

B. AFRICA**Mozambican President Sworn-In: Turn Grief into a New Force**

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Excerpt from live relay of speech by Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano at his swearing-in ceremony in Maputo (ME/8410/ii):

[Slogans omitted] Mozambican women and men: the swearing-in of the President of the People's Republic of Mozambique occurs at a particularly difficult and painful time for the Mozambican nation. From Rovuma river to Maputo river, our people are still mourning the loss of the beloved President Samora Moises Macel, who history will always remember as the liberator of the fatherland, the first president of independent Mozambique, founder of the Frelimo Party, and guide of the Mozambican revolution.

It was in this very room - where the memory of his vibrant and warm voice still lives on - that Samora Machel was empowered on 25th June 1975 as the President of the People's Republic of Mozambique. It was in this very room that we heard him solemnly swear that Samora Moises Machel would always exemplarily honour each one of his actions as head of state until the day when his tragic death took him away from us. Our young country had the privilege of having as our first president a statesman of universal dimension. His words were heard with affection and admiration by our people, and with attention and respect in all continents and international forums.

As the Mozambican Head of State, President Samora Moises Machel was a model of dignity, and characterised the Mozambican people's great virtues. The unwavering defender of our national independence and sovereignty, his actions were decisive in the establishment and consolidation of the international prestige of the People's Republic of Mozambique. Under his leadership, within a few years of independence, we asserted ourselves as a free and sovereign nation, thus occupying by right our place in African and world political geography.

In exemplary manner, President Samora Moises Machel knew how to be the president of all Mozambicans, without tribal, regional, racial or religious distinctions. Samora Moises Machel was, in his words, actions and heart, the president of each and every citizen in this great and diversified mosaic represented by the People's Republic of Mozambique. That is why the people loved him and held him dear in their hearts. He intensely and fully fulfilled the oath which he once took here. He did it with all the commitment of his strong will and the vigour of his unshakeable beliefs. Under his courageous command, the Mozambican people consistently defended the revolution's gains and continued to consolidate and deepen them. Under his enlightened leadership, our state was forged as a people's state to exclusively serve the people's interests. To President Samora Moises Machel, the tasks of making the constitution respected by and just for all citizens were central and permanent tasks.

To President Samora Moises Machel no injustice was too small and no stance of illegality was insignificant. President Samora Moises Machel was a head of state who always sought strength and inspiration from constant contact with the people. He was a leader who totally embodied the aspirations, expectations, and the life and culture of the people. That is why we identified with him so completely. That is why we saw in him hope for a better future and the certainty of a radiant tomorrow for our children. President Samora Moises Machel became a symbol to our people: the symbol of the fatherland, the symbol of national unity and the symbol of hard fought freedom.

In our history, he reached the dimension of a genius whose life and work will profoundly mark future generations. At this painful time caused by his absence, we have the task of continuing his grand task. We have solemnly agreed to continue President Samora Moises Machel's example and make his incalculable legacy bear fruit, in each of

our actions as head of state, with all our strength and with the support of all Mozambicans. I will do everything to honour the oath that I have just made as well and as fully as President Samora Moises Machel did.

Mozambican women and men: during these 11 years since the proclamation of national independence, we have taken many steps to consolidate our state. The colonial state could not serve the people's objectives as determined by our constitution. That is why we built our state and institutions to implement the policy defined by the Frelimo Party.

In this regard, the lessons of experience have allowed us to consolidate and perfect our state by responding to demands at each stage. During these 11 years, we built the people's assemblies, which are the organs of supreme state power at each level. The essence of our democracy is enshrined in them. The second general elections - which are to be completed soon - are a decisive step in making the people's assemblies increasingly functional, effective and active bodies where all our people may truly exercise power through elected deputies by directing and controlling executive organs at various levels.

During these 11 years we have built the solid foundations of a people's system of justice permitting the people's organised participation in the exercise of justice, as well as a more correct and dynamic running of the body of justice as a whole.

The growth of our people's political awareness, the development of the patriotic spirit, and the consolidation and deepening of national unity are fundamental political gains which were achieved during the national liberation struggle and the independence years. These gains have been and will always be defended without wavering and they will be constantly expanded. They are the bases for new advances. They are the basis for all gains. These gains and advances were achieved by our people under extremely difficult conditions imposed by the constant aggression of which Mozambique has been a target.

Our 11 years of independence have been war years, years in which our people never experienced peace and were never able to enjoy the deserved fruits of independence. Today, more than ever before, aggression, promoted by warmongering and racist circles, against the People's Republic of Mozambique is intensifying. Armed banditry is the main weapon of the forces which have always opposed our existence as a free, independent and sovereign people. In their origin and nature, the armed bandits continue the historic link between Portuguese colonialism and fascism, Southern Rhodesia's racist and illegal regime, and the apartheid system. The barbaric and terrorist manner of their action is fought by our people and it is condemned by all mankind. The armed bandits reproduce today the inhuman methods of action and domination characterising oppressive and exploitative systems which our people have fought for centuries.

Conceived and created in Southern Rhodesia, the armed bandits were initially used to destroy the secure rearguard which our country represented to the Zimbabwe liberation movement and impede the advance of the Zimbabwean people's struggle. Thus, armed banditry was born as a means of perpetuating colonial domination and exploitation. Today, the armed bandits are an integral part of the regional destabilisation policy pursued by the apartheid system in South Africa. Armed banditry is one of the means through which the Pretoria regime and its most retrograde and warmongering forces seek to maintain their domination over the southern African countries.

This policy is characterised by direct and indirect military aggression, territorial occupation and the creation of conditions to guarantee permanent instability throughout the region. The use of armed bandits against our country is in the same context as Namibia's occupation by the racist forces and aggression against the People's Republic of Angola.

The destabilisation of Mozambique by South Africa aims to impede the functioning of our institutions and economy in order to obstruct the process of economic and social development, as well as destroy our state and revolution. Destabilisation seeks

to place in power puppets who will be apartheid's docile and servile instruments. It seeks to affect the process of building the Mozambican nation itself, in other words our national unity and territorial integrity. It seeks to overthrow our power and destroy the independence and sovereignty of the Mozambican state, as well as the model of a society we are building which is independent, non-racist and based on equality and justice.

This is the threat that our country faces. Constant terrorist action by the armed bandits is provoking the indiscriminate killing of thousands of defenceless Mozambican citizens, men, women and children. It destroys our infrastructure: production units, transport and communication routes, schools, hospitals and state and privately owned shops. It disorganises economic systems by sabotaging and destroying communication routes so as to make the normal traffic of people and goods impossible, and disrupts the necessary link between towns and rural areas.

Through terrorist actions, massacres and murders, the armed bandits - who are directed and supplied by South Africa - affect agricultural production, hinder the supply of raw materials to industries, lower the level of our exports and delay essential development programmes.

The endemic sickness and famine which have thus been caused have killed thousands of Mozambicans, weakened men and women, and stunted our children's healthy growth. In the fields, we lack hoes, pangas, ploughs and tractors. Many factories are paralysed. Many basic foodstuffs are scarce. Besides destruction, the rupturing of economic systems and instability among the peasants, the armed bandits have forced us to concentrate extensive material and human resources in the defence of the fatherland, which we could use for economic and social development in a situation of peace.

The policy of destabilisation carried out by the South African regime at the regional level is also aimed at obstructing the main projects of common development of southern Africa's independent countries. The aim of this policy is to ensure the continuation of our countries' historical dependence on the South African economy and turn them into satellite states allowing Pretoria's hegemony in the political, economic, financial and strategic fields. Accordingly, coupled with its internal effects, the undeclared war waged by the Pretoria regime against us is aimed at rendering inoperative the railways and roads through Mozambique which allow a natural access to the sea for the countries of hinterland [preceding word in English].

The aggression against our country is also an undeclared war against Zimbabwe, Botswana, Zambia and other countries of the region. The struggle we are waging to eliminate armed banditry once and for all will also secure the future liberty, independence and sovereignty of these people and fraternal countries. In this context, the relentless continuation of this struggle against armed banditry in our country is the most sacred and fundamental task of this phase of our history. This is a struggle that does not allow any kind of compromise.

This struggle which we must continue on all fronts - political, military and diplomatic and the tactics and strategy of this struggle are part of the great heritage President Samora Machel left behind. They show us the path to follow at present and in the future. They are indestructable weapons which will lead us to victory. To fight and eliminate armed banditry in our country means to defend and consolidate our national independence and sovereignty. It means to safeguard our gains in order to realise our deep desire for peace and tranquillity. This fight should be carried out by all of us. We must increasingly heighten our vigilance. We must always be ready to advance to another trench. Our threatened fatherland calls on us all. This is the only way to build the indispensable foundation for well-being, progress and development.

In this struggle we are not alone. The unity achieved within the frontline states is a guarantee that the independent countries of the region have understood the dimension of the sacrifices that are demanded of us by the war being waged against us by the warmongering and criminal forces of the apartheid regime. Also on our side is the OAU, as well as all peace, liberty and progress-loving countries worldwide.

Mozambican women and men, the economy is another fundamental front of our struggle. We are experiencing a difficult economic situation characterised by serious shortages which profoundly affect the lives of our people. The effects of aggression, terrorism and destabilisation are felt in all sectors of our society and they are a particular burden on the economy. The process of economic recovery, which we had started successfully, has in the past years suffered a noticeable setback as a result of the war waged against us. Our development plans and programmes have had to be reorganised.

At the present moment, the central objective of the economic struggle - to which we must dedicate all our efforts, energy and strength, and all our capacities - is the rehabilitation of our economy. This is a struggle that demands hardships from all of us. It is a struggle in which the results of our determination, courage and hard work cannot be attained in the short terms. Likewise, the struggle on this front will be a prolonged one. To rehabilitate our economy means to attend to fundamental priorities, to concentrate on them and not deviate from them. Other equally legitimate and just aspirations can only be fulfilled and other requirements realised as a result of our determination and hard work, and a spirit of hardship. We must deal with what is essential and combine defence requirements with economic programmes so that the economy may support the war against armed banditry, and defence may create the necessary security for economic activity. This is the fundamental aspect of our war economy, which we must apply from the Rovuma river to the Maputo river.

To produce in order to overcome famine and nakedness is a demand that remains a crucial one. To achieve that we have the most important resources: land and the labour capacity of our peasants who form the vast majority of the Mozambican people. It is necessary to enhance the land by realising its potential and giving it to those who actually work on it. The support that the state gives to each of the sectors of agricultural production must be based on sound standards. The actions to be carried out in relation to the state, co-operative, family and private sectors must be correctly combined so that all of them contribute towards the fulfilment of our plans, the creation of common wealth and our development. Agricultural activities in all these sectors must be aimed at three main goals: to produce food to overcome famine, produce export commodities, and produce raw materials for national industries, particularly those geared to feeding and clothing the people.

The industrial units must be characterised by increasingly higher productivity and profitability. It is necessary that these industrial units save raw materials, power and fuel. They must preserve and maintain equipment and ensure productive work shifts. We must not continue paying salaries to unproductive workers. This demands a twofold orientation: firstly, to ensure that only indispensable, competent, disciplined and dedicated workers are allocated to each ministry, government department and enterprises and, secondly, surplus manpower must be allocated to productive activities, mainly in agricultural sectors. Secondly [as heard], a most strict austerity must be a hallmark of our entire society. We must correctly utilise our scarce resources. This requirement is particularly acute in relation to foreign exchange. We must save the little foreign exchange we have by utilising it in the best possible manner and giving priority to those sectors that can make rational use of it. Only the indispensable must be imported. Austerity, a more rational and productive utilisation of our resources and the search for alternative means and economic methods demand that we continuously seek popular solutions, rely mainly on our strength and permanently develop our capacity and initiative. We must rigorously follow a salary policy which will reward and encourage competent workers, promote and reward dedication and professional pride and enhance the quality of work done. Likewise, it is indispensable to enhance our cadres and create conditions so that they may play the important role assigned to them in the economic struggle. We must enhance our skilled labour force by providing it with stability, security and adequate rewards corresponding to the quality of its work and utilise our experts rationally.

The struggle against theft, corruption, nepotism, embezzlement, the black market, speculation and the violation of trading ethics must be an integral and essential part of the economic battle. Each Mozambican must take part in this struggle. We are

going to be implacable. The acquirement of scientific and technical knowledge and the training of skilled workers and cadres must be a dominant concern in all sectors of activity. We cannot overcome underdevelopment with ignorance. The planning, organisation and control of the implementation of plans and the continual development of the methods of planning, organisation and control are fundamental demands in the economic combat. We must dedicate great attention and effort to all those aspects.

The central guidelines for the present phase of the struggle for economic rehabilitation in the framework of a war economy have been outlined by our party under the wise leadership of President Samora Moises Machel. Their fulfilment constitutes a form of following his struggle and continuing his work. In these guidelines, the enhancement of our gains in the educational, health and housing fields is of particular importance. Schools, from primary education to university, are a decisive condition for development. At schools we prepare the basis of competence of the worker, the expert and the civil servant and develop love of the fatherland and the people and the dedication to national interests. To uplift organisation and discipline at our schools, to develop the quality of education, a standard of qualifications for teachers and grading of students are practical requirements in the defence and economic efforts and the process of strengthening the Mozambican nation.

The expansion in the quality and efficacy of our health services, from clinics to hospitals, must be another of our great concerns. We must all defend the health sector by contributing actively to the cleanliness and hygiene of our cities, towns, communal villages and residential areas. The enhancement of the important revolutionary gains that we attained in the housing sector means we must maintain houses and buildings and ensure their correct utilisation and maintenance.

The Mozambican people have never allowed themselves to be intimidated by shortcomings. They have always managed to find the necessary strength and energy to overcome them. The history of our struggle shows that at the most difficult moments we knew how to redouble our efforts. We will emerge victorious in the economic battle through our effort, our intelligence, and our will succeed.

Mozambican women, Mozambican men, the People's Republic of Mozambique will continue to apply the fundamental principles guiding its external policy since the proclamation of independence. Our state's external policy is essentially based on the fight for peace, progress and harmonious coexistence with all states of the world. In our co-operation with all peoples and states, we shall apply the principles defined in our constitution: non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, equality, and relationships based on mutual advantage.

We are a sovereign, African, non-aligned and socialist state. We defend national interests firmly - the interests of our people. We are a sovereign state. We shall continue to develop efforts within the framework of the frontline states for the elimination of colonialism and apartheid. We reaffirm our militant solidarity with people of Namibia fighting for their national liberation and independence. We are with the South African people in their struggle for the elimination of apartheid.

Loyal to its peace policy, the People's Republic of Mozambique has fulfilled its international undertakings rigorously. Within the framework of the implementation of our policy of peace and good neighbourliness, we signed the Nkomati accord. This accord contains principles and norms that must govern relationship between the People's Republic of Mozambique and the Republic of South Africa. They are still valid. The People's Republic of Mozambique will continue, as it has always done, to implement the spirit and letter of the terms contained in the Nkomati accord rigorously.

South Africa must stop its assistance to armed banditry and observe the norms of good neighbourliness and non-aggression as contained in the Nkomati accord.

With the fraternal people of Malawi, we want to develop friendship and co-operation - relations which have been seriously affected by support which armed bandits receive from Malawian territory.

We shall continue our commitment to the SADCC [Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference] to develop regional co-operation and reduce economic dependence of our states on South Africa. Within the framework of the five Portuguese-speaking African countries we shall further strengthen fraternal relations and co-operation with Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, and Sao Tome e Principe.

We shall continue to be loyal to the principles and objectives enshrined in the OAU Charter and its efforts to bring about unity and co-operation among all African peoples and countries for political, economic, and social progress.

The People's Republic of Mozambique supports and applies the principles enshrined in the UN Charter. We reaffirm our commitment to strengthening relations with other socialist countries to which we are bound by deep ties of friendship, fraternity and co-operation since the armed struggle for national liberation.

We shall continue to be loyal to the treaties of friendship and co-operation already signed with socialist countries. We shall strengthen our friendship and co-operation with Nordic countries which supported us during the struggle for the national liberation and have continued to render valuable contributions after national independence.

We reaffirm our desire and determination to develop co-operation with Western countries and peoples whose support and solidarity constitute an important contribution in national reconstruction. We shall strengthen South-South co-operation in the joint fight to establish a new international economic order and overcome backwardness.

Mozambican women, Mozambican men, it is in the most difficult times that the level of awareness and maturity of a people is tested. During this painful period in our history, our people have demonstrated a high spirit of patriotism and determination to overcome pain and rebuild hope. We are proud of these qualities. They constitute our best homage to our beloved President, Samora Moises Machel. They are proof that the values for which he fought and died have become our heritage, the heritage of all Mozambicans. In brief, we are only one people without tribe, race, ethnicity or creed. We have one single firm wish from the Rovuma river to the Maputo river to continue the struggle.

We salute the Mozambican people for their total readiness, their spirit of solidarity and their struggle. We salute the workers and peasants, all those who render service on all fronts and sectors for continuing to the tasks of national reconstruction without discouragement. We salute our glorious FPLM [Popular forces for the Liberation of Mozambique] forces for their high sense of discipline, readiness and fighting spirit. Our armed forces are a firm stalwart in the defence of our fatherland, our sovereignty and our territorial integrity, as well as our revolution. We salute our paramilitary, police and security forces whose action has been fundamental to ensure social order and tranquillity for our citizens.

Mozambican women, Mozambican men, to transform our grief into a new force is a challenge that we have already begun to win. Recent days have shown that the Mozambican people do not accept discouragement, despair or a spirit of defeatism. Despite immense suffering, no single Mozambican lost heart. The Mozambican people have become increasingly firm and determined in their places of struggle and fight. It is necessary to preserve and deepen this spirit. No force will divert us from our path, the path we chose out of our deepest convictions. All our gains came from this perseverance, this relentless struggle. It is paramount that we should always defend and validate these gains. It is necessary that every Mozambican make the consolidation of national unity his own task.

Every Mozambican must be an intransigent fighter against racism, tribalism and regionalism. Every Mozambican must be an active militant in the defence of the fatherland and the building of well-being and prosperity. No one except ourselves will defend our fatherland. No one except ourselves will bring about peace and tranquillity. The building of a better future depends on the actions of everyone of us. It depends on our devotion to study, work and fight. Let us close our ranks in the defence of the fatherland, independence and sovereignty. Let us always keep alive the heritage and example of President Samora Moises Machel. Let us pursue his work of building Mozambique and bringing about well-being and happiness [slogans omitted].