

**SPEECH BY HIS EXCELLENCY SAMORA
MOISES MACHEL, PRESIDENT OF FRELIMO
PARTY, PRESIDENT OF THE PEOPLE'S
REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE**

Maputo 5 April, 1984

Comrade members of the Political Bureau of
the Central Committee of Frelimo Party,

Distinguished members of the Standing Commission
of the People's Assembly,

Distinguished members of the Council of Ministers,

Distinguished members of the Diplomatic Corps,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

This solemn act reflects the dimension given by the Mozambican
state to the Agreement on Non-Aggression and Good Neighbourliness
with the Republic of South Africa.

With great emotion and a deep sense of responsibility, at this
exalted moment for our unity and patriotism, we assume the decision
of the Standing Commission of the People's Assembly to honour through
us the entire Mozambican people.

By this political act and in the exercise of full sovereignty, with maturity and in a solemn manner the Mozambican state reaffirms the commitment to ensure strict application of the Accord of Nkomati, signed on 16 March, 1984.

From the Rovuma to the Maputo, the Mozambican people celebrated this Agreement, yet another victory in our socialist policy of peace.

Nkomati closes one more chapter in the war of aggression against our independence and our revolution.

Nkomati marked the failure and inviability of the regional strategy led by imperialism and aimed at the destruction of the independent and progressive states in Southern Africa.

War is the extreme form of political struggle.

But politics are not just war. War is waged to achieve certain political objectives that could not be attained peacefully.

It was only because of the intransigence of Portuguese colonialism in refusing a peaceful, negotiated solution to the question of our national independence, that the Mozambican people were obliged to resort to war.

On the 25th of September 1964 we launched the armed national liberation struggle to achieve clear political objectives: national independence, the right to live in freedom, democracy, peace.

Our struggle was fought on various fronts - political diplomatic and military. Given the insoluble character of the contradiction between ourselves and foreign occupation, the armed struggle became the principal form of our national liberation process.

The armed struggle was not launched as a means of political pressure.

Because the armed struggle became the principal form of the process it involved the entire people. No longer was there the diplomat, the politician, the soldier. They were all the people in arms.

This profoundly popular essence of our liberation struggle made it a cultural act in which the people learned to exercise their power and to lay the foundations of their state.

It was this profoundly popular essence that transformed the people's war into a people's revolutionary war upsetting the very foundations of capitalist exploitation and feudalism.

Thus, in the course of the armed national liberation struggle, we learned that the revolution and socialism stem from the revolutionary experience of our people, from our own daily fight.

It was during the armed struggle that we learned to love peace as a lofty virtue of mankind, as a fundamental condition for the full exercise of sovereignty and freedom. In the correct definition of the enemy and the objectives of our struggle, we learned that reactionary violence must be opposed by violence. But our violence, in order to be victorious, had to have a clear, correct content that corresponded to the deepest desires of the people, it had to be revolutionary violence. The army of occupation, the active agents of colonialism and fascism, were the targets.

When we defined the enemy in this way, when we applied our policy of clemency, when our fighters gave blood to wounded and captured soldiers of the colonial army, when we conceived freedom not in terms of tribe, region or race, but in terms of nation, we were applying in the midst of people's war, the socialist principles of our policy of peace.

In the liberated areas, in the exercise of people's power

produced by our first war, we fought unflinchingly against the new exploiters who sought to sow seeds of division, revenge, hatred, to spread social intranquility among us. We thus preserved the clear objectives of our struggle, the fundamental principles of equality and democracy of the peaceful and free society for which we accepted sacrifice and even death.

When portuguese fascism fell on the 25th of April, the colonialism that oppressed us did not fall with it automatically. So we saluted the courage of the captains of April, but we refused to sacrifice our peoples' interests. We had not yet achieved the objective for which we were fighting.

However, the possibility of dialogue came immediately into being. As the dialogue advanced towards the fundamental objectives of our struggle, it became possible to conclude the Lusaka Peace Agreement on the 7th of September 1974. All wars end in negotiations for the establishment of peace. The Lusaka Agreement was made possible with the acceptance of the conditions that always constituted and were the basis of our struggle:

- . the recognition of the Mozambican people's right to selfdetermination and national independence;
- . the recognition of FRELIMO as the sole, legitimate

representative of the Mozambican people;

- the recognition of the principle of transfer to FRELIMO of all the powers still held by the colonial administration.

It was our confidence in the new found peace and our determination to consolidate it, that frustrated the violations of the Lusaka Agreement on the day it was signed, and later on the 21st of October.

The proclamation of our independence put an end once and for all to colonialism, as a factor against peace.

But the popular nature of our state, the socialist character of our revolution and the prestige of our military victory over a European army, made Mozambique a threat to the designs of imperialism.

We had already learned during the armed national liberation struggle that our total freedom was not only opposed by Portuguese colonialism.

Since 1965 in Cabo Delgado and Niassa we had become accustomed to direct confrontation with South African troops who took part

in joint operational and repressive actions with the colonial army.

In 1973, on the Tete front, we were confronted by Rhodesian regular forces, operating against our people, side by side with the colonial army and reinforced by South African units.

Based on this experience we gradually became aware that Portuguese colonialism was only the main force of a much wider imperialist project of aggression against our country.

After independence the illegal Rhodesian regime that had fought with the colonial army against the Mozambican people, takes on the role of the principal instrument of aggression and destabilisation of our country.

The war imposed on us by the illegal Rhodesia regime was aimed even then at the destruction of our independent and sovereign state.

In keeping with the socialist principles of peace, the Mozambican government supported and actively participated in the struggle leading to the release of the Zimbabwean leaders and in the search for a peaceful solution at Victoria Falls in August 1975.

Despite increasing Rhodesian aggression, we participated in all the peace initiatives, seeking a negotiated solution to the independence of Zimbabwe. We participated in the Geneva meeting in 1976, we were in Malta in 1978, we participated in all the United Nations and OAU initiatives, we supported the Anglo American proposals.

On the 3rd of March 1976 we fulfilled the decisions of the International Community with the full application of sanctions imposed in 1965 against rebel Rhodesia.

We were aware of the extremely high human, economic, social and political costs that would result from this decision. We were in the first months of our independence, still facing a hard fight against the remnants of colonialism, without cadres, without experience and with the structures of our peoples power still to be consolidated.

But we did it, , conscious of the fact that this would accelerate the liberation of the fraternal people of Zimbabwe, save destruction in lives and property, hasten the extinction of the focus instability in the region that was the illegal Smith regime.

When the enemy brought the war into our territory the Mozambican people understood that the only way to win peace was to take the

fight into the enemy's rear, to go and extinguish the source of the war.

Our state was active in the process that led to the peace talks at Lancaster House. The Agreement signed in London eliminated for ever Smith's illegal regime, as a factor against peace in our region.

Lancaster House was a unique moment in the history of the Zimbabwe people. For us, this Agreement brought to an end one more chapter of confrontation and war, it represents the extinction of a belicose force that has always sided with colonialism against the people's independence.

Like the Lusaka Agreement, the Lancaster House Agreement was a victory for peace for the peoples of the region and of Africa.

But it was not the end of the plan to destroy of our state. The war effort which we were forced to support had negative effects on the development process of our country and compromised the implementation of economic and social plans essential for the reconversion of the colonial economy. The war waged against us through Rhodesia destroyed our infrastructures, consumed our financial resources, and our enormous

organizational and manpower training efforts. In view of the International Community's passivity, imperialism turned against us the economic sanctions we had applied against the illegal Rhodesian regime in keeping with United Nations' decisions. The United Nations estimate of the direct damage then incurred was US\$510 million. Destruction of economic and social infrastructures amounted to about \$47 million. Forty-thousand rail and dock workers were laid off, thus affecting over one hundred thousand people.

During that period South Africa drastically reduced economic relations with Mozambique which were the main source of foreign currency of the colonial economy we had inherited. South Africa limited the influx of Mozambican labour and unilaterally broke the agreement on preferential gold prices that had been concluded with the Portuguese government. Railways and harbour traffic was significantly reduced both in tonnage and in the quality of goods sent through our harbours. Direct losses from the fall in revenue provoked by such sanctions and by the policy of aggression and destabilization promoted by South Africa is more than three times the size of the foreign debt which we are at present negotiating.

The immediate causes of the difficulties faced by our people to-day are rooted in the war and economic blockade moved against us since 1976.

When the illegal Smith regime could no longer be the main instrument of aggression and destabilization against our country, South Africa had to intervene directly. For that purpose it gathered together the remnants, the dregs of the Rhodesian army and integrated them in its own operational forces. The selous scouts, the Muzorewa "auxiliaries", the armed bandits, the mercenaries were incorporated into the South African regular army, to be used in its regional strategy of destabilization.

South Africa then assumed the central and direct role in the undeclared war in the region in particular against Mozambique.

The objective was to overthrow the socialist and progressive systems of the region. In relation to our country the objective was also to destroy our popular and revolutionary state. The objective was to destroy the alternative civilization which Mozambique represents.

From January 1981 the undeclared war against us took on a broader dimension :

- The South African government added to political subversion, to terrorism and sabotage, to sanctions and economic blockade, the direct

aggression of its regular armed forces.

Twenty years after the launching of the armed struggle, 10 years after the Lusaka Agreement, 5 years after the fall of the Smith regime, we signed the Accord of Nkomati.

The policy of regional destabilization did not have the desired effects. South Africa did not achieve the political objectives for which it launched the war. In every country of the world where armed banditry has been used :

- . it has failed to achieve military victory
- . it has failed to become an internal political opposition
- . it has failed to gain international recognition

In short, armed banditry has never been successful.

The subservient, treacherous, criminal and terrorist character of the armed bandits has never misled the peoples. On the contrary, it has always united the peoples and mobilized them for the struggle.

Throughout these years destabilization has been very costly to South African society in human lives and in resources. Its

effects on the South African economy caused serious concern to the big financial groups.

On the other hand, throughout these years, the armies of Angola and Zimbabwe were strengthened, the armed struggle in Namibia advanced. Popular struggle against apartheid grew. Lesotho broke through its diplomatic isolation. SADC acquired international prestige.

Our people fought heroically against the many and varied military, economic, political and social attacks to which it was subjected. National unity was strengthened. Our experience in the defense of our country and revolution are today the common heritage of the Mozambican people from the Rovuma to the Maputo. Our people's patriotism was reinforced. To-day the definition of the enemy is clearer. To-day the popular nature of our army is stronger. The Mozambican Armed Forces (FPLM) are now more experienced and stronger than ever, they are a secure bastion of the defence of the country and the revolution.

We have said that war is made to achieve objectives that cannot be achieved by peaceful means. The enemy had clear objectives that were not achieved through this war. In this war we had no objectives other than to defend our country and peace.

Despite South Africa's aggressive policies the P.R.M. has always kept the initiative in the search for peaceful solutions for our region. We took constructive part in the different proposals for the decolonization of Namibia and were present at the Geneva meeting of January 1981. In our direct relations with South Africa we have always been available for a negotiated solution.

The positions we defended since the beginning of the talks with South Africa in December 1982, prevailed in the Accord of Nkomati. Our government made the need to establish an understanding on security a prerequisite of our relationship with South Africa. No agreement was possible without attributing responsibility for the destabilization in Mozambique.

By negotiating with the Mozambican government, South Africa recognised de facto the inexistence of any political opposition in our country.

With the signing of the Accord of Nkomati, the main project, the destruction of our state, failed. In signing the Accord of Nkomati we guaranteed the objectives of our fight - Peace.

Only with Peace can we achieve our objective:

- to defend our country
- to conquer underdevelopment
- to build socialism

If it is true that Nkomati crowned our socialist policy of peace with success, it is also true that we came out of this fight with severe wounds.

Only future generations will show the precise dimension of the social trauma among Mozambican families by the horrors and barbarism of the armed bands. The children who witnessed atrocities and repugnant acts of violence and destruction, will grow up with the nightmare of their tragic memories.

Men and women have been permanently mutilated and maimed, both physically and psychologically. They will be the living evidence of the cruelty of this war waged against us.

Our people had their property looted their houses destroyed, their granaries raided, their crops pillaged and flattened, their cattle stolen and killed, their tools burnt and destroyed.

The communal villages and cooperatives, the schools and clinics, the wells and dams built by the people with so much effort and sacrifice, became targets for the enemy's criminal fury.

The systematic destruction of economic infrastructures, bridges and roads, shops and warehouses, sawmills, plantations, agricultural and industrial machinery, electricity supply lines, petrol tanks, lorries and buses, locomotives and carriages, has prevented the implementation of economic development projects of the utmost importance for the wellbeing of the Mozambican people.

840 schools have been destroyed or closed, affecting more than 150.000 schoolchildren. Twelve health centres, 24 maternity clinics, 174 health posts and two centres for the physically handicapped have been sacked and destroyed.

900 shops have been destroyed thus hampering sales and supplies for about four and a half million citizens.

The bandits have murdered and kidnapped peasants and members of cooperatives, parliamentary deputies and Party militants,

teachers and students, nurses, lorry drivers, engine drivers, agricultural construction and commercial workers technicians in various sectors, nuns, priests, private shop keepers, journalist, civil servants.

In order to undermine our international cooperation the armed bandits have kidnapped 52 technicians from Brazil, Bulgaria, Chile, France, England, Italy, Portugal, Sri Lanka, and the Soviet Union.

Six Portuguese, four Soviets and two from the GDR have been murdered in cold blood.

This is the essence of the enemy's cruelty

- . kill everything
- . steal everything
- . burn everything

All this is part of a long process of 20 years of our history, throughout which the Mozambican people have been subjected to systematic and persistent aggression.

Throughout this period our people wrote moving pages of heroism, tenacity, and patriotism of which we are rightfully proud.

Throughout this process, when we had to make war on war to establish peace, new generations of revolutionary leaders, cadres, militants, were forged, soldiers, sergeants and officers became stronger in the conviction of the justness of their cause.

Throughout this process we created the Marxist Leninist Party as the logical and dialectical corollary of a triumphant revolution with ever growing roots.

Throughout this process all the Mozambican people from the Rovuma to the Maputo have learned to take pride in their national identity and personality, have learned to love their country, peace and socialism.

Throughout this process we proclaimed the Mozambican state, we took on the new dimension of our responsibilities as leaders of a state, the independent and sovereign Mozambican state.

The Mozambican state bears the responsibility of defending intransigently every single square centimetre of our soil. It bears the responsibility of watching over the rights and obligations of all Mozambican citizens, resident in the country or not, irrespective of their Party militancy, their religious creed, the colour of their skin, their tribe or region.

The Accord of Nkomati is one of the high points in the affirmation of our sovereignty as an independent state, it was an act of state that will be recorded as a unique and dignifying moment in our history.

In signing the Accord of Nkomati we reaffirmed the principle of our ^{of} policy/peace, that our state does not attack other states, that it will not serve as a base for aggression against the Republic of South Africa, and that we shall also not permit our territory to be used as a base for aggression by a third country.

In establishing that South Africa also undertakes to apply the same principles of non-aggression, the Accord sets the bases for the removal from our borders of the spectre of war and confrontation and establishes the foundations for Mozambique and South Africa to be able to live in an atmosphere of good neighbourliness.

The policy of good neighbourliness is governed by the principle of non-interference, and mutual respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each state.

This Accord opens up a new era where our working people can concentrate more attention on the development of our country, a

development severely affected by the successive wars we had to bear.

This agreement brings about favorable prospects for growing cooperation with all countries, for multifaceted cooperation with reciprocal benefits with economic and financial entities.

This agreement finally makes it possible for our children not to grow up under the traumatic permanent spectre of war, not to grow up in the midst of violence and barbarism. We want our children to grow free and happy, emotionally balanced, in love of peace whose flag they will have to defend as the men of to-morrow. We want our children to grow asking for toys that free their imagination and skill, that encourage beauty and love, that kindle keenness for study and scientific knowledge, in stead of toys that symbolize violence and death.

The agreement is an instrument of peace and tranquility for our people.

With this agreement we have ensured the defense of the almost 800.000 square kilometres of our territory from the Rovuma to the Maputo, from Zumbo to the Indian Ocean. We defend a territory with the size of :

- . all the Warsaw Pact countries with the exception of the Soviet Union; the size of Bulgaria, Rumania, German Democratic Republic, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary together.

We defend a territory comparable to the total area of Switzerland, Austria, Belgium, Holand, Greece, Portugal and Spain; equal to two and a half times the size of Italy, one and a half times the size of France, and about four times the size of the Federal Republic of Germany.

With this agreement we defend the air space of a territory in which, travelling from Maputo to Pemba, is the same as travelling :

- . from Berlin to Athens
- . from Moscow to Sofia
- . from London to Lisbon
- . from Prague to Tripoli
- . from Berlin to Madrid
- . from Bucharest to Baghdad
- . from Sofia to Frankfurt

This Accord also defends :

- . The 13.220.000 Mozambicans from the Rovuma to the Maputo, defends the workers and peasants, all the workers in our country.

- . The integrity of our 4.330 km of land frontiers with South Africa, Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi, and Tanzania.

- . Defends the inviolability of 2630 kilometres of our sea coast.

The Accord of Nkomati defends the first state of workers and peasants in the region , that is building socialism based on the universal principles of Marxism Leninism. It defends the first state in the region to bring about profound economic and social transformations, that brought scientific conception of life and of the world, that brought the freedom of all creeds, that brought a new type of democracy, that proclaimed the rights of children, the only privileged group in our country, that brought new relations among men, regardless of tribe, region or race.

But the Accord of Nkomati is not only reflected in the national political scene, or that of the area.

It has a broader strategic significance. The Accord forms part of the general movement of the coastal states to transform the Indian Ocean into an area free from military bases and nuclear weapons, to make the Mozambique Channel a thoroughfare of peace, fraternity, solidarity, progress and cooperation among peoples.

Nkomati proves that it is possible to resolve difficult conflicts through negotiations, without resorting to the use of force, blackmail and confrontation.

Differences between states, even when antagonistic, do not automatically exclude the possibility of peaceful coexistence.

The political act that took place on the 16th of March expresses the desire of all peoples to strengthen peace, world security, and for a world free of the threat of war.

The Accord is part of the movement to contain the arms race and for detente. It is a step towards removing the danger of local conflicts becoming conflicts on a world scale.

The success achieved in Nkomati does not have simply a tactical dimension. It is part of the strategy of the countries which are building socialism in that peace is the very essence of socialism.

The Accord defends the revolution, defends the cause of socialism, defends the people's deepest and most legitimate aspirations. It is an act in solidarity with all initiatives occurring in the world today aimed at Peace. It is a concrete demonstration of our long declared support for the proposals such as those of the Warsaw Pact states, the proposal of the government of Sweden for the creation of a demilitarized zone in Europe and the immediate positive response from the GDR, the proposal by the Contadora group for a peaceful solution to the problems that affect Central America, the proposal of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea regarding tripartite talks for national reunification, the UN proposal for decolonisation in Namibia, the OAU proposals to end the conflicts in Chad and the Western Sahara, the proposal for the creation of a free and independent Palestinian state.

The Accord we signed on the banks of the Nkomati River is an important step towards our economic and social progress.

The Accord, by bringing about the conditions for peace, creates the objective conditions for the Mozambican people to dedicate their main efforts, their work, to resolving their main problems.

Without the threat of war and confrontation we can use the greater part of our modest resources for the fight against hunger, poverty, ignorance and disease.

In peace, we can buy:

- more tractors to produce food, and fewer tanks;
- more bulldozers and excavators to build roads, bridges, dams and irrigation systems, and fewer assault cars;
- more machines and tools for our workshops, and fewer field guns
- more ploughs, hoes, machettes to increase production, and fewer rifles;
- more seeds and fertilizers in order to have more rice, maize, vegetables, more food, and fewer bullets.

Money that we now have to spend on explosives, landmines, rockets, missiles can, in peace-time, be spent to build schools, hospitals, maternity hospitals, shops, warehouses.

Money we are now forced to spend on barracks, tents, military transport vehicles, in peace time can be spent in building residential areas; textile, shoe and clothes factories, in buying lorries, engines, buses.

Money we are now forced to spend on military uniforms and boots, can in peace-time be spent in buying clothing, shoes, plimsolls, school uniforms, books, exercise books, toys.

The technicians we are training today to efficiently operate instruments of death and destruction, in peace-time can operate just as efficiently the instruments that will bring about a happier life and the reconstruction of the national economy.

In this way, new prospects are opening up for our country. New horizons are unveiled for our people who for years saw their development efforts frustrated.

We shall need greater vigilance and a stronger conviction in the justice of our struggle.

As our own history has taught us, voices will be raised which, under various pretexts, will try to undermine what cost so much to build.

Rightist opportunists will appear who, disparaging the patriotic significance of the Accord, will seek to give a defeatist content to its implementation, endangering the people's conquests and our country's independence.

Domestic and foreign leftist opportunists will appear and will use adventurist ideas and pseudo revolutionary arguments to divide the progressive and revolutionary forces and spread confusion and intrigue.

There will be arms smugglers, mercenaries, unscrupulous persons that live off the hyenous trade in death. There will be those who, having lost a market for their arms, will spread slander and intrigue against the Accord of Nkomati.

Their voices will be joined by the militarists, the promoters of the politics of force and confrontation, those who want to draw our country and our region into their zone of influence, which they consider to include their "vital interests".

Those who will never forgive our people for having installed yet another liberated area of mankind in this part of Africa, will rise up against the accord.

Just as in the past, those who always aimed to destroy Frelimo, destroy our independence and sovereignty, destroy Mozambique, an African, non-aligned, and socialist country in order to impose on our people, puppets submissive to their designs of domination, will act against the Nkomati Accord.

In this complex and delicate process of consolidating peace, forces will emerge that will want to revive the cold war climate, cementing distrust, theoreticians will emerge who, with their demagogic and falations arguments, will try to undermine the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, universally enshrined by the international community.

This principle, and others that guarantee security among nations, are conquests of mankind and that is why we are proud. By implementing these principles in an area of tension and local conflict such as Southern Africa, we are making an important contribution to world peace.

Our independence created the first marxist-leninist state in the region and this fact, for the first time in the history of Southern Africa, made possible the presence of countries from the socialist community, enabled our people to get to know their revolutionary experiences and their example in building socialism, their solidarity, their fight for peace.

Comrades

Fellow countrymen

Ladies and Gentlemen

The long road we have travelled in the search for peace is coming to an end.

At this ~~decisive~~ time of such a difficult journey we must be more united than ever, more determined and sure of our convictions.

In this process, Portuguese colonialism, the illegal regime of Southern Rhodesia, South African aggression, have been filed away in history.

It was during this process too, that heroes were made in whom our country takes pride and from whose example we learn to love deeply this Mozambican land, from the Rovuma to the Maputo, from Zumbo to the Indian Ocean.

Each and every citizen is ready to accept sacrifices and give up even his own life for our Mozambican soil to defend every square centimetre of our vast territory. Every day, on all fronts, our

people are giving unequivocal proof of their heroism, their dedication to the patriotic and revolutionary cause.

We must draw lessons from these examples of selfdenial, seek inspiration and stimulation from them for the definitive effort we must make to carry our fight forward to final victory.

We must intensify our revolutionary vigilance everywhere and on all fronts. The bandit has lost the support that used to feed him and has been abandoned to his fate.

Those who refuse our policy of clemency, those, who persist in treachery, crime, murder and destruction those who seek to hide by mingling with the population, are the very last obstacle to the peace we want to build.

The elimination of this obstacle is a top priority.

All the people, organised by FRELIMO and in close collaboration with the Mozambican Armed Forces (FPLM), police and security forces, must continue to take part in the rapid detection and elimination of these criminals who have no country.

But, we cannot concentrate only on the neutralisation of the physical enemy. The people must free all their creative initiative, all their talent and capabilities on the production front.

In town and countryside, in agriculture and industry, in education and health, in transport and construction, in mining and fishing, on all fronts, we must draw the maximum benefit from existing infrastructures, available raw materials and local resources. Above all, using our own efforts we can now engage more actively in carrying out the tasks defined by the Fourth Congress of the Frelimo Party.

We must revive the spirit of the Political and Organizational Offensive. It is imperative that we once again take up the relentless and systematic struggle against incompetence and carelessness. In each trench of the battlefield of production, in the social sectors, in the enterprises, in the civil service,

on the battle for legality, we must fight against laziness, negligence, slovenliness, apathy, inaction, arrogance and abuse.

In the new phase that now begins, lack of punctuality, absenteeism, indiscipline, disregard for organization, for democratic methods of work and for the laws of our people's state, constitute serious violations.

Love for work and its improvement are essential for our victory over hunger, poverty and underdevelopment.

We must fight very firmly against the blackmarketeers, the speculators and hoarders. We must fight vigorously against the parasites who claim that the agreement will bring us the food we are not producing. All parasites, tramps and misfits are enemies of peace and progress, they are enemies of the people's well-being.

The Armed Forces of Mozambique have emerged from the undeclared war waged against our independence and our revolution, stronger, more tempered, better organized. We must now intensify their reorganisation and structuring further raise their fighting capability, improve their intimate relationship with the masses. In this way we shall strengthen our country's defensive capacity and prepare the Armed Forces to discharge, in peace-time, their responsibilities in the defense of our socialist country, in the fight against underdevelopment, in the defense of peace and national sovereignty. We must therefore intensify the work of forming regular, modern, powerful combative and organized armed forces based on the people. We will now be able to implement fully the defense tasks defined by the III Congress.

Throughout the undeclared war waged against our country we became clearer about the nature of the enemy. Today all our people are conscious of the fact that the enemy has no colour, no tribe, no race, no religion, no country. From their own experience the Mozambican People have learned that the enemy is always perfidious and criminal. The enemy has no ethics, no scruples, does not hesitate to murder his own parents, brothers and relatives.

To-day our people have a deeper understanding of the class enemy.

To-day our people possess a deeper sense of patriotism.

In the fire of the daily fight we have strengthened national unity, strengthened our country, the country of FRELIMO. To-day, from the Rovuma to the Maputo we are all FRELIMO.

To-day the country demands renewed determination, greater commitment, more work.

This country that we so love has always been the fruit of the self denial and generosity of our youth.

It was the conquest of the young of 25 September 1964 who were moved by the noble ideals of equality, justice, democracy and independence, demanding nothing else and with total dedication to the people's cause. Those young Mozambicans marched under the burning sun and the bitter cold, went to battle often without having eaten, engaged in production, side by side with the people to feed

the liberation struggle. They organized health, education, administration, cooperatives, orphanages, centres for the maimed, they organized commerce in the liberated zones. They made the FRELIMO flag the very reason for living and fighting, a symbol of Mozambique's liberation for the entire people.

We see the continuation of the young of 25 September, the guarantee of the revolution's triumph, in the young who fought for the defense of our sovereignty against Rhodesian aggression, who caused the failure of the South African policy of destabilization, who, making the forest their theater of operations, continue to-day, determined to eliminate the armed bands definitively.

Today we find inspiration and courage to confront the task of building a socialist society in our country, because all Mozambicans see in our youth the certainly^{of} a victorious future.

It is with this conviction that in every part of our country we see our mothers, wives, sisters, daughters and companions, our elders and children, peasants and workers, cooperative farmers, teachers, nurses, civil servants, cadres, all Mozambican patriots united in the love of our country, trusting in the same future of peace and prosperity, determined to continue the struggle under the Frelimo Party flag. Today that struggle requires

complete and total liquidation of the armed bands, creative and diligent commitment on the production front and on the unwavering defense of peace.

Today that struggle requires the Mozambican people, under the leadership of Frelimo Party, to firmly defend the values of our socialist revolution on all fronts - political, military, economic, social and cultural.

Today that struggle requires all revolutionaries, progressive and democratic forces throughout the world to engage in the defense of the peace that has been achieved and of the Mozambican revolution which is a heritage of mankind.

The Mozambican people are the subject and the builder of each one of our victories.

And that is why I take this solemn act of the Standing Commission of the People's Assembly as a just tribute owed to our entire people, the guarantors of our independence, the craftsmen of peace and defenders of the socialist revolution.

A LUTA CONTINUA

Thank you very much.