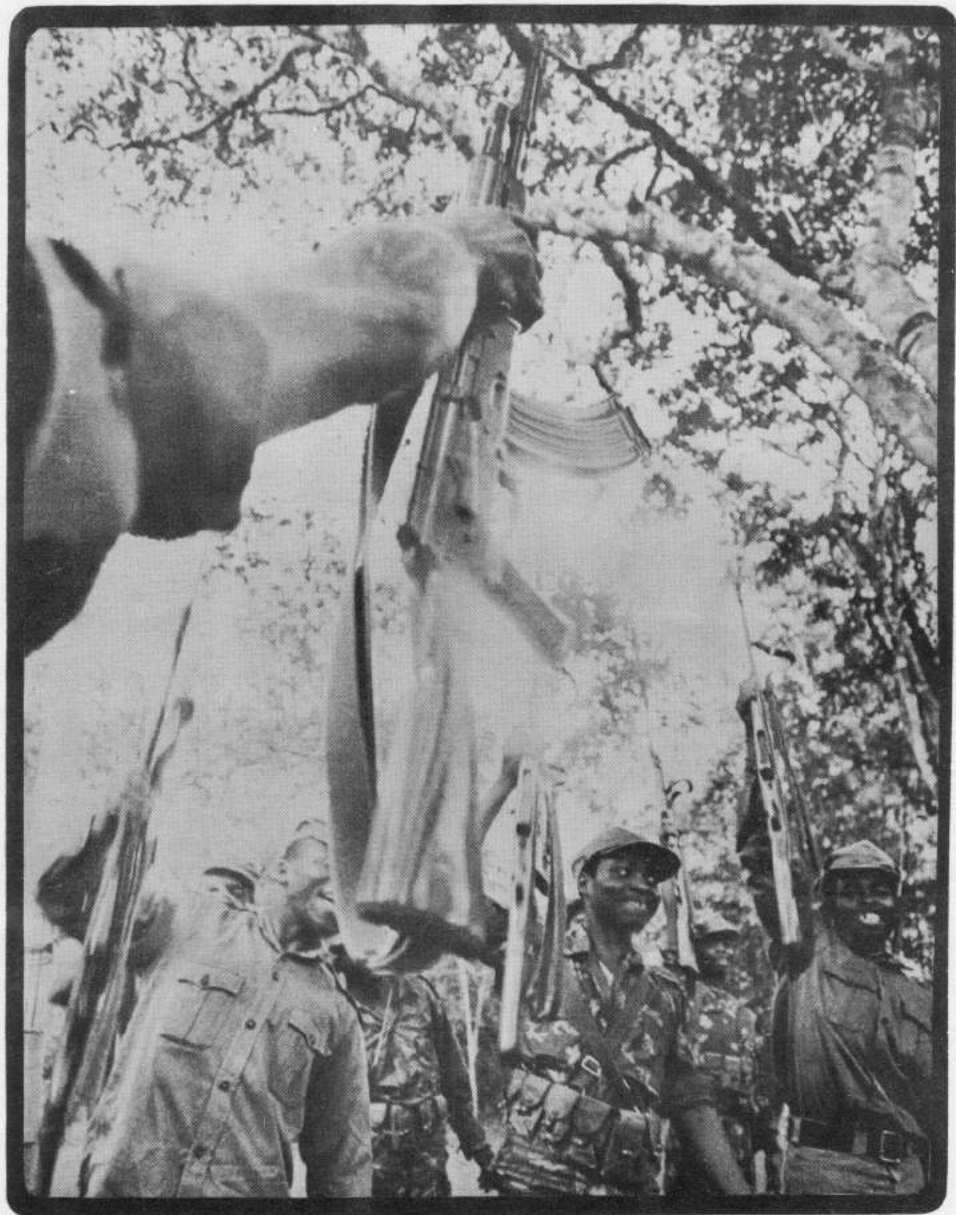




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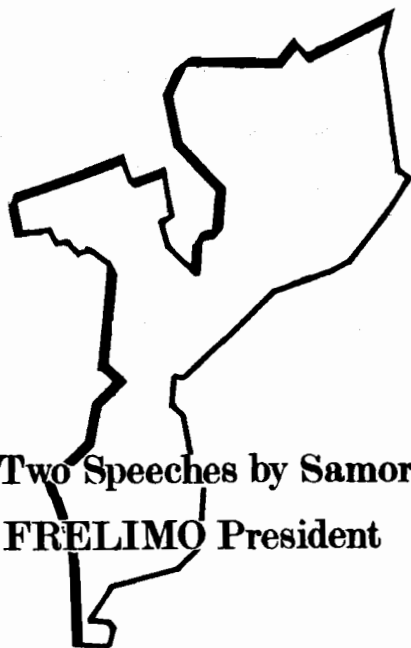




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# **MOZAMBIQUE:**

## **Revolution or Reaction?**



**Two Speeches by Samora Machel,  
FRELIMO President**

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# **FRELIMO's Tasks in the Struggle Ahead**

The investiture of the transitional government opens a new phase in our history, the phase of the final march towards independence.

Today we are assuming leadership in the government of our country in a period of transition which will lead to the proclamation of Mozambique's total and complete independence on 25 June, 1975, the anniversary of the founding of FRELIMO.

We have inherited a difficult and serious social, economic, financial and cultural situation resulting from centuries of oppression and colonial plunder, aggravated by decades of colonial-fascist domination and repression and further exacerbated by the recent criminal adventure of a small band of racists and reactionaries in the city of Lourenço Marques.

We are faced with a heritage of widespread illiteracy, disease, poverty and hunger. We see our people, and particularly the people in the countryside, living in subhuman conditions of poverty and exploitation. We see destruction, resentment and hatred created by centuries of oppression and instigated by the colonial war of aggression the reactionaries, colonialists and fascists launched in order to divide and confuse us.

It is thus a complex situation that the transitional government has before it, and the tasks it faces, therefore, are difficult. However, the difficulties were even greater a little over a decade ago, when we started our thrust towards national liberation. We do not hide the difficulties, nor do we shut our eyes to them. But nothing can make us forget that we are today entering upon an exalting phase in our history: for the first time the Mozambican people have a government of their own, a government of their representatives, a government to serve them.

Thus the Mozambican people have an instrument both able and prepared to face the serious problems of the present

phase: a government led by FRELIMO and which has within it militants seasoned in the tough struggle for national liberation, in political and armed struggle, in clandestine struggle.

Our people's experience of a State and government, the experience of all workers has been that State and government are oppressive structures, hostile forces compelling us to submit and resign ourselves to foreign domination, to the domination of big financial interests.

Under FRELIMO's leadership, the transitional government has the fundamental task of creating the conditions for People's Democratic Power to be extended to areas which up to now are still under colonial domination. Whereas for the millions of Mozambicans who have established their power in the liberated zones this is already a reality and a practical experience, the same is not true for the remainder of the country.

This means that we all need to learn what our power is and how to exercise it. We shall all need to know what distinguishes our power from colonial power.

Power belongs to the people. It has been won by the people and it must be exercised and defended by the people.

Before the people's victory, power belonged to colonialism and was the expression of the domination of our countries by companies.

Who ruled? The rulers were those who served the interests of a handful of big exploiters.

Years of rule enabled them to accumulate fortunes through the abuse of power, by theft, large sums given in exchange for favors granted to the companies, rewards for ceding the country's resources and even for selling human beings.

After serving their term as governors, they immediately joined the boards of directors of large enterprises where they received inflated salaries as payment for services rendered.

The government of the exploiter was characterized by privilege, despotic arrogance, favoritism, nepotism and lawlessness. Problems were solved through the system of "string pulling," and such basic rights as the right to work were made to seem like favors from the rulers. Even a woman's dignity had exchange value for obtaining employment.

Today, for the first time in Mozambique's history, comrades are being appointed to government posts.

When we say "comrades" we are using a word bathed in blood and sacrifices. Comrades are those who have fought in clandestinity, those who suffered torture and death in the prisons, those who gave of their bodies and intellect on the battlefield, those who built freedom, those who made us what we are, those capable of translating their aspirations into action, who have devoted their lives to the service of our people.



## *Veterans of Struggle*

The comrades who are today being given the difficult task of conducting the State machinery until the proclamation of independence are precisely the representatives of the people in the leadership of the State.

This representativeness has been earned in the varied and hard tasks of the politico-military struggle for national liberation. They are all veterans of the people's struggle, seasoned in the toughest school of government: the struggle for national liberation and national reconstruction in the liberated zones.

No one can claim that they are representatives of a race, ethnic group, region or religious belief. They represent the working people, their sacrifices and aspirations, the whole people from the Ruvuma to the Maputo, without distinction as to race, ethnic group or religion. No one fought for a region, race, tribe or religion. We all fought and are still fighting for the same nation, for the single ideal of liberating our land and our people.

The authenticity of the people's representatives in the leadership of the State is more than just an assertion: it must be manifested in the content of government action and in the method of work.

To govern is not to issue laws and decrees which the masses do not understand the reasons for but which everyone must comply with for fear of being punished.

To govern one needs to know exactly the interests of the working masses, formulated and discussed with them and not merely on their behalf. To govern is to be able to fulfill those interests in the decision making.

To govern is always to be closely linked with the masses in order to sound out their preoccupations and discuss with them so as to come to a correct decision together, not disregarding the details of everyday matters on the pretext that they are minor problems. A decision taken in this way mobilizes people and any difficulties or obstacles which crop up will be overcome because the people understand the decision and see it as their own.

Conversely, the government will be unable to solve any problem if it remains enclosed in a building, governing by bureaucratic and administrative methods. The solution of the problems of the masses and of the country is more political than administrative. Therefore it is FRELIMO's political line, forged in the intransigent struggle to defend the interests of the masses, that must guide government action, it is FRELIMO that must guide government action, FRELIMO that must orientate the government and the masses.

In every factory, every department, every service, every commercial establishment, in every agricultural enterprise,

Party Committees must be formed to implement the watchwords of FRELIMO and the transitional government, thus releasing the people's initiative and setting in motion the masses' creative ability.

We will thus establish true democracy throughout the country, which is the essential principle of FRELIMO which has guided political life within the Organization and in national reconstruction in the liberated areas.

FRELIMO's People's Democratic Government is also distinguished from the colonialist government by its collective working style, joint discussion and analysis of problems, mutual cooperation and the elimination of the compartmentalization of work sectors. Thus and only thus can government actions be harmonious and efficient.

Our government's action must be guided first and foremost by our political line. The political must never be subordinated to the technical. In practice this means that in each productive unit, in each Ministry, in each public service throughout the whole of our nation, our main effort must be to develop people's consciousness of their destiny, their awareness that to build Mozambique, to build freedom, means work, doing away with laziness and poverty.

We also want to call attention to a key factor: the need for leaders to live according to FRELIMO's political line, the need for them to represent the sacrifices made by the masses in their behavior. Power and the facilities which surround rulers can easily corrupt the firmest man.

We therefore want them to live modestly and with the people, not turning the task entrusted to them into a privilege, a means of accumulating property or handing out favors.

Material, moral and ideological corruption, bribery, seeking comforts, string pulling, nepotism, that is, favors based on friendship, and especially giving preferential employment to relatives, friends or people from one's own region, all this is characteristic of the system which we are destroying. Tribalism, regionalism, racism and unprincipled alliances are serious onslaughts on our political line and divide the masses. Because power belongs to the people those who exercise it are servants of the people.

Anyone who thus deforms our line can expect no tolerance from us. We shall be intransigent on this, as we were during the hard war years. We shall never have any hesitation in exposing to the masses crimes committed against them. Deviations from our line breed contradictions, cracks through which the enemy, imperialism and the reactionary forces, can enter.

To maintain the austerity required for our life as militants and thus preserve the meaning of the sacrifices of our people, all FRELIMO militants with government tasks must now as in the past, shun material preoccupations, particularly regarding salaries. What is more, we cannot tolerate one of

our representatives owning means of production or exploiting the labor of others.

## *Work and Self-Sacrifice*

For ten years we fought without any concern of an individual financial nature, involved only in devoting all our energy to serving the people. This is the characteristic of FRELIMO's militants, cadres and leaders.

As we have always done and in accordance with our means, we try to ensure that each militant who carries out a task has the minimum material conditions required for his work, his sustenance and that of his family. But we must also not forget that we have often fought and won with bare feet, dressed in rags and hungry.

It must also be stressed that just as we fought a war without a time-table, without vacations, without days of rest, we must engage in the battle for national reconstruction in the same spirit.

This means that as always, the decisive factor for our victory is identifying with our line and implementing it, rejecting luxuries, fighting corruption, to practice austerity, and fighting extravagance.

The watchword is work and self-sacrifice.

If the government is to be really capable of making the interests of the working masses its own and never deviating from serving the people, it is essential that it remain constantly under FRELIMO's leadership.

Within FRELIMO are the organized masses, conscious of their true interests; within FRELIMO are the militants forged and seasoned in the people's struggle, guaranteeing the intransigent defense of the interests of the workers and the Revolution. Hence, only FRELIMO is capable of organizing, guiding, orientating and leading the millions of Mozambican women and men in the present battle to build People's Democratic Power and for national reconstruction.

The government is FRELIMO's instrument at the State level, the executive arm of the people's will. If the arm is amputated from the body it will rapidly decay and decompose.

State Power has been won through the struggle of our people, united by our correct line, under FRELIMO's leadership. At the start the broad masses were not organized, we had neither weapons nor State Power. Colonialism had the subjugated masses, economic and military strength and the State apparatus. Colonialism lost everything because the people were not with it and it had neither a correct political line nor just leadership.

This means that a government which deviates from the people's interests, from FRELIMO's political line and leader-

ship, is like the colonial-fascist regime, bound to be overthrown.



Candy Wright/LSM

Samora Machel

## *The Tasks Ahead*

Led by FRELIMO, the transitional government begins its action today.

Although it is not for us to spell out the transitional government's program, since this is its own task, it is

nevertheless necessary to define, as from now, the tasks which must be undertaken by FRELIMO, the government and the masses at this decisive moment in our country's reconstruction.

These have to do with mobilizing and organizing the masses, with institutions of government and national reconstruction, and finally with the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique, the armed wing of our working people.

As regards the State and its institutions, it is first necessary to decolonize and, secondly, to build the appropriate structures for People's Democratic Power.

Decolonization does not mean the geographical transfer of the decision-making centers from Lisbon to Lourenço Marques, which the deposed regime was in fact already proposing to do, and neither is it the continuation of the oppressive regime, this time with black-skinned rulers, which is the neo-colonial pattern.

To decolonize the State means essentially to dismantle the political, administrative, cultural, financial, economic, educational, juridical and other systems which, as an integral part of the colonial State, were solely designed to impose foreign domination and the will of the exploiters on the masses.

In this, although we can seek inspiration and stimulation from the revolutionary experience of other peoples, we shall build on the foundation of our own originality, basing ourselves on the specific conditions of our country. We shall thus also enrich the revolutionary heritage of humanity, a duty we have been fulfilling over these hard years of struggle.

## *Unity is Essential*

The decisive factor for our success is the unity of our people from the Ruvuma to the Maputo. The enemy rose and will always rise against this unity: yesterday's colonialism and today's reactionaries and imperialists, exploiters from every race.

As in the past, they will try to use everything. Overt or covert appeals to racism, tribalism and regionalism will be intensified. We will make relentless use of the same liberating fire that wiped out colonialism in opposing racism, tribalism and regionalism, because these are the commanders-in-chief of the enemy's forces which attack and destroy our people's unity, the main weapon in our struggle.

These are the essential instruments which weakened our people in the past and allowed them to be dominated.

As regards our action in the field of socio-economic development, it is necessary right away to lay down a number of priorities, so as to know how to orientate our efforts.

We inherited a colonial economic structure in which the productive factors did not serve our country or our people,

but foreign domination. We must combat this situation by laying the foundations of an independent economy to serve the working masses.

The transitional government must try as rapidly as possible to solve the serious financial problems, in particular the monetary situation and the establishment of a Mozambican Bank of Issue, and make a frontal attack on the most pressing problems of the broad masses in our country: hunger and lack of clothing and housing.

These ills were not an act of fate, but a result of the system of exploitation. If the productive efforts of the working masses are made within a system of social organization which fights exploitation, these problems will be gradually eliminated, as the evidence of our liberated areas shows.

Faced with the present economic and financial situation, characterized by a balance of payments deficit and a rapidly rising cost of living, especially as regards essential goods, our economic strategy must be based on the principle of relying on our own efforts, with emphasis on the following watchwords: austerity and work.

The present situation demands, on the one hand, that we fight against superfluous and luxury consumption, avoid waste and accept sacrifices. On the other hand, we must throw ourselves fully into the economic development of our country, which means stepping up production and raising productivity.

Indeed, economic development is essentially the result of work. More work means higher production, which in turn enables us to raise our standard of living.

With the conquest of political power by the people, the foundations are laid for solving the problems of the working masses in accordance with their interests.

Adequate structures will be established for the correct solution of problems which crop up in labor relations.

Mere wage increases will not solve the problems facing the working masses, especially since in the present situation they would inevitably be transferred to price increases which would automatically cancel out the higher purchasing power.

Under these conditions, at this stage in the life of our country, there is no more reason for strikes because our main concern should be to restructure and relaunch our economy.

## *Priority for Countryside*

Another defect which is characteristic of the structure we have inherited is the tremendous imbalance in regional development, particularly the imbalance between town and countryside.

The overwhelming majority of our people live in the country-

side, and it is in the countryside that are to be found the natural resources which must be developed so as to make our country prosper. It was the countryside that most suffered from the destructive effects of war and it is in the countryside that the clearest signs of hunger can be seen. It is therefore towards the countryside that our main efforts to improve the living conditions of the masses will be directed. Priority must be given to the development of our agriculture, animal husbandry and the most effective use of our sub-soil resources.

Agriculture will therefore be the base of our development and industry its galvanizing factor.

Industrial development must be based on the processing of our natural resources, which will make it possible to diversify and increase the value of exports.

We must launch an unyielding struggle against the vestiges of colonialism, decadent values, erroneous ideas, the attitude of uncritically imitating foreigners, and against immorality. We must affirm and develop our Mozambican personality by strengthening our unity, constantly exchanging experiences and merging the contributions made by all of us. In this respect we must bear in mind that the city is one of the centers of vice and corruption and of alienating foreign influences.

We will place training, education and culture primarily at the service of the broad masses oppressed and humiliated by the system of colonialist and capitalist exploitation. The blood of our people was not shed only to free the land from foreign domination, but also to reconquer our Mozambican personality, to bring about the resurgence of our culture and to create a new mentality, a new society. The priority aim of education will be to wage a vigorous battle against illiteracy, a product of colonialism which today affects the overwhelming majority of our people. This effort must be centered especially on rural areas, where schools are practically nonexistent.

The schools must be fronts in our vigorous and conscious battle against illiteracy, ignorance and obscurantism. They must be centers for wiping out the colonial-capitalist mentality and the negative aspects of the traditional mentality: superstition, individualism, selfishness, elitism and ambition must be fought in them. There should be no place in them for social, racial or sexual discrimination. Above all, the masses must have both access to and power in the schools, universities and culture.

We are engaged in a Revolution whose advance depends on the creation of the new man, with a new mentality. We are engaged in a Revolution aimed at the establishment of People's Democratic Power. Therefore at school level we must be able to introduce collective work and create an open climate of

criticism and self-criticism. Teachers and pupils must learn from one another in a climate of mutual trust and harmonious comradesly relations in which it will be possible to release the initiative of each and develop the talents of all, so that all grow together in the great task of national reconstruction.

Our schools must truly be centers for the propagation of national culture and political, technical and scientific knowledge. The propaganda of knowledge must be aimed at mobilizing nature and human potentialities for development and progress of society.

It is therefore necessary to democratize teaching methods. Pupils and trainees must play a responsible part in creating a school of a new type in which manual labor is accorded its due value as one of the sources of knowledge, closely related to practice, drawing inspiration from it and serving the people.

## *Prevention of Disease*

Raising the living conditions of the masses demands fighting disease by improving health conditions. We have inherited a situation in which the vast majority of medical personnel and equipment is concentrated in the towns to serve the minority which can pay, and what is more this takes the form of intense racial and social discrimination in hospitals.

As from now, we must throw ourselves enthusiastically into health work among the broad masses, so as to wipe out the causes of disease, improve eating habits by enriching the diet and eliminating unhygienic traditions. In this field priority must be given to preventive medicine, which is in line with our present capacity and facilities.

This work is not simply a bureaucratic or technical task, but above all a political battle, demanding the mobilization of the people, which is now possible on a national scale because the people are in power.

The judiciary must be reorganized so as to make justice accessible and comprehensible to the ordinary citizen of our land. The bourgeois system surrounded the administration of justice with unnecessary complexity, with legalism which made it inaccessible to the masses, with deliberately confusing and misleading jargon, and with such slow proceedings and high costs as to create a barrier between the people and justice. In short, the existing legal system in our country serves the rich and is accessible only to them. The path we want to follow is that of simplifying and speeding up the application of justice, within the framework of new laws and rules which the transitional government must begin to study immediately, bearing in mind the existing situation and the gradual transformation which must be effected.



The basic policy in the field of justice should be inspired by our experience in the liberated areas, where crimes and offenses have been almost completely eliminated owing to two combined factors: the improvement of the people's living conditions and the heightening of their political consciousness by thorough and constant political work. This means that it must be our concern to prevent crime by eliminating its causes.

It is the duty of the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique, FRELIMO's army, the people in arms, an army of peasants and workers, to consolidate the people's victory and defend the Revolution.

FRELIMO's army is not a barracks army. It is an army which studies, produces and fights. This means that the army must have a study center so that its members, especially veteran militants of the national liberation struggle, have the possibility of continuing to raise their political, educational, cultural and technical level. It will thus be possible further to develop our army's operational and organizational capacity, and it will be able fully to assume the defense of the nation.

At the same time we find in the army people who come from every region of our country, bringing with them the rich and varied traditions of our people. In the army these traditions are harmoniously merged, ceasing to be regional and local culture to become national culture. So, being a center of cultural fusion, our army also is a center for the propagation of national culture among the broad masses. We must never forget that an army without culture is an army without national personality, with no popularly based motivation, and hence it is a weak army.

Now as in the past, every unit of the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique must continue to be a production center.

FRELIMO's army is not an army of parasites; it is an army with a tradition of productive labor, an army which produces for its own subsistence, which helps the people to improve their living conditions and learn about new production methods and new crops. This work must be continued.

At the same time the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique must remain actively vigilant and in a state of constant preparedness, so as to put down any attempt at external aggression as well as any attempt by reactionaries aimed at jeopardizing independence, sabotaging national reconstruction and destroying the Revolution.

The People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique also have the task of mobilizing and organizing the broad masses. Since the start of the struggle, our combatants have been actively carrying out political work among the masses, which contributed decisively to our victory over colonialism. This work must continue and even more vigorously, guided by the

objectives which correspond to the new phase.

At this hour of struggle and also of happiness, we must not allow ourselves to be carried away by feelings of victory and excessive euphoria. The People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique must be well aware that they come from the people, that it was the people who built our victory, and that they are our only heroes. It is therefore by remaining closely linked with the people, by still organizing the masses, that we will be able to win the new battle in which we are now engaged.

## *Liberation of Women*

One of the major fronts in the struggle for the genuine liberation of our people is the liberation of women.

Mozambican women are still weighed down by two burdens: on the one hand reactionary traditions which deprive them of initiative in society and reduce them to mere instruments of men and, on the other, the colonial-capitalist system which regards them as objects of exploitation and a means of production. We must wage a close struggle for the emancipation of women and the restoration of their dignity.

We must, in particular, put an immediate end to that supremely degrading expression of the colonial-capitalist system, prostitution, the sale of the body as though it were a mobile shop. The transitional government has the task of reintegrating these elements in society through productive labor.

Finally we wish to address ourselves to Mozambique's white population, whether Portuguese or foreign nationals in general. The first words we wish to convey to them are words of calm and trust. FRELIMO has never fought against the Portuguese people or against the white race. FRELIMO is an organization for all Mozambicans without distinction as to race, color, ethnic group or religion. Our struggle has always been against the colonial system of oppression and exploitation. Therefore all those who live off their honest labor, whom we know to be the overwhelming majority of the white population, have a positive contribution to make to our country's national reconstruction, together with the entire Mozambican people.

At the same time, we wish to remind the whole people that, with this phase, we are now entering upon a new era of race relations in Mozambique: all superiority and inferiority complexes created and reinforced by centuries of colonialism must be completely eliminated. The white population must wage a profound internal struggle and eliminate the attitudes of superiority and paternalism towards blacks and other racial groups which still influence the minds of many, so as to blend in with the Mozambican people as a whole. This watchword is also valid for many people in the Asian community and many

mulattoes, who still regard themselves as superior or different to the black population.

The black population must also wage internal struggle against the inferiority complexes instilled in it by centuries of colonialism, and which fascism rendered particularly acute. These are the complexes behind the reactions of individual revenge and hatred which are contrary to our policy. FRELIMO fought for the people's interests and can never allow the sacrifices made to be used as an instrument of personal revenge and hatred, however great the burden of suffering and humiliation under colonialism.

There are no superior and inferior races. But it is not enough to talk about racial harmony for everyone to get on well together from one day to the next. What is needed is the political work of constant explanation, a conscious effort to change attitudes and habits, a deliberate effort to make people of the different races which go to make up our people, live together in harmony. The togetherness which must be established must be full and real, and not just superficial togetherness during hours of work and in professional relations. Most especially, clubs and associations based on racial, ethnic or regional origins must be transformed into associations for all Mozambicans, into centers of Mozambican culture where all can meet in a healthy spirit of true fraternity, and with a clearly defined political line on the building of a new society. We should like especially to draw attention to the fact that since the fact of being Mozambican is not determined by skin color, language, religious belief, social origin or sex, we must vigorously combat the minority concept which some people are trying to instill in the minds of especially white Mozambicans.

## *Role of the People*

There are no minorities, there are no special rights or duties for any sector of the Mozambican people: we are all Mozambicans with the rights that work gives us, and with the identical duty of building a united, prosperous, just, harmonious, peaceful and democratic nation.

In all we have said we have kept the dominant idea that politics must guide government action, and that this action will not succeed unless it is fully understood by the masses.

Hence the chief task of all FRELIMO militants is to further the work of organizing the masses and guiding them in each factory, each agricultural unit, each PFLM detachment, each cooperative, each neighborhood, each department, so that the government is constantly aware of the people's feelings and thoughts. In other words the FRELIMO militant's work is to create the conditions to release the creative initiative of

the masses, to free them from passive obedience and to create structures and channels through which the will of the masses can determine government action.

This also means that they should not passively wait for solutions sent down from on high by the minister in his office, but, on the contrary, what can be done immediately by relying on one's own efforts should be analyzed in every productive unit, village, neighborhood, and family cell. At the same time, and guided by FRELIMO's political line, suggestions on organization and improvement which contribute to progress and increased productivity in each sector must be studied and formulated.

For this purpose, in each place of work or residence a party Committee should be set up, comprising the militants who are most dedicated and most committed to the cause of independence, progress, democracy and the Mozambican Revolution.

Another task of these Committees and of all the people is active and constant vigilance against open or disguised sabotage attempts by agents of colonialist reaction who, although they have lost the decisive battle have not yet laid down their arms and still have accomplices at various levels. All those attempts must be publicly exposed in order to neutralize those responsible. Yet we shall never allow this task to be used for settling personal scores, attempts at personal advancement for selfish ends or any kind of manifestation of racism.

We can therefore see that the action of racist and colonialist forces will sometimes take the form of overt or covert sabotage, that is, of typical reactionary activities.

Such action is doomed to fail because one will be dealing with a clearly defined enemy. Therefore, reactionary action will also take other more insidious forms which, assuming a revolutionary appearance, will in fact be aimed at creating chaos and divisions among our forces. This means that we shall find reactionaries disguised as ultra-revolutionaries, who will demand of the government drastic and extremist measures, seeking to present them as immediate revolutionary necessities. These elements, as such, are weak, but their action will be aimed at manipulating certain sectors of our population, selfless and militant but politically uneducated sectors which are likely to be used by the enemy.

Ultra-leftism is thus a weapon of reaction.

We should like, on this occasion, to address ourselves to the High Commissioner of the Portuguese Republic in Mozambique, in whom we see a representative of the new leaders of the Portuguese people and the Armed Forces Movement.

We wish to reaffirm the friendship which unites us with the Portuguese people, and in particular with the Portuguese democratic forces, a friendship forged in the common struggle

against the colonial-fascist regime.

That common struggle continues.

Colonialism has already been buried, Mozambique's independence will be a fact within a few months. Let us therefore definitely turn towards the future. What matters now is to build the future relations between our peoples, between the democratic forces of our countries.

And the future relations between our peoples largely depend on the actions of the High Commissioner and on frank and sincere cooperation between the High Commissioner and the transitional government.

Together with the High Commissioner, the transitional government will build, stone by stone, the edifice of friendship and cooperation which we hope will be a historical example. We are faced with the tremendous challenge of a unique historical situation - the simultaneous liberation of two peoples through a common victory against fascism and colonialism. Neither of us liberated the other, it was mutual liberation through a parallel struggle which must take on new scope in the future.

Even now in the cooperation established between our forces in the struggle against the death throes of colonial-fascist reaction, we presented to the world a singular demonstration of the fact that the identification of peoples in the struggle against a common enemy is not an empty word, but that it is possible, open and fruitful, even between yesterday's colonized and those who were forced to be instruments of that colonization.

We therefore expect the High Commissioner, in the spirit of the Lusaka Agreement, to carry out to the full what we regard his most inspiring duties, which are to give impetus to the process of decolonization, eliminate the vestiges of colonialism and lay the foundations for a new type of relations between our peoples.

In line with its political principles, and remaining true to the commitments it has undertaken, FRELIMO will cooperate sincerely with the High Commissioner of the Portuguese Republic and with the Portuguese Armed Forces, so as to fulfill together the tasks of the present phase and build the future.

At this moment, we wish to pay heartfelt and stirring tribute to the memory of all our heroes, to all those who made both us and our country what we are today. Among them all and to remind us of them all, we wish to evoke the unforgettable memory of comrade Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, founder member and first President of FRELIMO, the true inspirer and driving force of our struggle, who fell in the national liberation struggle. May his example of heroism and sacrifice be a source of inspiration and encouragement to enable us to fulfill the new tasks. At a time when the city of Lourenço Marques, and with it the whole of Mozambique, is in mourning because of a fascist adventure, let us be able to transform

our sorrow into new strength to galvanize us to continue on the road of building independence, freedom and democracy in our country.

If the destruction of Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique was brought about primarily by sacrifice and efforts of the Mozambican people, it is nevertheless important to emphasize at this time the great contribution united Africa made to this victory, which is the common victory of the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies and of the entire African liberation movement.

We therefore wish to hail the representatives of the Organization of African Unity who are here to show by their presence their consistent solidarity with our struggle. We particularly wish to hail the representatives of Tanzania and Zambia, great brother peoples who, with heroism and determination were able to assume the role of strategic rear and therefore made our victory possible. Here we honor the memory of the Tanzanian and Zambian brothers who fell victim to colonialist aggression, consolidating through their sacrifices friendship and solidarity which, forged in the hard years of war, will be strengthened and consolidated in peace. Through them we send our greetings to our brothers in all countries bordering on the fighting territories; in Guinea, Senegal, the People's Republic of the Congo, and Zaire.

We salute the valuable and decisive contribution made by the generous political, moral and material help given to us by the socialist countries in the highest internationalist spirit.

Through the Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations, we greet the United Nations Organization and the international community in general, whose growing moral, diplomatic and material support was a powerful factor in encouraging our struggle and isolating the colonial-fascist regime.

We wish to hail especially the support given by the democratic forces throughout the world, by progressive international organizations and revolutionary and anti-colonialist forces in western countries.

In conclusion, we wish to greet the Portuguese people, through the Portuguese democratic forces with whom we forged bonds of militant fraternity during the difficult years of common struggle, bonds which, more than the written words of treaties, are the guarantee of our future friendship and cooperation.

As we engage in this new struggle, we call upon our entire people to remain united, firm and vigilant under the banner of FRELIMO embarking with enthusiasm, discipline and hard work on the building of a free, developed and democratic Mozambique, under the watchword: UNITY, WORK, VIGILANCE.

# The Weapons That Brought Us Victory

Comrade fighters of the FPLM and FRELIMO militants,  
Mozambican Women and Men,

The tenth anniversary of the beginning of the armed struggle finds our people in power, and this is therefore the first time that we are celebrating in conditions of peace 25 September, Revolution Day, the day of the FPLM.

The radical change in the political situation in our country means new tasks for all of us and thus we are celebrating our Revolution Day in a different way. The major battles we shall now be fighting, the acts of heroism to be undertaken in support of Revolution Day, must be on the fronts of production and national reconstruction.

The past ten years have been years of struggle to win power, years during which the masses, militants, fighters, cadres and leadership tirelessly devoted all their efforts to the fight against colonialism and imperialism, and against national reactionary forces.

We need to understand this fight and to analyze the price that has been paid for our victory, as this is the precondition for appreciating the true value of the power that has been won and thus also understanding the need to defend and consolidate it.

Indeed, our struggle was waged and won by the people, and victory belongs to the people who bore the full brunt of colonialism and exploitation.

But victory does not consist of hoisting a new flag or adopting a new anthem, however beautiful they may be. Our victory will be meaningful only with the triumph of the interests of the working masses, through the implementation of FRELIMO's Program.

In 1962, when FRELIMO was formed, the objective of uniting all Mozambicans and overthrowing the colonial fascist system

seemed to many illusory or utopian.

It is essential from the outset to establish a clear basis and just aims for the people's struggle.

Since FRELIMO's First Congress, a battle has been waged between revolution and reaction, centering on the following essential questions: defining who is a member of FRELIMO and, consequently, defining the interests to be served by the Front; defining the targets of our struggle and hence, in the last analysis, FRELIMO's objectives.

The victory of the revolutionary line at the First Congress was concretized by the declared need for the unity of all Mozambicans, men and women, bound together by the same oppression, exploitation and humiliation, mobilized to build a new and popular social order.

The victory scored against the reactionary racist forces, against conservative forces clinging to outdated tribalist patterns, the fight against various forms of adventurism and opportunism, enabled FRELIMO to start the process of organizing and mobilizing the masses, and training vanguard cadres.

Thus, in 1964, the minimum conditions were created for going over to a higher form of struggle: the general armed insurrection of the Mozambican people against colonialism and imperialism, for the establishment of a popular social order free from exploitation.

The launching of armed struggle for liberation made our people's advance to national independence irreversible and created the material conditions, by liberating the land and men, for laying the foundations of the new power. Armed struggle made our unity operative, speeded up the process of eliminating divisive forces and tendencies, and enabled the masses to regain the historical initiative.

The proclamation of armed struggle appeared at first to be adventurism. Indeed, FRELIMO could oppose a colonial army 40,000 strong and equipped with all types of weapons with only 250 or so militants, scantily and poorly armed. But our weakness was only apparent. In fact, FRELIMO had the decisive force: the masses united by the correct line and the conviction of the justness of our cause and of the inevitability of victory.

For this very reason, from few and weak we became many and strong. The masses combined with a correct line gave us the strength required to overcome difficulties, to enrich our line, to rectify deviations and to transform weaknesses into victories.

We suffered failures and setbacks which it is necessary to analyze here, so that by spotting the causes we can further clarify our orientation and formulate a correct strategy for the new phase we are now entering upon.



In 1965, because many of us still had not properly understood the principle that the people are the main force, we made mistakes. We gave priority to technical aspects, looking upon weapons as the main factor and neglecting work among the masses.

As a consequence, we suffered reverses. We lost weapons, we lost militants and fighters, and the enemy exploited our ignorance of the main force.

In 1966, at the historic October meeting of the Central Committee, self-criticism of our mistakes led to further clarification of our political line, to better understanding of the decisive role of the masses and of the need to put their interests first. Thus we made a clearer definition of the enemy and of our objectives, engaging more decidedly in work among the masses. It was in this context that we launched the struggle for the emancipation of women.

The FPLM regained their popular character and their class origin and objectives. Everyone clearly understood that no one was fighting on behalf of a race, ethnic group, region or religion. All were serving only the people, from the Ruvuma to the Maputo, and making sacrifices and shedding their blood for their sake.

This greater consciousness and adherence to FRELIMO's political line led our people to new victories over Portuguese colonialism. Enemy military bases started to be attacked and assaulted, material was captured and enemy soldiers taken prisoner. At the same time, the conditions were being prepared for extending the people's armed struggle to new areas.

The enemy, realizing from their defeats that the FRELIMO militants and fighters had discovered the main force and made it operational, then worked out a new strategy.

They infiltrated agents among us to establish links with reactionary forces living in our midst and incited divisive forces, using elitism, tribalism, regionalism and racism.

This collusion between the colonialists and Mozambican reactionaries was based on a common definition of who was their enemy and on the formulation of the same objective, that of safeguarding the system of exploitation.

1968 began with an open conflict between the two lines, with the struggle of the revolutionary forces to dismantle the reactionary network established within the leadership.

Feeling themselves threatened, the reactionary forces, under the guidance of Portuguese colonialism, launched a frontal attack against the comrades. There followed a succession of rumors, intrigues and slanders. Comrades were arrested. Brandishing the weapon of racism, the expulsion of white militants was organized with the aim of weakening the revolutionary forces. Still with the same objective, militants and revolutionary leaders were assassinated.

Alongside this crime wave, the reactionaries demanded the

holding of the 2nd Congress, intending to alter FRELIMO's objectives and to make the anti-popular line prevail.

On attacking the revolutionary forces, the enemy was in fact aiming at the people, at those who did not let themselves be bought, those who had no hesitation in identifying with the interests of the working masses.

Aware of the fact that the chief purpose of the reactionaries and colonialists was to keep the people dominated and knowing that their inspiration and strength stemmed from the people, the revolutionaries mobilized and organized the masses to defend their interests themselves.

Contrary to what the reactionaries wanted, the 2nd Congress was held inside our country, attended by the masses, militants and fighters. It analyzed the struggle, reaffirmed and further developed revolutionary principles and introduced the structural changes demanded by the advance of the people's liberation war.

The political defeat sustained by the enemy at the 2nd Congress caused the reactionaries and colonialists, confusing the revolution with an individual, to make Comrade Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane the target of their attacks.

On 3 February 1969, Comrade Mondlane was assassinated.

However, it was only one tree in the forest, although the tallest one, which was felled, and the Mozambican Revolution transformed its sorrow into new strength.

After thorough political work among the masses, FRELIMO's Central Committee met in April, 1969.

At this historic meeting of the Central Committee, a detailed analysis was made of the struggle and of the development of the contradictions among us, and the nature of the antagonisms which had given rise to the contradictions was discovered.

With this meeting of the Central Committee, FRELIMO entered upon a new phase: the creation of an organized vanguard of the working masses and cleansing our ranks of the ideas and values of the reactionary forces.

This struggle created the conditions for decisively transforming the national liberation struggle into a People's Democratic Revolution in 1970.

The impossibility of destroying FRELIMO by taking over its leadership and the failure of the attempt to divide our people made the colonial fascist regime try to liquidate our struggle by resorting to brute force.

Marcelo Caetano concentrated forces and arms in Mozambique and put war criminal Kaulza de Arriaga in command.

The strategic defeat suffered by the colonialist fascist forces in "Operation Gordian Knot" definitively destroyed the enemy's capacity to take the military initiative, changed the balance of forces in our favor, created the conditions for the armed struggle to spread rapidly, consolidated our

revolution and made the early defeat of the regime inevitable.

In a last ditch and desperate attempt at survival, the regime launched a campaign of blind terrorism and massacres which horrified mankind, rapidly raised the consciousness of the masses in our country and in Portugal and caused the total isolation of Portuguese colonial fascism.

At the same time, with the aim of creating contradictions between the militants and the leadership and between the masses and FRELIMO, the enemy infiltrated large numbers of agents provocateurs and subversive elements among us. They committed crimes against the people, against both black and white, committed base acts and incited indiscipline.

Yet the process of defining who belongs to our ranks, of clearly identifying the enemy, made it possible for the masses and militants to detect the subversive offensive and expose and neutralize hundreds of infiltrated agents, sealing our ranks from enemy subversion.

Heightening the political and organizational level of the masses and fighters, cleansing our ranks, drawing a clear dividing line between ourselves and the enemy, and bringing about ideological unity, all made it possible to go over to the final phase of our liberation struggle.

Implementing the guidelines laid down by the FRELIMO Central Committee in December, 1972, in 1973 we launched a general offensive on all fronts. This offensive, together with the struggle of the brother peoples of Angola and Guinea-Bissau and that of the Portuguese people and the Armed Forces Movement, caused the fall of the colonial fascist regime on 25 April.

The new situation in Portugal hastened inevitable decolonization, the most recent manifestations of which have been the recognition of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau on 10 September and the investiture of the Transitional Government of Mozambique, led by FRELIMO, on 20 September.

The Mozambican people's struggle has been crowned with success. This victory was the product of the determined struggle of our people, united and guided by FRELIMO's correct line.

It was also because of this correct line that our struggle could be a part of the general struggle of the oppressed peoples and classes against the system which exploits man. In this way, we had the benefit of the political contribution and material solidarity of the revolutionary and democratic forces of the world. For this same reason, we were able to contribute to the advance of world democracy and revolution.

In the course of these difficult years, the comrades of the PAIGC and the MPLA fought at our side.

The PAIGC's struggle already culminated in the independence of Guinea-Bissau last year and in Portugal's recent

recognition of the young state, which put an end to the existing state of war.

We are in full solidarity with Guinea-Bissau's efforts in national reconstruction and with Cape Verde's advance to independence and unity with Guinea-Bissau.

As we have always done, FRELIMO will support the Angolan people's struggle to win national independence and unity.

FRELIMO will continue to stand by the people of São Tomé and Príncipe, led by the MLSTP, in their fight for freedom.

The Mozambican people's struggle is an integral part of the African liberation struggle. The Mozambican people's present victory is therefore a contribution to the total liberation of Africa, just as the victorious struggle of the brother peoples consolidates Mozambique's Revolution.

The countries adjacent to the Portuguese colonial empire have had a special role to play. They sustained aggression and provocations to support our liberation struggle. Guinea, Senegal, Congo and Zaire were associated with our struggle.

As regards Mozambique, it is only right to give prominence to the unique contribution made by Tanzania and Zambia.

Conscious of the role played by Tanzania, as from 1967 the Portuguese colonialists started aerial bombardments of that country and infiltrated agents who mined roads and murdered Tanzanian citizens, hoping that through terror they would intimidate Tanzania and prevent it from giving material expression to its solidarity with our people. The Tanzanian people, educated in TANU's internationalist principles, did not let themselves be intimidated and accepted sacrifices. People living near the border abandoned their huts and fields, stopped fishing in the Ruvuma and agreed to live in shelters.

The Tanzanian people as a whole, from their President to the ordinary man, accepted privation to support Mozambique. The people gave blood for the FRELIMO fighters and many lives were saved in Mozambique by Tanzanian blood.

When TANU proclaimed 1974 "Liberation Year," old people and children, peasants, workers, soldiers, civil servants, men and women all came forward to contribute to FRELIMO.

Four million shillings were handed to us out of popular solidarity, the solidarity of poor people.

FRELIMO wants the Mozambican people to say how we should use this money, the sweat of the Tanzanian people. We should like an important work of national reconstruction to perpetuate the association of Tanzania's sweat and blood with the sweat and blood of Mozambique.

To speak of the solidarity of Tanzania, of TANU and of the people and Government, is also to speak of Zambia's solidarity, of the action of UNIP and the people and Government of Zambia.

As from 1968, the bombs dropped by the colonialist air force, the mines and the agents extended the war to Zambia.

The launching of armed struggle in Tete, in Manica e Sofala, in Zambezia, the spread of the struggle to the enemy's nerve centers, was largely due to the historic role played by Zambia as a strategic rear base.

Despite the tremendous difficulties suffered by the Zambian economy as a consequence of economic and other reprisals taken by the colonialist and racist regimes, the Zambian people and Government, mobilized and led by UNIP, were unsparing in their efforts to give material support to our struggle.

The unity between the Mozambican people and FRELIMO and Tanzania and TANU and Zambia and UNIP was forged and seasoned in the tough and difficult war years. This unity is now indestructible.

The exemplary struggle of the peoples of Indo-China against imperialist aggression is an inexhaustible source of theoretical and practical inspiration for the world revolutionary forces.

FRELIMO reaffirms its total support for the just struggle of the Arab peoples to regain the occupied lands, and expresses special solidarity with the Palestinian people's fight for their national rights.

The socialist countries, because they have destroyed the system of exploitation, constitute the strategic rear base of the struggle of the oppressed peoples and classes, and hence the natural alliance between us. The Mozambican people and FRELIMO will never forget the exemplary internationalist solidarity extended to them by the Socialist Republic of Bulgaria, the People's Republic of China, the German Democratic Republic, the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia.

The democratic forces in capitalist countries identified our struggle against the colonial fascist regime with their own struggle. Particularly, in the Scandinavian countries, Holland and Italy, there was a great popular solidarity movement which helped to isolate the colonial regime internationally and provided material support for the reconstruction of our liberated areas.

The action of the OAU, the UN and numerous international, governmental and mass organizations, and the action of the non-aligned and Afro-Asian countries made it possible to isolate Portuguese colonialism and back our struggle with the growing solidarity of the whole of mankind.

The solidarity which backed us and the sacrifices made by the world democratic forces further accentuate the responsibilities which fall on us in this decisive moment of our history.

Today we have our own Government in Mozambique, a Government

of the Mozambican people, which has as its task to extend People's Democratic Power to the whole country.

But just as our struggle was not waged by a small group, but by the people, the task of establishing People's Power, the task of building a modern advanced country is the task of the whole people engaged in work.

Mozambique's progress will not be the result of any miracle, but of the efforts of each and every one of us.

Wiping out hunger, lack of clothing and housing, illiteracy and endemic diseases, and putting an end to unemployment, prostitution and delinquency, are possible objectives right now with the means already available to us.

There is no reason for unemployment, prostitution, stealing, delinquency or hunger when we have abundant fertile land which is not cultivated. It is absurd not to have clothing or footwear when we have and can produce the required raw materials and have the necessary industries which are capable of development. The rapid elimination of endemic diseases through mass health education campaigns is possible if the health personnel mobilize and organize themselves for this purpose. In the same way, the voluntary participation of pupils and students in the struggle against illiteracy in the rural areas in particular, would enable us to eliminate with a short space of time one of the major sources of obscurantism. Building decent housing, especially in the urban areas, could be done if we combine our voluntary labor with the means within our reach.

The country is ours, of all of us who, regardless of sex, race, ethnic origin or religion, want to build a new Mozambique. Creating prosperity depends solely on our hands and intelligence, collectively combined in productive effort.

We must concentrate our efforts on building Mozambique. We must be able to overcome whatever divides us, so as to consolidate the Mozambican people's unity through work, through the efforts of our combined hands and intelligence. We must leave aside concern for timetables and high salaries, in order to lay new foundations for Mozambique's economy.

We must take a pride in building a great country like ours through great efforts.

In the critical period that we are living through, we must strengthen our vigilance against reactionary provocations and aggression. The enemy are seeking in their desperation to divide our people on the basis of skin color, instilling unrest and fear in the white population and trying to make the black population transform their hatred of the system into personal vengeance.

The task of the women and men of Mozambique is to expose, neutralize and defeat reactionary maneuvers.

On this Revolution Day, the 10th anniversary of the start of the armed struggle for national liberation, the Mozambican

people fraternally hail the Portuguese people, their consistent ally in the struggle against the colonial fascist regime.

FRELIMO congratulates the Portuguese people, who understood and supported the Program of the Armed Forces Movement, and who thus transformed 25 April into the starting point for building true democracy in Portugal.

The Mozambican people and FRELIMO hail particularly the Portuguese democratic forces who, in the difficult times of colonial fascist repression, supported our struggle, thus laying the foundations for friendship between our peoples.

Under the leadership of FRELIMO, the Mozambican people from the Ruvuma to the Maputo, are advancing towards the proclamation of national independence on 25 June 1975.

25 June will not be an isolated moment in the process of our struggle. It will be the affirmation of our people's full responsibility over the power that is theirs. It will be a result of our people's struggle and the point of departure for new struggles.

We therefore say once again emphatically: let us consolidate national unity! Let us strengthen vigilance! Let us get down to work!

Long live the 10th anniversary of the armed struggle!

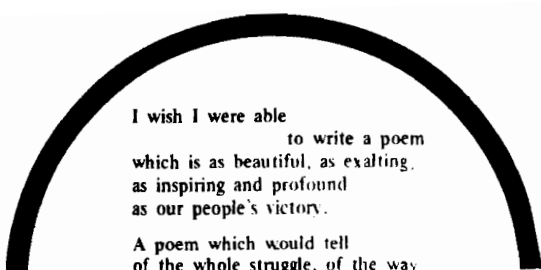
Long live the victory of the people's liberation war!

Long live the FPLM!

Long live Revolution Day!

Long live National Independence!

Long live FRELIMO!



I wish I were able  
to write a poem  
which is as beautiful, as exalting,  
as inspiring and profound  
as our people's victory.

A poem which would tell  
of the whole struggle, of the way  
the people waged  
and won it.

A poem such that on hearing it  
a man of the people would say:  
"It was so. That place  
I know, it is the base where I fought.  
"That massacre, I was there.  
there I lost my two children.  
"In that battle we shot down  
three Portuguese aeroplanes.  
"I lived in that village: repression  
came one day brought in by traitors.  
"Namatil I know. We took there  
a whole enemy unit."

A poem which would recall  
the heroes who have fallen:  
with their bodies they built  
the bridge,  
necessary,  
which led us to victory.

A poem which would explain  
the reason why we have won:  
it was the people who fought —  
the whole people, guided  
by a correct line.

A poem, finally, which would show  
the purpose of our struggle:  
the new life we are building,  
freedom,  
the pride of being who we are,  
the radical  
negation  
of exploitation.

\*  
\* \*

Someone some day will write  
of this which is already life  
before becoming a poem.

*frelimo*





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