nguni (Ngoni), who belong to the East African cattle-raising complex and are patrilineal. Cattle symbolize wealth and prestige. The *lobolo*, or bride price, is traditional among these peoples and was once paid in cattle. Today such items as bicycles and sewing machines may be part of the *lobolo*.

The Thonga, the second-largest tribal group in Mozambique, are concentrated in the region south of the Save River. They supply 40% of the labor force migrating to the mines of South Africa. The Nguni, because of frequent intermarriage with tribes among whom they settled, are one of Mozambique's smallest distinct groups, but their impact on the country's history has been considerable. The Chopi live in the coastal areas south of the Save River. Large numbers have moved to Maputo. Almost the entire population of Manica and Sofala provinces, between the Save and Zambezi rivers, is Shona. Their numbers have grown through the migrations into Mozambique of Shona from Zimbabwe and South Africa.

About 58% of the people practice traditional tribal religions. The remainder are Christians or Muslims. Most Christians are Roman Catholics.



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The port of Beira serves not only Mozambique but landlocked Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Malawi as well. The city was founded in 1891 as the headquarters of the Mozambique trading company of Portugal.

Under the colonial administration, primary education was conducted in two separate systems: *ensino de adaptação* for Africans and *ensino primário* for Europeans and assimilated Africans. The *ensino de adaptação* consisted of church schools in rural areas where students learned Portuguese and simple technical skills. Qualified students might then attend the *ensino primário*, which prepared students for entrance into high school. Graduated tuition fees throughout this system severely limited the number of Africans who received higher education. A university was opened at Maputo in 1963, but to earn a diploma, students were required to complete their education in Portugal.

In 1975 the new government adopted a sweeping series of reforms designed to make education accessible to the majority of Mozambicans. Public, private, and mission schools were taken over by the state, which introduced a curriculum emphasizing Mozambican history and culture and FRELIMO ideology. Students were encouraged to engage in manual labor to combat the "elitism" that, according to the government, was common among educated Africans in other countries. Students and teachers from Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo were sent to work in factories and in the countryside.

According to official estimates, 85% of the population was illiterate at the time of independence. A mass literacy campaign was undertaken by the government after 1975.

### 3. The Economy

Agriculture is the traditional mainstay of the Mozambican economy. Abundant hydropower, mineral, and marine resources, however, are promising areas of future economic expansion.

**Agriculture.** Although only 5% of Mozambique's arable land is cultivated, agriculture employs between 80% and 90% of the work force and accounts for 40% to 50% of gross domestic product and exports. Cashew nuts, tea, cotton, and sugar are the chief agricultural exports, with citrus fruits, copra (dried coconut meat), and sisal also important. The principal subsistence crops are cassava (manioc) and maize (corn). Other foods produced for domestic consumption include rice, sorghum, millet, beans, wheat, potatoes, coconuts, peanuts, and bananas.

Mozambique is one of Africa's leading producers of cashew nuts, tea, and coconuts. The cashews come primarily from wild trees tended by subsistence farmers. The nuts are shelled mechanically in Mozambique before being shipped abroad. Tea, sugar, coconuts, and sisal are grown on plantations that formerly were owned and supervised by Europeans and on which Africans worked for little pay in what amounted to conditions of forced labor. Cotton is cultivated mainly on small family plots, and in the growing areas the colonial government required Africans to plant the crop until this coercive policy was abolished in 1961.

Estate production fell sharply after independence, partly because of the departure of white farmers. For ideological reasons and with the aim of reversing the general decline of agriculture, the new government established communal villages of 500 families each to raise and market crops collectively.

**Forestry and Fishing.** Although about three fourths of Mozambique has some tree cover, commercially valuable forests occupy only a tiny fraction of that area. Timber and veneers constitute a minor export.

Commercial fishing is much more important. The industry supplies fish to the domestic market and provides a major export, shrimp.

**Mining and Electric Power Generation.** Despite extensive and varied mineral resources, Mozambique derives relatively little income from the mining sector. Most of the country's electricity production is in the form of hydropower.

Among the many extractive deposits that have been worked, the most important have been coal and rare minerals. Production from large coal reserves has been limited, however, by transportation difficulties. Small amounts of tantalite and beryllium have been mined, but these minerals command high prices on international markets because the world's supply is small. The Mozambican construction industry uses domestic limestone (for cement), stone, gravel, and sand. Salt is obtained from coastal ponds. In addition to these, substantial deposits of diamonds, gold, iron, bauxite, and natural gas have been discovered.

Mozambique's most important hydroelectric project and one of the largest in Africa is the

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Cabora Bassa Dam, built on the Zambezi by an international consortium in the early 1970's. Afterward the governments of Mozambique and Portugal formed a joint corporation to operate the facility, agreeing that Portugal's majority share of the stock should be transferred to Mozambique by the year 2005. Construction of the dam created a lake extending 150 miles (240 km) back to the Zambia and Zimbabwe borders, with the potential for irrigating large tracts of farmland in northwestern Mozambique. Power was earmarked for domestic mining enterprises and for neighboring countries—principally South Africa, which in turn supplied power to the southern part of Mozambique.

**Manufacturing.** Industrial enterprise is geared mainly to increasing the value of domestic primary products. Among the important activities in this category are cashew decortication, sugar refining, cotton spinning and weaving, tea processing, flour milling, and the extraction of vegetable oil.

Mozambique also produces cement, fertilizer, glass and wood products, tires, railroad equipment, and metal wares. Imported petroleum is refined for domestic use and export.

**Transportation.** The railway system was designed primarily to move freight between the seaboard and the interior. Each of the three main ports—Maputo, Beira, and Nacala—is the terminus of railways extending into neighboring countries. Transit trade, carried mainly on these routes, has accounted for as much as 30% of Mozambique's foreign-exchange earnings. Most of the improved roads also lead inland from seaports. Air connections between Maputo and provincial capitals often are more reliable than surface routes.

**Migrant Labor.** Large-scale labor migrations from southern Mozambique to South Africa's mines have been regulated in Mozambique since early in the 20th century. The post-independence government, continuing the practice of its colonial predecessor, collected in gold a large portion of the workers' wages from South Africa and, after deducting appropriate taxes, paid the workers in Mozambican currency when they returned home. A subsequent decline in recruitment by South African mine operators cost the Mozambican government and individual families considerable income.

## HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT

When the Portuguese entered the Indian Ocean in the closing years of the 15th century they found its trade controlled by the Arabs. In eastern Africa, Portuguese policy became centered on securing the coastal ports from the Arabs and capturing gold and silver mines inland.

### 4. The Portuguese Period

By 1520, Quelimane, Sofala, and Moçambique, as well as ports to the north, were in Portuguese hands. The lands behind Sofala and Quelimane and the plateaus of what is now Zimbabwe were occupied by the Karanga, a part of the Shona people, whose paramount chief, called the monomotapa, was the overlord of all the tribes in the region. Penetration of the Zambezi region began in 1531 when the Portuguese founded a town at Sena, about 125 miles (200 km) up the Zambezi River, to attract the local gold trade. Sena and its upstream neighbor Tete

brought the Portuguese into closer contact with the peoples of the monomotapa's empire, with whom they traded and eventually fought.

Missionary activity was present from the beginning, and in 1628 the monomotapa was converted to Roman Catholicism, with a resulting expansion of European influence in the interior. This was halted in 1693 when Changamire, a vassal of the monomotapa, having routed the armies of his master, turned his attention to the Portuguese settlements. Many of these had fallen by the time of his death in 1695. The 18th century was a period of decline in Mozambique, even for the uniquely Mozambican *prazo*, or land-grant, system encompassing much of the Portuguese-held territory in the interior.

**The *Prazeiros*.** The *prazo* system was Portugal's response to the problem of colonizing its southern African possessions at minimum expense to the crown. It originated in the 16th century when independent merchants and soldiers ventured into the interior to make their individual fortunes as allies of the monomotapa. When they were successful he rewarded them, as he did his African vassals, with grants of land. They became "chiefs" in his kingdom, taking African wives, building armies, and expanding their holdings outside Portuguese sovereignty.

In the 17th century the Portuguese crown sought to expand its control in the interior by recognizing the validity of the monomotapa's grants to Portuguese citizens. The government further extended the concept by granting *prazos de coroa* (crown grants) to subjects who had rendered distinguished service to the crown. The *prazeiros* (concessionaires) were to cultivate and colonize the land and marry European women. They seldom, however, lived up to any of these conditions.

On his holding, the *prazeiro* was the absolute master, taking the powers of the traditional African chief and extending them according to European concepts of private property and forced labor. These half-caste lords of the interior were the effective government of the land behind the coast and as such came to be feared by the Portuguese authorities. The *prazo* system was outlawed in 1832, 1838, 1841, and 1854, but the law failed to eliminate the *prazeiros* or the system.

The first serious blow to Portuguese prestige in the 19th century came from the south. In the late 1820's, Nguni groups under the leadership of Soshangane crossed the Limpopo River into Mozambique and established the empire of Gaza in the highlands near the Save River. From this base, Soshangane raided in all directions. In 1833 he massacred the garrison at Lourenço Marques. Inhambane was attacked in 1834, and Sofala was burned in 1836. Tete and Sena bought peace with annual tribute, as did the *prazos* south of the Zambezi River. The main Nguni campaigns were those conducted against African peoples, who were incorporated into the empire of Gaza.

Soshangane died in 1859, leaving an empire that was to trouble the Portuguese again in 1885, when his grandson Gungunhana became king of Gaza. Although he nominally acknowledged Portuguese sovereignty, Gungunhana negotiated with the British and ceded the mineral rights in his kingdom to the British South Africa Company, an action that was unacceptable to the Portuguese government. In 1894 nominal vassals of Gungunhana attacked Lourenço Marques.

The port of Beira serves not only Mozambique but landlocked Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Malawi as well. The city was founded in 1891 as the headquarters of the Mozambique trading company of Portugal.

one of Africa's leading products, tea, and coconuts. The nuts from wild trees tended by the people of Mozambique before being processed into sugar, coconuts, and sisal products that formerly were used by Europeans and on which they were paid for little pay in what was often a system of forced labor. Cotton was grown on small family plots, and in the colonial government period the crop until this ceased in 1961.

fell sharply after independence because of the departure of white farmers for political reasons and with the general decline of agriculture. The established communal farms were each to raise and market their own products.

Although about three-quarters of the country has some tree cover, forests occupy only a tiny area. Timber and veneers constitute an important export.

Fishing is much more important than agriculture. Fish to the domestic market and for export, shrimp.

**Power Generation.** Despite abundant mineral resources, Mozambique derives little income from the mining of the country's electricity. The main source is hydropower.

Attractive deposits that have been mined have been coal, uranium, and tantalite. In addition, however, by transporting large amounts of tantalite to the coast, but these minerals are mined, but these minerals on international markets supply is small. The mining industry uses domestic iron, stone, gravel, and sand from coastal ponds. In addition, substantial deposits of diamonds, kyanite, and natural gas have been discovered.

The most important hydroelectric project in Africa is the Cahora Bassa Dam.

António Enes was sent from Lisbon to deal with the king. The last of the great Bantu monarchs of southern Africa was defeated by the man whose policies were to form the basis for 20th century colonial Mozambique.

During the 19th century the *prazeiros* were a mixed blessing to the Portuguese government. Some kept the peace in the interior; others disregarded or actively opposed Portuguese interests. The Wars of the Bongas constituted the second great challenge to Portuguese authority in the 19th century. (Bonga was the colloquial name of any half-caste chief of the Zambezi Valley region.) The Bongas fought from 1851 to 1887 to preserve their traditional independence from government authority and were finally crushed.

**The Chartered Companies.** Formed for the same reasons as the *prazos*, and yet envisioned as an alternative to them, three chartered companies were capitalized between 1888 and 1896. They provided the administrative and financial framework within which Portuguese authority was established throughout Mozambique. By 1900 the three companies, all dominated by foreign capital, controlled two thirds of the land.

Charters were for periods of 25 to 50 years and guaranteed the company the right to exploit the natural and human resources of the grant, provided they kept the peace and paid the proper revenues. The three companies were the Moçambique, operating in the central region; the Zambésia, the most profitable of the three, in the Tete and Zambésia districts; and the Niassa, in northwest Mozambique. The companies were active well into the 20th century.

**The Influence of António Enes.** Britain's successful attempt to annex territory claimed by Portugal, and the resulting Anglo-Portuguese Convention of 1891 fixing the boundaries between Mozambique and its British neighbors, was a turning point in the history of Portuguese Africa. Before 1890, interest had been at a low ebb. After 1890 it quickened as Portuguese forces defeated African and *prazeiro* chiefs in the interior. New policies were needed to deal with new situations. It was in this capacity that António Enes and the "Generation of 1895"—men whom he trained in Mozambique and who later served there and in Angola—shaped the future of Portuguese Africa.

Enes, a journalist, former member of the Portuguese parliament, and former overseas minister, was sent to Mozambique in 1891–1892 on a special mission to prepare a program of administrative reforms for the colony. His book *Moçambique* (1893), helped provide a framework for modern Portuguese colonial policy. Enes stood for a practical approach to colonial questions based on the needs of the individual possessions and emphasizing decentralized administration and colonial autonomy. Free trade, foreign capital, forced labor for Africans, and a new administrative apparatus were his minimum requirements for the new Mozambique.

His recommendations were incorporated into the Administrative Reform Act of 1907, which fixed the basic structure of overseas government. Enes believed that as long as the Africans remained in their traditional cultural environment they could not be the equal of the Portuguese. The Native Assistance Code of 1921 defined the *assimilado* system, the means by which Africans could acquire the privileges enjoyed by Europe-

ans. To become an *assimilado*, a person assimilated to Portuguese culture, an African had to speak Portuguese, reach a certain income level, and fulfill the obligations required of a Portuguese citizen.

Enes' theories were also reflected in the Colonial Act of 1930, enacted under the sponsorship of the future prime minister and strong man of Portugal, Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, who served very briefly as minister of colonies that year. It provided for the centralization of administrative authority in Lisbon and the economic development of the colonies through government planning and large-scale immigration of Portuguese settlers. The object of this and subsequent legislation was to tie the colonies closer to Portugal, a goal with which Enes would have agreed. In 1951, Mozambique was declared an overseas province of Portugal, and in 1972, Mozambique and Angola were designated overseas states.

BARBARA DUBINS, *San Jose State University*  
(Sections 1–4)

## 5. Independent Mozambique

The political winds of independence sweeping the African continent in the late 1950's and early 1960's had influenced small numbers of Mozambican politicians, students, and immigrant workers in nearby countries to form political groups. These exile movements voiced demands for independence from Portugal. Three small factions merged in 1962 to form the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique, known as FRELIMO, which enunciated a platform of independence.

Eduardo Mondlane, an American-educated Mozambican, became FRELIMO's first president. With Portugal unwilling to negotiate for Mozambique's independence, FRELIMO first embarked on preparation for a "war of national liberation" and then launched a guerrilla conflict in 1964 from bases in southern Tanzania into the northern region of Mozambique.

Gradually, FRELIMO expanded its hit-and-run attacks into the northwestern region of the country, after its drive into the northern provinces had stalled because of ethnic rivalries. An unexpected FRELIMO thrust into central Mozambique coincided with a "captains' coup" in Lisbon in April 1974 that overthrew the government of Marcelo Caetano, bringing an end to the war in Mozambique as well as in Angola and Guinea-Bissau.

**Independence.** After a nine-month transition period, the former Portuguese colony proclaimed its independence as the People's Republic of Mozambique on June 25, 1975. Several factors emerged to make the birth of the new socialist republic a troubled one. These included fundamental changes in the leadership and direction of the FRELIMO party, foreign entanglements, and severe climatic setbacks. In 1969, at the height of the guerrilla struggle, President Mondlane had been assassinated. The removal of Mondlane, widely held to be a moderate, led to the radicalization of FRELIMO. The new president, Samora Machel, a charismatic former hospital orderly, stood for a more radical approach to independence programs than Mondlane had. Other signs of FRELIMO's political redirection occurred, such as the formation of party cells in the Communist pattern and inclusion of Marxist terms in FRELIMO's pronouncements.

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San Jose State University  
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Once in power, FRELIMO moved swiftly to implement an Afro-Marxist policy. At its Third Party Congress in 1977, FRELIMO declared itself a "vanguard Marxist-Leninist party." Also in 1977, FRELIMO entered into a 20-year Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The new regime in Maputo abolished private enterprise, introduced "people's shops," formed cooperative industrial centers, and collectivized farming by moving tillers of the soil into communal villages. FRELIMO nationalized many farms, as well as banks, industries, and schools, and even the services of doctors and morticians. The government became embroiled in controversy with the Catholic Church by criticizing its rituals and by proclaiming espousal of atheism as official state doctrine. FRELIMO also sought to undermine traditional rulers and ancient customs in its efforts to create a "new socialist man."

**Domestic Problems.** Alarmed by government policies, the Portuguese colonial population fled, leaving about 10,000 to 20,000 of the former 230,000 Europeans who lived in Mozambique before independence. The departing whites took their skills and capital, leaving the new country woefully short of managers, farmers, bankers, physicians, teachers, technicians, and repairmen. The economy declined, agricultural output tumbled to levels well below 1973 production, and the service sector collapsed. The efforts of FRELIMO to improve literacy and health standards faltered.

Just as devastating, FRELIMO policies helped destabilize traditions and customs of the rural Africans, who little understood and greatly feared the changes in their daily lives. The government moved them from ancient lands to communal villages with promises of readily accessible water, schooling, medical care, and farming assistance. When the promised amenities failed to appear, Mozambicans, who had experienced rising expectations, expressed discontent and a few turned to opposition. The white-minority regime in Rhodesia (afterward Zimbabwe) capitalized on Mozambican discontent by organizing, training, and arming FRELIMO opponents. It sought to use the disaffected Mozambicans as a fifth-column movement in retaliation for the foreign policy of FRELIMO.

**Civil War.** The Marxist government matched its sweeping domestic programs with a forward foreign policy. FRELIMO granted sanctuaries and support to the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), whose guerrillas fought to displace the white Rhodesian government. It closed its borders with landlocked Rhodesia in 1976. The Rhodesians responded with devastating raids not only on ZANU bases but also on Mozambique's economic infrastructure. But greater problems lay ahead as a result of the Rhodesian conflict.

The opponents of FRELIMO, who had been forged into a guerrilla force by the Rhodesian army and intelligence officers, possessed the capability of challenging the Marxist regime. The Mozambique National Resistance (RENAMO) obtained South African backing after African rule had displaced the white settler government in Zimbabwe in 1980. RENAMO guerrillas, called bandits by FRELIMO, expanded their attacks into much of Mozambique. This guerrilla war and economic deterioration due also to Marxist

programs moved FRELIMO toward more pragmatic policies.

Since the country had virtually ceased to function, President Machel in 1980 declared a "war on the enemy within." Along with criticizing the bureaucracy for red tape and incompetency, he announced some departures from socialist policies that had hampered production and had led to a flourishing black market. FRELIMO abandoned the people's shops, allowed private enterprise on a small scale, and called for self-discipline. Later, the government freed farmers from some price constraints, encouraging them to produce more foodstuffs in return for higher prices.

The widespread RENAMO attacks also caused a major foreign-policy realignment. To cut off South African support for the guerrillas, FRELIMO signed the Nkomati Accord with South Africa in 1984. Mozambique hoped that this nonaggression pact, which forbade either country from supporting insurgent groups opposed to the other's government, would bring about the collapse of RENAMO.

However FRELIMO's position appeared precarious. The RENAMO insurgency spread in spite of advisors and troops brought in from Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Cuba, and Ethiopia to stop it. FRELIMO's writ did not run in sizable portions of Mozambique. The economy continued its decline. In late 1986, FRELIMO suffered a leadership crisis with the airplane death of President Machel. His successor, former Foreign Minister Joaquim Alberto Chissano, continued Machel's pragmatic initiatives and his search for Western aid and investment while retaining close ties with the Soviet bloc for military aid.

THOMAS H. HENRIKSEN  
Hoover Institution

**Further Reading:** Henriksen, Thomas H., *Mozambique: A History* (Collings 1978); Isaacman, Allen, *Mozambique—The Africanization of a European Institution: The Zambezi Prazos, 1750–1901* (Univ. of Wis. Press 1972); Isaacman, Allen and Barbara, *Mozambique: From Colonialism to Revolution, 1900–1982* (Westview 1983); Nelson, Harold D., ed., *Mozambique* (USGPO 1984); Newitt, M. D. D., *Portuguese Settlement on the Zambezi* (Longman 1973); Serapião, Luís B., and El-Khawas, Mohamed A., *Mozambique in the Twentieth Century* (Univ. Press of America 1979); Vail, Leroy, and White, Landeg, *Capitalism and Colonialism in Mozambique* (Univ. of Minn. Press 1980).

**MOZARAB**, mō-zar'əb, a Christian living under Muslim rule in the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages. The Spanish word *mozárabe* is derived from the Arabic *mustarib* ("a would-be Arab"). Particularly under the Umayyads, the early rulers of Muslim Iberia, the Mozarabs were treated with considerable tolerance. They lived under their own officials, who in turn were responsible to their Muslim overlords. They had their own tax collectors and judges, who administered the Visigothic code. Their Christian liturgy is known as the Mozarabic rite. The most important Mozarab communities were in Córdoba, Seville, and Toledo, seat of the Christian prince of Spain.

Most Mozarabs spoke Arabic and many adopted Muslim names and assumed the way of life of their Muslim neighbors. In turn they influenced the Muslims. The Mozarabs also transmitted Islamic culture to Christian Europe. For a discussion of Mozarabic art and architecture, see SPAIN—Art and Architecture.

PHILIP K. HITTI  
Author of "History of the Arabs"

5TH CASE of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

The Xinhua General Overseas News Service

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FEBRUARY 25, 1990, SUNDAY

LENGTH: 222 words

HEADLINE: progress made toward peace in mozambique, says minister

DATELINE: maputo, february 25; ITEM NO: 0225003

BODY:

the situation in mozambique "has reached a point where direct talks between the government and the anti-government national resistance movement (mnr) might happen" despite intensified rebel operations, said mozambican foreign minister mr. pascoal mocumbi. addressing the local press over the weekend upon his return from the oau council of ministers meeting in addis ababa, mr. mocumbi said that "understanding is growing among mnr leaders of the conditions needed for peace in mozambique and therefore progress is being made toward peace and stability in the country". contacts with mnr leaders, he said, are still being conducted through the mediation of president daniel arap moi of kenya and president robert mugabe of zimbabwe, adding that others might also facilitate the tasks of the mediators. in response to an appeal by mozambican president joaquim chissano, the mozambican foreign minister confirmed, the united states has presented a seven-point proposal to the mnr, stressing the need for recognizing the legitimacy of the existing constitution and the institutions that emanate from it in mozambique. commenting on the intensified rebel operations, the foreign minister said that "this is not the first war situation in history in which, as the time for negotiations approaches, violent incidents proliferate."

9TH CASE of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1990 Times Newspapers Limited  
The Times

February 20, 1990, Tuesday

SECTION: Overseas news

LENGTH: 363 words

HEADLINE: Scientist kidnapped by rebels in Mozambique

BYLINE: From Jan Raath, Harare

BODY:

Mozambican rebels abducted a British scientist and a Zimbabwean businessman in the Beira corridor at the weekend, destroying the myth of security that surrounds Zimbabwe's heavily guarded road, rail and pipeline link to the coast of Mozambique.

The victims are Professor David Stephenson, aged 47, head of the Department of Hydrology at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg and a South African resident, and Mr Dudley Searle, aged 40, the wealthy director of a group of Zimbabwean construction companies.

They were taken from their truck by Mozambique Nationalist Resistance (MNR) guerrillas near the village of Inchope, halfway along the route between the Indian Ocean port of Beira and the eastern Zimbabwean border city of Mutare, at 10am on Friday.

There was no confirmation from either the Mozambique or Zimbabwe governments, but military sources said there was no sign of either man being injured, although the truck had 'a few bullet holes', including one through the front windscreen.

Zimbabwean troops mounted a follow-up operation, the sources added, but said the guerrillas appeared to have escaped with their victims, whose hope of release now lay with the British Government launching negotiations with the rebels.

Professor Stephenson was undertaking a study for a New York-based company on the planned construction of a road over the Pungwe flats, a low-lying marshy area, leading to Beira.

He had been due to fly to Beira, but poor weather over the route forced him to go by road with Mr Searle.

The ambush was the latest evidence of increased rebel violence in Mozambique, as Renamo attempts to win concessions from President Chissano in peace talks that have been deadlocked for nearly six months.

Sixty-six Mozambicans returning from the South African gold mines were killed in an attack last Wednesday on a train a few miles inside the Mozambique border. Guerrillas opened fire on passengers after setting off a remote-controlled mine to derail the train.

(c) 1990 Times Newspapers Limited, February 20, 1990

The new audacity seen in rebel attacks since the beginning of the year has sharply altered the situation in the Beira corridor, the supply route for Zimbabwe's fuel needs.

SUBJECT: Professor David Stephenson

34TH CASE of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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Summary of World Broadcasts

February 9, 1990, Friday

SECTION: Part 4 The Middle East, Africa and Latin America; B. AFRICA

PAGE: ME/0684/B/ 1

LENGTH: 77 words

HEADLINE: SOUTHERN AFRICA IN BRIEF;  
Mozambique Chissano on 'hopeful signs for peace'

SOURCE: Text

Radio Mozambique, Maputo, in Portuguese 1030 gmt 7 Feb 90

BODY:

President Joaquim Chissano has said that Mozambique will achieve peace, but added that this process is taking time because government and people want real, safe and definitive peace. The Mozambican leader was speaking during an audience given to Manuel Marin, Vice-President of the European Commission, who ended his visit to Mozambique today. Chissano added that work is continuing to remove all obstacles, stressing that there are hopeful signs for peace.

imperfectly held ideal. "Freedom," Alex Tseytlin says, then rolls his eyes. "The only freedom one has here," he sighs, gesturing around his comfortable apartment, "is the freedom to die." □

by Dianne Rinehart in Moscow

## MOZAMBIQUE

# A small war's moving targets



Juliet Chauke knows what it is to live on broth made by boiling tree roots while hiding in dense bush, but she is not a refugee from poverty or political oppression. Like almost a million other Mozambicans, she fled from her homeland in a desperate bid to escape a brutal civil war that has made civilians targets, not just hapless victims.

"If the Matsangas see you, they just take you away and there is no more," says Juliet, a teenage mother who can neither read nor write but who is nonetheless eloquent about the terrors she has seen. "The Matsangas can rape women of any age," she continues, nodding toward her mother and her withered grandmother. "Once you see the Matsangas, you know you will be killed."

The dreaded "Matsangas" take their name from the late Andre Matsangaissa, an early leader of the Resistencia Nacional Mozambicana, or Renamo, the right-wing army that has fought for years to topple the Frelimo government. Renamo's preferred targets are in the countryside, where it has attacked villages, burned schools and shot hospital patients in their beds. In the past 15 years, more than 600,000 people have been killed in a war that rarely makes world headlines but that has devastated Mozambique.

**Tales of horror.** Juliet and three women relatives who fled last month to the Tongogara refugee camp in Zimbabwe's eastern highlands now live in Base 12, a tent city where new arrivals are put until they can build their own mud-and-thatch huts. None of the four women is literate, none knows her exact age and all were married to husbands who have died or disappeared. In Tongogara, the women are given a daily ration of vegetables and cornmeal and, just as important, a sense of security that they have not known for many years.

Until mid-September, they had lived in a settlement called Chikwalakwala, one of hundreds of communal villages the Mozambique government ordered



**Life in Base 12:** A tent city in Zimbabwe is home to new refugees from Renamo violence. They stay for months, while building their own mud-and-thatch huts. Zimbabwean soldiers protect the camp from cross-border Renamo raids.

established in 1975. Life was simple but adequate. Subsistence farming produced corn, beans, peanuts and other food. Frelimo cadres ran three schools and a clinic, and Frelimo soldiers protected the village from Renamo attacks.

But security in the countryside began to deteriorate, forcing people from rural areas to retreat to the protected villages and ultimately making even the guarded settlements unsafe. Every villager had a tale of Renamo cruelty: A boy's tongue hacked out because he was a suspected government sympathizer; women decapitated with blunt machetes, men abducted and killed. Frelimo forces were also involved in some atrocities, but refugee experts say Renamo was much worse. When rebels struck Chikwalakwala in early September, most residents fled to nearby mountains. They returned after three days to find numerous male relatives in a pile of nude corpses and much of the village burned to the ground.

When Renamo attacked a neighboring village a few nights later, Juliet and her

relatives fled again. This time, they did not stop until they reached Zimbabwe. Carrying children on their backs, they traveled by night along game trails through the forest. Their only food was the broth made from roots. "We were afraid," says Muhlava Zita, one of Juliet's cousins. "The animals could attack us, the Matsangas could attack us, but we had no choice."

Refugees at Tongogara are divided about the possibility and wisdom of returning to Mozambique. Juliet's grandmother hopes to go back "when the war is over" so that families can be reunited. Juliet doubts that peace talks now under way between Renamo and the government will actually stop the killing. "I am safe here," she says. "I don't know why I have to go back to die." Muhlava also is skeptical about an end to the fighting. "I still dream of running from the Matsangas with my children," she says as four generations of refugees nod in agreement. □

by Eric Ransdell in Tongogara

(Smith/Blessey)

9 A.M.

March 6, 1990

MO

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CHISSANO DEPARTURE  
TUESDAY, MARCH 13, 1990  
DIPLOMATIC ENTRANCE

It is a great pleasure to welcome President Chissano to the White House as my guest. And to recall how more than two millennia ago, a prophet talked of how things, once lost, can never be recaptured. "Four things come not back," he said. "The spoken word; the sped arrow; time past; the neglected opportunity." //

This afternoon, President Chissano and our delegation had a very productive meeting and working lunch. // For we used our opportunity to discuss important bilateral matters -- including America's endorsement of the government of Mozambique's political and economic reforms. //

These reforms have enhanced the ties which link Mozambique and the United States. Reaffirming values central to America: Values like the right to vote, to own property, and to worship as we please. Values like the right to be free of violence. //

Politically, these values have buoyed the Mozambique peace process -- which we discussed today. As we did President Chissano's initiative to promote direct talks with RENAMO and the U.S. role in that process. // Economically, they have meant more liberalization and privatization. And allowed Mozambique to

endorse the Economic Rehabilitation Program supported by the IMF.

For that, Mr. President, I salute you. Yet we look forward to even further reforms. So we talked today of common concerns like refugee issues and Mozambique's humanitarian crisis. Reviewed ongoing developments in the southern African region. And explored new ways to propel the trend toward political solutions and regional cooperation. //

In all of this, we pledge our assistance. For we are aware how violence can maim a Nation. And are committed to helping meet Mozambique's humanitarian and development needs. // And I am confident of your involvement. For we have seen your government already meet some of RENAMO's demands. And we urge both parties to talk at the earliest opportunity to avoid further suffering.

Mr. President, ours is the chance to act not merely for Mozambique -- or any single country -- but rather, all of Africa. Helping democracy enrich a continent, and your continent enrich the world.

There is an ancient proverb which goes, "God guides whom He wills toward a straight path." The path toward progress is paved with opportunity. And the freedom which proclaims the individual, not the State, as the voice of tomorrow. // Today, we spoke of how we can walk that path. I hope that we can work together in the tomorrows to come.

# # #



## EMBASSY OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE

OUR REF.: \_\_\_\_\_

DATE: 03/04/90FROM: AMBASSADOR V. FERRAOTO: WHITE HOUSEATT.: MIS STEPHANIE BLESSEYNR. OF PAGES: 2

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OBS.: \_\_\_\_\_

# MOZAMBIQUE



**JOAQUIM ALBERTO  
CHISSANO**

*President of the Frelimo Party*

*President of the People's Republic  
of Mozambique*

## BIOGRAPHY

Joaquim Alberto Chissano was born on 22 October 1939 in Malehice in the Chibuto district of Gaza province. He went to primary school in Gaza and then to secondary school in the capital, Maputo (ex-Lourenço Marques). While at school he joined NESAM (Nucleus of Mozambican African Secondary Students), becoming its President in 1959/60.

In 1960 he went to Portugal to take up university studies; however, already committed to the nationalist movement, he left the country secretly a year later. In exile in France, he continued his studies and joined the nationalist movement. He was founding member and President of the National Union of Mozambican Students, and was associated with nationalist student movements of the five Portuguese African colonies and those of other African countries.

In 1962, Mr. Chissano participated in the founding of the Mozambican Liberation Front (FRELIMO) in Tanzania, and in 1963 was elected to the Central Committee of FRELIMO. Having interrupted his studies to serve the cause of the liberation struggle, he first became secretary to Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, the FRELIMO President. He subsequently received other responsibilities, and after military training was made Secretary of the Security Department in 1965, while continuing to work with President Mondlane.

Mr. Chissano stood side by side with Eduardo Mondlane and Samora Machel in the struggle against reactionary, racist and tribalist forces inside FRELIMO in 1968/9. At FRELIMO's Second Congress, held in liberated Niassa province in 1968, he was re-elected to the Central Committee, which in 1969 appointed him to the Political-Military Committee. He was also a member of the Executive Committee, and was FRELIMO's Chief Representative in Tanzania.

In 1974 Mr. Chissano participated in the negotiations with the Portuguese authorities that culminated in the Lusaka Agreement of 7 September. President Samora Machel then appointed him Prime Minister in the Transitional Government that led Mozambique to independence on 25 June 1975. He was appointed Foreign Minister in the first government of the People's Republic of Mozambique, and held this post until 1986.

When FRELIMO became the vanguard Frelimo Party at the Third Congress in February 1977, Mr. Chissano was re-elected to the Central Committee. He was also elected to the Standing Political Committee, which later became the Political Bureau, and to the Central Committee Secretariat in which he became Secretary for External Relations. He was re-elected to these positions at the Fourth Congress in 1983.

Mr. Chissano was elected to the People's Assembly in the first general elections in 1977, and to the Standing Commission of the Assembly.

When ranks were introduced in the Mozambican Armed Forces in 1980, he received the rank of major-general. His decorations include the Orders 'Eduardo Mondlane', '25 September', '20th Anniversary of Frelimo' and 'Veteran of the Armed Struggle for National Liberation', besides various foreign decorations.

Following the tragic death of President Samora Moisés Machel on 19 October 1986, Mr. Chissano was elected President of the Frelimo Party at a special session of the Party's Central Committee on 3 November 1986. In accordance with the Constitution he was sworn in as President of the Republic on 6 November 1986.

Mr. Chissano is married to Marcelina Rafael Chissano, also a veteran of the armed struggle, and they have four children.

# Master of Mozambique

Joaquim Alberto Chissano

By SHEILA RULE

Special to The New York Times

MAPUTO, Mozambique, Nov. 3 — A few years back, Joaquim Chissano led a delegation of foreign diplomats on a tour of a Mozambican province that was making impressive economic strides in this impoverished nation. Addressing a

Man  
in the  
News

crowd of about 5,000 people at one village, Mr. Chissano asked if they had a rich bounty of goats, chickens and food.

"Yes!" the crowd proclaimed in unison, full of pride.

"But you are still hungry," Mr. Chissano shouted back.

"No!" the crowd yelled.

"You are still hungry," Mr. Chissano repeated three times as members of his audience grew increasingly restive and insulted over what was apparently his lack of confidence in their accomplishments.

"You are hungry for good housing, good clothing, good transportation," Mr. Chissano said. "You are hungry!"

The people, finally understanding his message, laughed and cheered.

## Shrewd With People

An associate of Mr. Chissano, who was named today to succeed Samora M. Machel as President of Mozambique, recalled the incident to underscore what many people here view as the new leader's shrewd handling of people and his dogged determination to rise above the status quo.

Mr. Chissano, who has been Foreign Minister since Mozambique won independence from the Portuguese in 1975, is widely regarded as a well-spoken diplomat who has gained popular support for his grass-roots work and a reputation for keeping political promises.

Associates say he lacks the charisma of President Machel, who was killed two weeks ago in a plane crash in South Africa, but is similar to the former leader in his pragmatic, nationalistic, political approach.

"Chissano is less fiery," a friend said today, "but I've seen him address rallies that are three hours long and people pay attention to him. He is more democratic than Samora people. People talk back to him and he

lets them. He is a warm and pleasant man."

But at the same time, friends and associates say, the new President, 47 years old, is a man whose entire personality was influenced by the struggle against Portuguese colonialism. As a result, he has no sympathy for those who he views as traitors to the nation. He is said to have once led the public execution of four members of a South African-backed rebel force seeking the overthrow of this Marxist Government.

"He asked the rebels how many Mozambicans they had killed," an associate recalled. "One said 30 or 40. Chissano asked the people gathered if the men were guilty. When the people said yes, he said, 'Shoot.' He was carried on the shoulders of the people."

## Served as Premier

Joaquim Alberto Chissano was born in Chibuto, in Gaza Province, on Oct. 22, 1939. He attended primary and secondary schools in Mozambique and later pursued his studies in Paris and Lisbon. He was a founding member of the Mozambique Liberation Front and was head of security for the movement during its struggle for independence against the Portuguese.

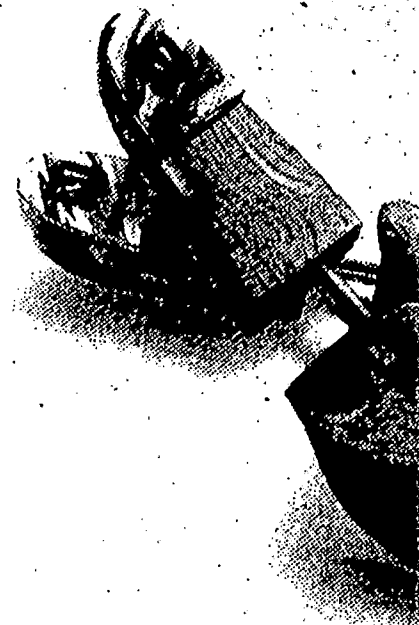
A member of the movement's Central Committee and Executive Committee since 1963, he served as Prime Minister of Mozambique's transitional Government from 1974 to independence a year later.

Mr. Chissano, who holds the rank of major general because of his role in the war for independence, is married and has children.

He is said to have a sharp sense of humor and the ability to absorb mounds of information in a short time.

He is fluent in Portuguese, English, French and Swahili. At a news conference several years ago, he gave a discourse on Mozambique's already formidable problems and switched with fluency from English, to French, and then to Portuguese, to illustrate his point to the international gathering of journalists. Some journalists at the end broke a time-hallowed rule and joined in the applause.

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RIZZOLI BOOKSTORE

Meet celebrated director

(Smith/Blessey)

9 A.M.

March 6, 1990

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PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CHISSANO TOAST  
TUESDAY, MARCH 13, 1990  
STATE DINING ROOM

President Chissano, Ladies and gentlemen. It is indeed a privilege to have you as our guest. And to welcome you to what Franklin Roosevelt termed "The home owned by all the American people."

I should note how one observer said it was an asset to today's talks that the leaders of both our countries are fluent in the same language. // That was nice. // Fluency in English is not something I'm often accused of. //

I hope -- and believe -- that a common tongue will facilitate these meetings. For we have much to talk about. And to be grateful for as we view the ties which link Mozambique and America.

Those ties rest on respect and maturity, and close communication and consultation. And they have been reaffirmed by your reforms of the past year which emphasize individuality, self-respect, and democratic ideals.

I refer to your new Constitution which calls for direct election and greater guarantees of property rights. And the 5th Party Congress which removed Marxism as a State ideology. These events have marked the birth of a new Mozambique -- willing, and

able, to lead -- and to nurture peace in Angola, South Africa, Namibia, and, yes, at home. //

Yet reforms have been more than political. And in that context, I applaud your adherence to the Economic Rehabilitation Program supported by the IMF. And look forward to ever-greater privatization and commercial liberalization. // Mozambique has encouraged the private enterprise so crucial to prosperity -- fostering the opportunity which makes all things possible for a Nation, and a people. //

Last month, a playwright who is now the President of Czechoslovakia visited the White House. And as we spoke, I thought of what I've called "The Revolution of '89." And how it has reflected the words of another playwright, Henrik Ibsen: "The spirit of truth and the spirit of freedom," he said, "they are the pillars of society." //

Mr. President, your leadership has quietly -- and effectively -- nurtured that Revolution. And in that spirit, I ask all of you to rise and raise their glasses:

-- To Mozambique-American friendship;

-- And to the better "society" truth and freedom can build for all the children of the globe.

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