The Discourse of Samora Machel

Mozambique: [extracts from] Samora Machel's Frelimo anniversary address


Broadcast on Rádio Moçambique at 09h25 on 25 September 1975, to mark the 11th anniversary of the launching of the armed struggle. Also published in Portuguese in Notícias on 17 September. This was the first anniversary to be marked in an independent Mozambique: Machel covers a wide range of topics such as justice, education, production, etc. He salutes the not-yet-independent Angolan people.

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Mozambique: Samora Machel's Frelimo Anniversary Address

Lourenco Marques home service in Portuguese 0925 gmt 25 Sep 75

Excerpts from address to the nation by President Samora Machel (in voice) marking the 11th anniversary of the founding of Frelimo:

[Passage on Frelimo's pre-independence struggle] Exactly three months ago we proclaimed the national and total independence of our country and the People's Republic of Mozambique was constituted. On 25th June 1975, we achieved one of the fundamental objectives of our struggle, the liberation of our country from direct foreign domination. We assumed political power and... asserted the personality of our country in the international field... The process of revolution is now irreversible. No power will be able to halt it, because our revolution is a profound act, aimed at embracing the entire people's participation to bring to realization and defend their interests.

Since the declaration of independence we have made major strides towards implementing our policy and consolidating popular democratic power. The setting up of activist groups (grupos dinamizadores), which constitute a guarantee for the consolidation of the power of the masses, has entered a new phase following their restructuring, consolidation of their work, political reorientation, and purging of their ranks... With the suspension of private legal practice, first steps have been taken to destroy the former system of justice, the class structure of which was designed to serve a privileged minority, and to replace it with a judiciary that will serve the masses.

[Passage on revolutionized system of education] The formation of new generations cannot be left in the hands of the very same persons who were the vehicles of the destruction of our personality and the assimilation of foreign concepts by our minds. This is the reason why private schools were nationalized while, at the same time, in all places and at all levels, new methods, structures and syllabuses are being worked out...

Without production there can be no real progress. Without production our power is fragile. Without production there can be no improvement in the living standards of society. The fight for the consolidation of power and the fight for production are inseparable; they are complementary in the task of raising the living standard of the people. Therefore, the decision of the people's forces for the liberation of Mozambique to mark the anniversary of the launching of the armed struggle with the inauguration of collective farms throughout the country is not a mundane, sentimental act of evoking the past, but a revelation of the understanding of the fundamental fact that the process of revolution goes on. National independence was not the end of a hazardous journey, bringing into sight a field already cultivated, sown, watered and ready for harvesting. Our country needs to be rebuilt so that we shall be able to rid ourselves of the poverty, sickness, illiteracy and the chaos left behind by colonialism.

Each of our present victories constitutes a blow to the interests of colonialism and imperialism, a blow to colonial capitalism which still hopes to survive and to continue its exploitation by adapting itself to the changes of this new phase. After the signing of the Lusaka agreement, which enthroned the transfer of power to the Mozambican people and heralded the end of colonialism, imperialism went into action at two levels: [1] a mini coup d'état with violence, organized by a minority of stupid settlers, which was soon overcome and [2] action by the more intelligent bourgeoisie, who convinced of the inevitability of military defeat went into action, and are still active, with attempts at economic sabotage and disorganizing production with the aim of reducing productivity and creating an economic crisis. Their objective is clearly to foment discontent in the ranks of workers and the people in general, so as to make them lament the end of colonialism. The aim is to demonstrate that independence is a bad thing.
In other words, just when, after analysing our experiences, we were able to comprehend that production was a prerequisite for the consolidation of our power, the enemy also came to understand this. Therefore, in a bid to hinder the realization of the people's aspirations, the enemy resorted to disorganizing production by instigating disinterest in work and, where possible, even by paralyzing work through counter-revolutionary strokes. In order to achieve these aims, however, the reactionary forces have recourse on a large scale to other methods by infiltrating into the ranks of the people agents well-trained in the art of corruption. In this way, they are seeking to disorganize our structures from within, create dissension, sow ideological confusion and distort the content of our slogans and methods of work. At the same time, the enemy deliberately seeks to break up the Frelimo cadres and, in order to transform them into defenders of his interests, introduces drug-taking into our midst with a view to encouraging moral and sexual corruption.

After the launching of the armed struggle, and particularly during the last few years when its military defeat was approaching, colonialism sought frantically to erect social structures which would help it to survive and to form groups and new schools of thought capable of perpetuating the defence of its interests. The policy of Marcello Caetano was precisely characterized by a bid to lay the foundation of neocolonialism by constituting elements which would survive under another flag as representatives of the interests of colonialism and capitalism. It was with this aim that the manoeuvres of the so-called social promotion multiplied through the planned injection in massive doses of the tastes and values of capitalism into the vehicles of cultural and moral alienation such as films, stage shows, corrupt and decadent fashions in dress, cabarets, rumour-mongering, prostitution and vandalism.

During the period which followed the fall of fascism in Portugal and during the whole phase of negotiations, we witnessed the desperate, futile attempts of the colonial and capitalist forces to impose their puppets by creating a cluster of small groups, in a last-ditch attempt to find political spokesmen for their neocolonialism. The behaviour of these mini-groups reflected, in essence, the same concept of replacing white settlers by black capitalists, which was thus manifested through Lázaro Kavade, Uria Simango and their allies. The task of such elements, today, as in the past, is to advance the interests of the exploiting classes. Their role is that of agents of imperialism. It is normal for the enemy not to become resigned to complete defeat, Capitalism thrives on exploitation and always searches for alternative forms of survival, like leeches which do not stop sucking even when full of blood... Today, the same fight against these same enemies and their potential undercover agents hidden in our midst and against the structures, methods and values of the past, constitutes the main political task of the present phase.

[Permanent war against the old society and appreciation of the military and financial support given to Frelimo by other countries during the liberation war]. In solidarity above all with the just struggle of the African peoples and conscious of our internal obligations, we express here, in particular, our complete solidarity with the people of Zimbabwe in their struggle against the domination of the minority regime of Ian Smith, a regime that is retrograde and condemned by history. We resolutely support the people of Zimbabwe's armed struggle, as the only means of winning their fundamental rights to independence, freedom and human dignity. As was the case in our country, in the face of a systematic refusal of the racist regime to accept a peaceful solution, in the face of its manoeuvres of hypocrisy, the people of Zimbabwe reached the decision to wage an armed struggle as demanded by the need to restore peace and justice to their country. The Mozambican people, Frelimo and the People's Republic of Mozambique will not vacillate in the fulfillment of their duty and their fraternal solidarity.

In the same spirit, we salute the fraternal Angolan people. We express our solidarity towards our comrades in arms, the MPLA, in the face of imperialism's manoeuvres and attempts at secession and dismemberment of the country, we call upon the Angolan people to redouble their efforts in the defence of the gains of the heroic armed liberation struggle. In the defence of the interests of the masses, we call upon the Angolan people to concentrate all their efforts on the creation of a single independent and prosperous nation. We energetically condemn the agents inside the country who serve only the imperialist reactionaries and we assure the Angolan people of the Mozambican people's and Frelimo's unfailing solidarity.

We reiterate our strong condemnation of the retrograde regimes of apartheid and racial discrimination ruling the Republic of South Africa. Our people do not regard themselves free while their brothers next-door are segregated and discriminated against on the basis of race, colour and ethnic origin.