

No 60 JULY - SEPTEMBER 1974

# MOZAMBIQUE REVOLUTION



# 1964 1974

## 10 YEARS OF PEOPLE'S WAR

**MOZAMBIQUE  
REVOLUTION**

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE MOZAMBIQUE LIBERATION FRONT  
FRELIMO

JULY - SEPTEMBER, 1974

No. 60

DEPARTMENT OF INFORMATION  
P.O. BOX 15274  
DAR ES SALAAM TANZANIA

REPRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED  
by  
LSM INFORMATION CENTER  
BOX 94338  
RICHMOND, B.C. CANADA

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Cover: "Place this flag in Lourenço Marques": Comrade Samora Machel, President of FRELIMO, with a unit of fighters on their way south.

## *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Frelimo)*

(MOZAMBIQUE LIBERATION FRONT)



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11 October, 1972

Liberation Support Movement,  
Richmond, B.C.  
Canada.

Dear Comrades,

We wish to express our appreciation for your reprinting of our bulletin "Mozambique Revolution" for distribution in Canada and North America in general.

In this stage of our struggle, political work among the people in the capitalist countries - traditionally supporters of Portugal - is extremely important. This is one way of making them aware of the realities and the justness of our struggle, and thus enabling them to support our cause.

The basic aspect of this political work is obviously *information*. That is why your reprinting of our information material in large numbers, is an important contribution to our struggle.

We encourage you and hope that you will continue to carry out this task, for the strengthening of the solidarity movement in your country, thus bringing nearer the final liquidation of colonialism and imperialism.

Revolutionary greetings,

Jorge Rebelo  
Secretary for Information.

## EDITORIAL

# VICTORY

Ten years ago we announced the start of the liberation war in Mozambique. In the Editorial of the October 1964 issue of MOZAMBIQUE REVOLUTION we wrote:

Our armed struggle has begun.

It began as FRELIMO had planned – organised and determined.

At the exact moment, after FRELIMO had prepared the minimum military and political conditions within Mozambique, the people, under FRELIMO's leadership, took up arms and attacked.

Up till then, our struggle was on the plane of negotiation, that is, attempted negotiations. It was only after exhausting all possibilities of a peaceful solution that we decided to take up arms. We are now sure that this is the only means by which to convince the Portuguese in Mozambique to get out; to give back what belongs to us; to restore to us our land.

We are aware of the difficulties we shall have to face: 35,000 Portuguese soldiers equipped with the most modern arms; cannons and tanks; jet planes; napalm bombs; police instructed in the Nazi techniques of repression and control; militias of colons specially trained in the "caça ao negro" ("hunt for the black man"). This entire apparatus has already begun to work against us, with its greatest strength.

Only, when we decided to confront Portuguese colonialism – when we resolved by a conscious and pondered decision, to destroy the world of oppression and misery that strangers established in our country, to build a world of Justice and Equality, we had already weighed the forces of repression. We knew that, for many of us, death would be the price of that ideal. We are ready to pay any price for it.

For us, we have the strength that comes from our ideals of Liberty. We have aid that other peace-loving peoples of the world give to us. We have the history and the example of other peoples: our Algerian brothers one day decided also to be free – and they got it, fighting against one of the most powerful colonialist armies of the world.

We have nothing to lose. Existence itself has no meaning in a regime of servitude. We have nothing to lose but the chains that destroy our dignity.

We shall never turn back. Nothing can stop our revolution. The Mozambican revolution is an immense movement – irreversible as a force of nature – with roots in the will and in the aspirations of each Mozambican.

Our armed struggle has begun. It will not cease before Mozambique is independent.

With quiet confidence, with no fanfare but with a certainty and a determination which transcends the words and the gestures we proclaim: the Mozambican people will win. Mozambique will be free.

Since that day we have lived up to our pledge. We carried the armed struggle into one region after another, into new provinces, mobilising and organising the people everywhere. We extended our principles and political line to the whole of Mozambique,

always emphasising the twofold objective of eradicating colonialism and building a new society, free from the exploitation of man by man. In the course of these ten tough years, we gradually liberated more and more land and more and more people, a process which culminated in the liberation of our whole country and our whole people.

And today, ten years later, we announce our victory in the liberation war. We have defeated Portuguese colonialism and regained our freedom, putting our people in power, definitively and irreversibly.

How was it possible for us to overcome so many seemingly insurmountable difficulties? Shortly after the war broke out, the colonialists began to send reinforcements to Mozambique. Planes and ships arrived loaded with men and equipment, and by 1970 there was a colonial army of 80,000 troops here, equipped with the most sophisticated weapons. They embarked upon the most ruthless repression, seeking to terrorise the people and discourage them from supporting FRELIMO, in the hope of depriving our fighters of their base, the Mozambican people. They trained thousands of agents and tried to infiltrate them into our ranks and into our liberated areas to organise subversion and assassinate our leaders. Puppets, traitors and opportunists of every stripe were used to seek to sow confusion and division both at home and abroad. They spent millions of dollars on propaganda aimed at discrediting FRELIMO and convincing the world that their presence in Africa was essential for the preservation of "civilisation".

The secret of our victory lies in the popular nature of our struggle and the correctness of our political line, which is absolutely at one with the people's aspirations. By firmly opposing tribalism, regionalism, racism and corruption, we laid the foundations for solid and sound national unity. By forbidding exploitation in the liberated areas and effectively giving power to the people, we made the people – not only in those areas but also in the enemy controlled areas – understand that this was their struggle, that FRELIMO was their own organisation. And it was precisely this massive rallying to FRELIMO, coupled with the action of FRELIMO militants in urban areas, that foiled the attempt by reactionaries to seize power on the very day of the signing of the Lusaka Agreement.

Thus, when the coup d'etat took place in Portugal, our struggle was already well on the way to final victory.

The turning point in our liberation struggle was our defeat of the Portuguese offensive known as "Operation Gordian Knot", launched by General Kaulza de Arriaga. He was regarded as the most capable strategist in the Portuguese armed forces, and the Caetano regime afforded him every facility, in terms of men and material, for his large-scale offensive against FRELIMO. Kaulza rashly promised to defeat FRELIMO "in a few months." Had FRELIMO been defeated, the history of Portugal itself would have been different. Such a victory would have conferred tremendous prestige on Kaulza, the head of the ultra-rightists in Portugal, and he would have capitalised on this to take over as President of the Republic, his long cherished and openly known ambition.

Moreover, it would have boosted the morale of the Portuguese troops and the coup of 25 April would not have happened. Our victory, therefore, also contributed greatly to the restoration of democracy in Portugal.

The first phase of our struggle has been won. Now starts the second phase, that of rebuilding our country, liberating people's minds poisoned by colonial rule, and establishing structures which ensure that our country's policy reflects the people's will. And this we pledge: our independence will be true independence and not just a change of flag.

# THE ROAD TO LUSAKA



AN ACCOUNT OF THE PROCESS THAT LED TO THE SUCCESSFUL SEPTEMBER MEETING (above) BETWEEN FRELIMO AND PORTUGAL IN THE ZAMBIAN CAPITAL

The defeat of Portugal's Gordian Knot offensive in 1970 was the beginning of the end for Portuguese colonialism. This failure showed that not even the biggest, best-organised offensive the enemy could mount was enough to shake FRELIMO's strength. That same year our forces began operations south of the Zambezi and by 1972 we had extended the struggle to Manica e Sofala. At the end of 1972 FRELIMO declared a general offensive on all fronts. By 1974 our operations covered practically all of Manica e Sofala and the conditions were set for advances into other provinces. Final victory was near.

From the very beginning of the war FRELIMO's victories had created contradictions in Portugal itself and by mid-1973 the scale and frequency of these victories had reached an unprecedented level. This factor, along with the great successes scored by our comrades-in-arms in Angola and Guine-Bissau, had repercussions that brought Portuguese fascism to its death bed.

Economically, for example, the drain on men and resources caused by the war had chronically enfeebled Portugal. Now, at a time when the economies of Western European countries were coming under severe strain as a result of the international monetary crisis, Portugal, the poorest country in the area, was being forced to spend more money than ever on the war in Mozambique, precisely because of

FRELIMO's growing strength in areas of great economic importance to colonialism.

Throwing more money and troops into the struggle was one reply to our advances; another was intensified repression. Suffering ever greater defeats the colonialist troops reacted with the blind rage of a cornered beast. But massacres and atrocities on an intensified scale further isolated Portugal from the world community and, far from reducing our people's will to fight, served only to strengthen their resolve to destroy colonialism in our country. More and more people joined the ranks of FRELIMO, realising that the armed struggle was the only way to bring their suffering to an end.

The rapid progress of our struggle was thus accelerated by colonialism's own evil

actions. And the corollary to our success was mass demoralisation within the colonialist armed forces. Many units of young Portuguese conscripted to fight our people did everything they could to avoid engaging in combat with FRELIMO.

When sent on combat missions in the bush, they would camp just a few kilometers from their base, waste all their ammunition by shooting in the air, and return a few days later to the post claiming «many combats» with FRELIMO and many «terrorists» killed.

The Portuguese soldiers were themselves victims of fascist oppression. Thousands of them were killed or wounded defending a system that exploited not only the colonised peoples in Africa but their own families in Portugal as well. The suffering of these privates, sergeants and junior officers led to the emergence within their ranks of a militant cadre of activists who realised not only that the colonialist cause was criminally wrong but also that the war was inevitably lost. The solution they decided upon is now well known and manifested itself in the events of April 25 in Lisbon, when the Armed Forces Movement toppled the Caetano regime and reestablished democracy in Portugal. However, on the question of decolonisation of Mozambique it was clear from the outset that the new regime contained elements who were opposed to independence and hoped to end the war while continuing colonial rule in a new form. This was the situation when the Portuguese Government first contacted FRELIMO with a request for talks.

### First Lusaka Meeting

We agreed and a meeting took place in Lusaka on June 5 and 6 with the aim of beginning political talks leading to independence in Mozambique. The FRELIMO delegation was led by our President, Comrade Samora Machel, and the Portuguese delegation was led by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Mario Soares. At the beginning of the meeting President Samora delivered a speech outlining the basis of our position. Some of the essential points he made are as follows:

«Fascism has been overthrown in Portugal, but colonialism is still in force in our country, as well as in the other colonies under Portuguese domination. This is a fact we must be aware of. Of course, it is

not a situation created by the present Portuguese government which you are representing here. Yet it is the existing situation and it must be ended.

«Unfortunately, the time has not yet come when we can speak of colonialism in the past tense. It would be a mistake and could only lead to further sacrifices if we were to shut our eyes to the disgraceful reality still surviving in our country. It is in order to liquidate colonialism that we have come here in response to the request made to us by the Portuguese government. We have come here with open minds, with complete good will which we shall not depart from in the course of this preliminary meeting at which we wish to lay down clearly and



President Samora with the Minister Mario Soares at the first round of talks in Lusaka

without any ambiguity the foundations on which future talks can be based.

«Peace is inseparable from national independence. Only with national independence can we put an end to the war. We therefore consider that no fruitful talks can take place except on the basis of the unequivocal acceptance of the right of the Mozambican people, represented by FRELIMO, to total and complete national independence. There is no democratic colonialism. The Mozambican people have not shed the blood of their finest sons for vague goals or illusory freedoms, but for a sacred and inalienable right — national independence.

In the international community of today, only those who are still living back in the imperial era — the racists in Southern Africa and the Portuguese colonialists — still persist in denying this right. We sincerely hope that the present Portuguese government, which has a colonial situation among its liabilities, does not intend to take it over as an active and imaginative heir using new formulas».

### The Way to Peace

At a certain point in the meeting it became necessary to further elucidate our views and President Samora made the following points:

1. The Portuguese Government sought a

meeting with FRELIMO.

2. Since FRELIMO's policy has always been to accept dialogue, our organisation agreed to the Portuguese request. In order to send a delegation that would be able to negotiate adequately FRELIMO embarked upon a comprehensive study of all factors which could lead to the establishment of peace and of a policy of friendship and co-operation for the mutual benefit of our Peoples.

3. Obviously peace can only be achieved with the resolution of the antagonism between the Mozambican people and Portuguese colonialism.

# INDEPENDÊNCIA OU MORTE VENCEREMOS



4. There are only two ways of resolving that antagonism.

- a) people's liberation war or,
- b) recognition of our right to national independence.

5. Unlike the fascist governments of Salazar and Caetano, the new government intends to rule out the first alternative, and this clearly corresponds to the peaceful aspirations of the Portuguese people as well as ours.

6. In FRELIMO's understanding the exclusion of the first alternative implies:

- a) Recognition of FRELIMO as the Mozambican people's legitimate representative;
- b) Recognition of the Mozambican people's right to complete independence in their territorial integrity;
- c) Acceptance of the transfer of sovereignty still exercised by the Portuguese authorities to representative institutions of the Mozambican people, in other words to FRELIMO.

7. Once these principles are recognised FRELIMO will be in a position to negotiate with the Portuguese government the following:

- a) guarantees to be given to Portuguese citizens concerning the respect of their legitimate interests;
- b) the mechanism and implicitly the time-table for the transfer of power;
- c) a ceasefire.

However, the Portuguese delegation had not come prepared for this. They had come only to achieve a ceasefire and had no mandate to discuss the transfer of power to FRELIMO. But they recognised the reality of the situation – that we would not lay down our arms until a political agreement had been reached – and this is reflected in the joint communique issued at the end of the talks. It said:

«The two delegations recognised that the establishment of a ceasefire depends on prior global agreement on fundamental political principles.

«After a general analysis of the problems in discussion, the Portuguese delegation considered it necessary to consult its Government.

«Therefore, the talks were adjourned. In principle, they are to be resumed in Lusaka in the first half of July, 1974, depending on the current negotiations with PAIGC.

«The talks were held in an atmosphere of great frankness and cordiality. Both delegations expressed their hearty and public thanks to His Excellency the President, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, to UNIP, the Government and people of Zambia for the friendly atmosphere and favourable conditions offered to the delegations.»

It was intended that at the July talks the Portuguese delegation would bring from their government either acceptance or rejection of our principles. In the meantime the struggle in Mozambique continued and was intensified because Portuguese colonialism was still oppressing our people. The situation was described on July 24 in a message from the President of FRELIMO to the people and militants in the still occupied zones, and to the soldiers, sergeants and officers in the Portuguese army in Mozambique. The message pointed out that although the armed struggle was causing the disintegration of the Portuguese colonial regime, colonialism was intensifying its manoeuvres.

Some extracts from the message:

«Posing as the defender of the people it has always oppressed and is still oppressing, colonialism is shamelessly trying to masquerade as the upholder of the rights of the masses. Colonialism, the creator of division, the instigator of racism, is also trying to present itself as the promotor of co-existence and harmonious relations among the various linguistic and racial groups which go to make up our people. Defeated in one of the most cruel wars, colonialism still dares to ask our people if they want to be independent.

«The people are exposing and rejecting the manoeuvres. Mozambican women and men of all races, ethnic groups, religious beliefs and social origins are unanimously identifying with FRELIMO; they are repudiating the divisive manoeuvres of puppet groups set up by the enemy to divide us; and they are stubbornly opposing attempts to perpetuate colonialism in old or new forms.

«Our people's struggle. . . is developing impetuously on the plantations, in the factories, docks, railways, offices, schools, university, in religious communities and in the colonial army – in all zones still under enemy occupation and in all sectors of work.

«The struggle in Zambezia began less than a month ago, it now covers more than one-third of the province, mobilising in the drive for liberation both black and white, brothers in their Mozambican personality and their determination to win national independence. Within a few weeks more than 5,000 patriots have volunteered there to join the ranks of the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique.

## Mass Desertions

«Mozambicans of every race who were forced to join the colonial army are staging mass desertions and using their weapons to defend the people's interests. The Mozambican people hail the desertion of more than a thousand soldiers of the colonial army in Zambezia Province, most of them from the Special Groups (G.E.) and the Special Paratrooper Groups (G.E.P.). This magnificent awakening of consciousness is spreading to every region in our country.

«The white population of Vila Pery was also able to see reality and understand the just nature of our struggle and of our political line. Farmers and timber merchants, headed by the district Governor, came to meet our fighters with the aim of making their district a zone of peace.

«The political stand taken by the people of Vila Pery is part of the great tide of change in our country. Many messages, petitions and letters are reaching us from all the areas still under enemy occupation. Workers, peasants, students, office workers, officials at all levels including the highest, farmers, traders, industrialists, members of the liberal professions, churchmen and organisations of every kind are all writing to state their support for FRELIMO, their repudiation of colonialist manoeuvres, including that of a referendum and emphasising their determination to liberate the country.

«Particularly significant are the letters sent by people who, though not born in Mozambique, have settled in our country and identified with our people, and who as Mozambicans want to build a new country.

«We greet them all and tell them that FRELIMO belongs to the Mozambican people and that in our ranks there is room and work for every Mozambican woman and man, for all who wish to be Mozambican, including those who, although not born here, want to experience and build the new Mozambique.»

The President went on to refer to the fact that 2,000 soldiers from Boane and Lourenço Marques Engineering Barracks had declared their support for FRELIMO and had refused to be sent to the operational zones. Marines stationed at Chire in Zambezia Province had also refused to take part in operations. A large number of high-ranking officers at Nampula General Headquarters had declared themselves in favour of stopping operations against our people and fighters, and FRELIMO was receiving many messages of support from other officers, sergeants and privates in the colonial army.

Hailing the position of these soldiers, the President pointed out that it was they who were daily suffering the physical and mental consequences of a criminal policy, for interests alien to those of the Portuguese people.

He continued:

«These unanimous demonstrations of the feelings of the Mozambican people, Mozambican soldiers in the colonial army, and now the Portuguese military themselves, clearly show that the pursuit of the war is the sole responsibility of the Portuguese colonialist government, which still refuses to accept the clearly-expressed will of the Mozambican people and the Portuguese army itself. Therefore, up to now it has not recognised the Mozambican people's right to complete and total independence, nor the principle of transferring the powers it still holds to FRELIMO.

«This obstinacy is criminal and contrary to the common interests of our peoples. It is aimed solely at delaying the end of the war, and in connivance with the diehards of the colonial-fascist regime, at allowing the establishment of puppet third forces in the pay of imperialism. These facts are amply proved by the campaigns of provocation and terrorism taking place in various places, particularly in Lourenço Marques and Beira.

«In this context, the new colonial administration in Mozambique, headed by Governor Soares de Melo, must be held particularly responsible. This administration represents and expresses only foreign interests, colonial interests.»

The President concluded:

«Portuguese colonialism shall be crushed, the Mozambican people shall win.»

#### **Local Ceasefires**

Around this time also many Portuguese units in different parts of the country approached us to declare their support for FRELIMO's demands and to tell us they were disassociating themselves from their government's colonial policy. These units asked us to establish local ceasefires and where we were satisfied that such proposals were being made in good faith and met our conditions, we accepted them. Although these approaches were made without authorisation from the Portuguese Government they were widespread and involved large numbers of troops.

For the colonialist elements within the Portuguese administration the ship was sinking fast. They now faced total and

imminent military defeat in Mozambique. On the other hand the progressive anti-colonialist elements were strengthened by our successes and the government changes which took place in Lisbon in July were a reflection of the new balance of forces.

Talks were not held in Lusaka in July but the Portuguese contacted us and it was agreed to meet again for further discussions. These talks were held in secret in Dar es Salaam and this time the Portuguese delegation was led by a member of the Armed Forces Movement. After these talks another meeting in Lusaka was planned and it took place between September 5 and 7. At this meeting Portugal agreed to recognise FRELIMO as the representative of the Mozambican people, and to transfer the powers it held over Mozambique to FRELIMO. A ceasefire was then established. The agreement signed by the two sides declared that a Transitional Government would be set up by agreement between FRELIMO and the Portuguese State and that full independence would be proclaimed on June 25, 1975. (The full text of the agreement is published on pages 14 and 15).

The agreement was signed for FRELIMO by President Samora, who afterwards addressed President Kaunda, the Portuguese delegation and Zambian political leaders.

His speech began: «After 500 years of colonial oppression, after ten years of armed struggle led by FRELIMO, the Mozambican people have succeeded in compelling recognition of their rights.»

«This is a victory of the historic courage of the Mozambican people, of their unshakable determination which withstood and vanquished the rigours of colonial-fascist repression in the hard clandestine struggle and which overcame the difficulties of war.»

It was also, he said, a victory for the brother peoples of Angola, Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde, of Sao Tome and Principe; a victory for Africa's liberation movements, the Portuguese people and the young officers in the Armed Forces Movement; for our comrades in Zambia, Tanzania, Zaire, Congo, Guinea and Senegal, who provided the strategic rear base of our struggle; a victory of Africa united for its freedom, of the world's



Eduardo Mondlane – he made the birth of our nation possible

democratic forces, and especially of the socialist countries, which were exemplary in fulfilling their internationalist duty of solidarity.

He continued:

«We do not have with us today those who fell gloriously on the way, those who, like Eduardo Mondlane, hero of the Mozambican people, made us what we are and made the birth of our new nation possible. We shall not let ourselves be overcome with tears, although we clench our teeth in sorrow over their absence. We have learnt from their courage and from their example in facing and overcoming difficulties, an example which still guides us in building our country.

«The people's liberation war which made our unity operative brought about profound changes in our country and led us to build a New Mozambique.

«Through the difficulties of the war, the people became aware of their true interests and of the forces opposed to them. In the fight for the triumph of the people's will, our consciousness was seasoned and our political line forged.

«Because ours was a people's struggle, we succeeded in creating a united people, conscious, organised, mobilised and structured. Unity was the chief weapon in our victory.

«In five centuries, colonialism had brought us racism and race hatred. In 10 years of fighting, our people rediscovered the universal principle that colonialism has no colour and no race, that exploitation and imperialism have no country, and we were thus able to transform hatred into the will to build.

«We started to build in the liberated areas, building up people's democratic power. The Transitional Government which, under the leadership of FRELIMO, is to be set up next week will, with the transfer of power, ensure that the conditions are created to extend this process to the whole country.»

The President said that the Mozambican people were happy to see the end of the war, a tough phase of our struggle, and were embarking on the new fight with determination. Reaffirming that the Mozambican nation would not be built on

the basis of colour, he said the country would be the home of all those who live off their honest labour and identify with the aspirations of the Mozambican people.

The Lusaka Agreement, he went on, was a starting point of exemplary relations of friendship and co-operation between FRELIMO and the Portuguese State. FRELIMO was sure the agreement would be fully implemented because in both Mozambique and Portugal there were democratic forces in power, forces seasoned in the struggle for freedom.

In conclusion he said: «The Lusaka Agreements were also made possible by the constant and patient action of our comrades, brothers and friends, Kenneth Kaunda and Julius Nyerere, great African figures and true friends of our people. To them, to UNIP and TANU, to the Governments and Peoples of Zambia and Tanzania, our friends in times of need, we say that today in Lusaka, as a result of our common struggle, a new era of co-operation is starting between our sister nations.»

### Reactionaries Strike

However, moments after the signing of the agreement, this historic occasion was marred by the seizure of the Radio Clube de Mozambique broadcasting station in Lourenço Marques by a handful of reactionary whites in the pay of international imperialism. The next day the President of FRELIMO addressed the people of Mozambique and the Portuguese Army in Mozambique in connection with the incident. In his radio broadcast he said:

«This band of thugs, consisting of war criminals, PIDE-DGS agents and well-known representatives of the forces of exploitation, is desperately trying to oppose the Mozambican and Portuguese peoples' wish for peace.

«The aim of these elements, who have no country and no ideals, is to prevent Mozambique's independence. They are therefore trying to create a climate of racial conflict, chaos and anarchy which would serve as a pretext for the internationalisation of aggression against our people.

«In this context, they recruited mercenary forces and sought support from racist and reactionary forces.

«Our duty is to neutralise the colonial-fascist rebellion immediately. In the spirit and the letter of the Lusaka Agreement, the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique and the Portuguese Armed Forces, true to their word, will co-operate closely to safeguard public order, defend territorial integrity and guarantee the process of Mozambican Independence.

«But we now need a clear understanding of the intentions of the common enemy in order to work out a correct strategy.

«This small band wants to create a situation which would lead to an outburst of popular anger, to create a climate which would unleash a racial conflict. Once this objective of unleashing a war between races is attained, a pretext would have been created for internationalising the war and, above all, undermining joint efforts in national reconstruction.

«FRELIMO once again declares firmly and clearly that it will not tolerate any racial conflict. At this serious moment more than ever before, the masses must distinguish between a handful of criminals and the white population, the overwhelming majority of which wishes to participate in the construction of inde-

pendent Mozambique, identifying with the nation's true aspirations.

«The criminals want to drag the least enlightened sectors of the white population into their insane venture which is doomed to fail.

«To the white population, made up essentially of honest workers, we repeat what we have always said: our struggle is your struggle; it is a struggle against exploitation, a struggle to build a new country, to establish People's Democratic Power.

«We tell you without ambiguity that the criminal forces of colonial-fascist reaction are trying to use you to safe-guard the privileges of a handful which exploits you too, seriously jeopardising the tremendous possibilities of our working together to create true racial harmony in our country.

«We must warn neighbouring countries which the criminals wish to involve in their desperate action that neither FRELIMO nor the African and non-African allies of the Mozambican people or the international community will tolerate what would necessarily be considered imperialist aggression.

The President pointed out that we had

no desire to begin a new war but that we would not hesitate to do so to defend Mozambique's independence and integrity. He went on:

«In the name of the Mozambican people, united from the Rovuma to the Maputo, regardless of ethnic group, race, sex, social origins or religious beliefs, we say:

1. The people must block all supplies and communications for the small group of fanatic and desperate fascist adventurers.

2. Unaware elements of the white population who were manipulated by the colonial-fascist criminals must return immediately to their homes, refusing to serve as instruments of the fascists. This is the best way of defending their legitimate interests, which FRELIMO undertakes to protect.

3. FRELIMO calls upon the Portuguese Armed Forces in urban areas not yet occupied by FRELIMO forces to neutralise reactionary and subversive agents, without delay, thus avoiding the repetition of incidents like those which have just taken place in Lourenço Marques.»

### Government Installed

Declaring FRELIMO's solemn respect for the Lusaka Agreements, the President said:

«On this historic occasion for our people, we solemnly proclaim a complete ceasefire throughout Mozambican territory between the FRELIMO forces and the Portuguese army. The People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique must cease forthwith all military operations against the Portuguese Army. At the same time they must maintain maximum active vigilance and take action against all activities of the reactionary forces in co-operation with the Portuguese Armed Forces, in the spirit of the Lusaka Agreement.»

On September 20 the FRELIMO-led Transitional Government was installed in Lourenço Marques. It is composed of a Prime Minister and six Ministers appointed by FRELIMO, and three Portuguese-appointed Ministers. This Government is entrusted with the task of ruling the country until independence, which will be solemnly proclaimed on June 25 next year.



August 4, 1974: a FRELIMO rally in Lourenço Marques

*In accordance with the Lusaka Agreement a Transitional Government and Joint Military Commission took office on September 20 in Lourenço Marques. As stipulated, the Prime Minister and six other Ministers were appointed by FRELIMO while three were appointed by Portugal.*

*The Prime Minister, Comrade Joaquim Chissano, is pictured on the right addressing a public meeting in Lourenço Marques shortly after the investiture. On the facing page are the six other FRELIMO Ministers.*

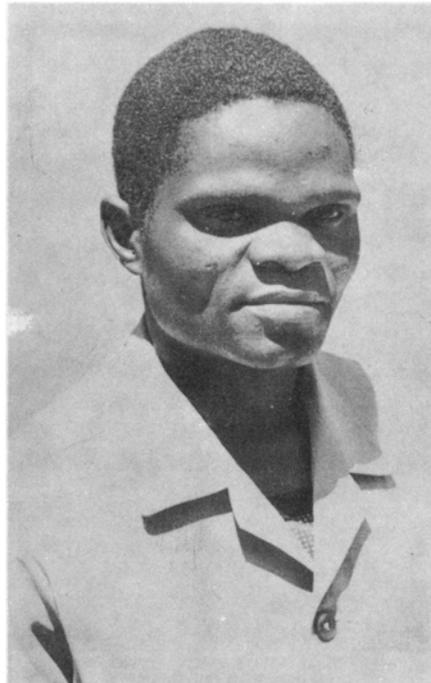
*Below are the three FRELIMO members of the Joint Military Commission, which consists of equal numbers of representatives from FRELIMO and the Portuguese armed forces. The Commission's main duty is to control the implementation of the cease-fire agreement.*



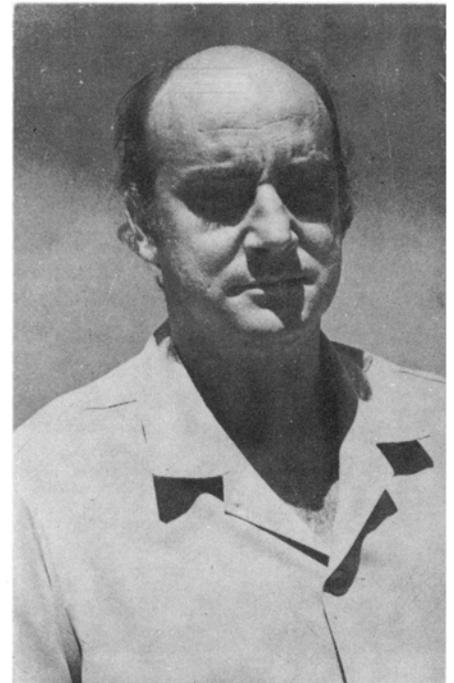
**Joaquim Alberto Chissano – Prime Minister:** A FRELIMO member since its foundation. Member of the Central Committee and Executive Committee. Former FRELIMO representative in Tanzania.



**Alberto Joaquim Chipande:** Member of FRELIMO since 1962. National Chief of Operations in 1966. Deputy Secretary of Defence since 1968. Member of the Central and Executive Committees.



**Sebastião Chingwane Mabote:** Member of FRELIMO since 1963. Niasa's Political Commissar and Chief of operations in 1965 and 1967. Central Committee member and National Chief of operations since 1968.



**Jacinto Soares Veloso:** Member of FRELIMO since 1963. Teacher in FRELIMO Secondary School until 1968. Before his new appointment he worked in the FRELIMO office in Algiers.



MINISTER OF INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION

Armando Emilio Guebuza: Joined FRELIMO in 1963 in Lourenço Marques. Went to Tanzania in 1965. Member of the Central Committee and Executive Committee. He is FRELIMO's Political Commissar.



MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Gideon Ndobe: A FRELIMO member since 1964. Secretary of the Department of Education and Culture and member of the Executive Committee since 1973.



MINISTER OF ECONOMIC COORDINATION

Mário Fernandes da Graça Machungo: A FRELIMO member since 1964, working underground in Lourenço Marques.



MINISTER OF LABOUR

Mariano de Araujo Matsinha: A FRELIMO member since 1963. Member of the Central Committee. Former FRELIMO representative in Zambia.



MINISTER OF JUSTICE

Rui Baltazar dos Santos Alves: Involved in anti-colonialist political activities in Mozambique since 1959. A FRELIMO member since 1970.



MINISTER OF INFORMATION

José Oscar Monteiro: A FRELIMO member since 1963. Former FRELIMO representative in Algeria. Deputy Secretary of External Affairs and member of the Executive Committee since 1973.

# THE BATTLE THAT WAS WON WITHOUT A SHOT

From the beginning of the general offensive on all fronts which followed the FRELIMO Central Committee meeting of December 1972, military operations were intensified in all provinces at war. A large number of posts were destroyed or taken, many enemy soldiers killed or captured and much enemy war material destroyed. One of the posts captured was Namatil in Cabo Delgado, which was surrounded by a large FRELIMO infantry and artillery force on August 1.

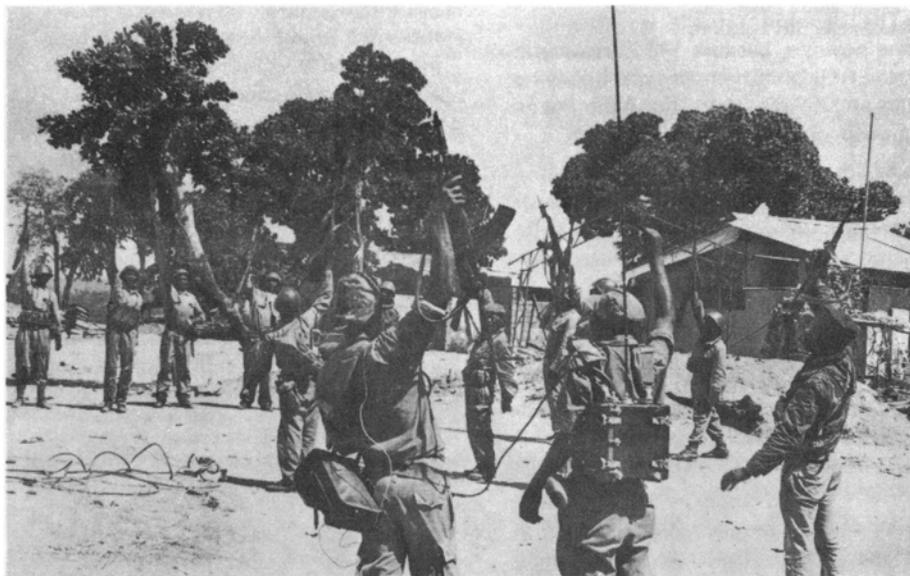
Inside the post, known to the colonial army as Omar, was a Portuguese cavalry company. FRELIMO's forces gave the Namatil garrison a chance to surrender before any blood was shed. Through megaphones we warned them that, should they resist, FRELIMO would be forced to attack and the post, along with its occupants, would be destroyed. One hundred and thirty seven soldiers then surrendered and were taken into custody by our comrades.

On September 19, 11 days after the ceasefire, the prisoners were taken to the post of Nangade, where they were handed over to an officer representing the Portuguese Government. Next day a further 54 prisoners, captured elsewhere, were also released. On the occasion of the release of the Namatil company a message from our President was read out to them and to the receiving officer. It said in part:

«FRELIMO begins today the handover to the Portuguese authorities of 191 officers, sergeants and privates who belong to the Portuguese Armed Forces. Transport difficulties make it impossible to hand over immediately all the Portuguese Armed Forces personnel in our custody. By the same process we are also returning some civilian elements of Portuguese and South African nationality, who were in operational zones and were taken by our forces for their own protection.

«It is common knowledge that the deposed colonial-fascist regime systemati-

*(continued on page 16)*



Victorious FRELIMO soldiers inside Namatil on the day of its capture

## 'Time to decolonise the minds as well'

*After the capture of Namatil our comrades asked the Portuguese soldiers to describe their feelings about the war and the way it ended for them. Almost all were conscripts, who have never wanted to fight in the colonialist army but had been forced to do so. Because of their opposition to the war and because of the subhuman conditions in which they were forced to live, all agreed that their capture by FRELIMO in fact means liberation. Here are two of the statements, one by the company commander, the other by a sergeant:*



«We are free today and that is the most important thing, to us who were forced to fight in a war which is seen by the great majority of Portuguese people as unnecessary and with no objectives except to serve the interests of a minority.

«On the dawn of July 31 to August 1 our post was surrounded by a large enemy force estimated at about 1,000 people. They told us through megaphones that they were not fight-

*(continued on page 12)*

*(continued from page 11)*

ting against us but against fascism and colonialism.

«They gave me, commander of the force, five minutes in which to decide between peace and seeing everything and everybody razed to the ground.

«The decision I made was the only one possible, because 143 lives were at stake. Only in this way was I obeying the will of the majority of the Portuguese people.

«As for the material, it can be manufactured; but human beings like us have the right to freedom and to build a new, free and democratic Portugal.

«A long time ago plans were drawn up to evacuate units not involved in socio-economic activity. However, time passed, difficulties piled up and the decisions were not implemented by the higher authorities. Hence problems accumulated and accelerated our forced exit.

«At first some may take me for a coward or a traitor for not having forced all the men to die on the battlefield. But I ask anyone who thinks that to make a thorough analysis and he will easily realise that the only guilty ones are those behind the lines — those who refuse to live the problems encountered in the battle-front struggle between life and death.

«Besides, the whole world knows that for ten years we have been sustaining a war which has never benefited us. It might have satisfied the wishes of a capitalist minority, but for the Portuguese people it brought only bloodshed and lost lives.

«The time has come to decolonise not just Africa but also the minds of many Portuguese who have grown used to a fascist, oppressive regime.

«Lastly, I wish to mention the way in which FRELIMO has been treating us. Believe me, it would be very difficult to describe fully what has been achieved by this movement in serving the Mozambican people.

«One has to have lived in or widely visited the liberated zones to see that in ten years of struggle they have been able to do more than the fascist government in its entire duration.

«It is true that they are fighting with great difficulties; and if they have not done more for us it is because it has been impossible. I assure you, because I lived through such moments. At times they would forego their food in order to give it to us.

«To end I wish to appeal to all Portuguese like myself to fight for the liberation of Mozambique, giving it total independence so that we will all be able to live in peace and to build a new, free and democratic Portugal.

«To my parents and fiancée, I want to say that my health is fine and that I hope to be able to be with you soon to embrace you.

«To all the relatives of the 1st Company Cavalry 8421, stationed in Omar, I appeal to you to be calm because all your loved ones are fine; only they miss you greatly. Soon we will be with you all.

Jose Carlos Monteiro,  
Sub-Lieutenant.

August 7, 1974.



1. As I see it, the way the fascist regime kept us in the war was fanatic, because the whole world was talking about the Portuguese colonies but still the fanatics would shut their eyes and continue to send innocent young men to mutilation and often death. So Portuguese soldiers would come to war by imposition (this excludes, of course, the professional soldiers, who are the army's civil servants).

2. The way in which both soldiers and officers were treated in combat left much to be desired. You see, we had a time-table for war. If we went beyond the set time and had any successes we might be considered heroes, but on the other hand those wounded after 4 o'clock were not fetched. In some cases people died due to lack of assistance.

3. The Portuguese people must be constantly vigilant because there exists a large number of fascists who will do all they can to destroy the Armed Forces Movement, consequently, democracy, socialism, the men who really brought freedom to the people. So the people must help to consolidate the Armed Forces Movement.

4. I am one of those who was always against the war. When I was 18 years old I tried to leave the country illegally but was arrested by the ex-PIDE at the border and was jailed for 23 days. Then I was released on bail, luckily without being ill-treated.

5. For me August 1 meant the following:

a) FRELIMO's skill when they contacted us, with no killing, just words.

b) The liberation of the force which had been there for 11 months was for us the end of the war.

c) If our superiors had prior knowledge of what was going to happen, why did they not take necessary measures?

d) It was a victory for FRELIMO.

6. As for my treatment at the hands of FRELIMO it has been good. They have done everything to make us comfortable. That involves food as well as medical treatment. So I say «thank you very much» to FRELIMO for the kind treatment we have been receiving.

7. I would also like to appeal to the Portuguese people to demonstrate for the end of the war in the colonies because the people are one of the main forces, if not the main force to get total independence for FRELIMO. Then there will be peace again in this country and an end to our families' ordeal. It is the families who suffer most, they are the ones who are hurt by the death of their loved ones.

8. Now, I would like to ask FRELIMO to let my parents and wife know that I am in good health and I have been extraordinarily well treated. Do not worry, soon I will be with you and will be able to embrace you and, what is more, in peace.

Mario Luis Martins Nobre.  
Sergeant.

August 8, 1974.



Inside the captured post of Namatil, FRELIMO militants inspect installations and equipment. Left: one of the six powerful pieces of artillery found in the post. Below: a rickety watch tower from where the colonialist troops hoped to detect our movements.



## The taking of Namatil

Above: A FRELIMO soldier sits at the wheel of a captured truck. Right: The end of the war for the captured Portuguese soldiers of Namatil. Here they march from the post in FRELIMO's custody to one of our bases. They were treated correctly as prisoners of war and released shortly after the Lusaka agreement of September 7.



# THE LUSAKA

Meeting in Lusaka from 5 to 7 September 1974, with a view to the establishment of an agreement leading to the Independence of Mozambique, the delegations of the Mozambique Liberation Front and the Portuguese State reached agreement on the following points:

1. The Portuguese State, having recognised the Mozambican people's right to Independence, accepts by agreement with the Mozambique Liberation Front the progressive transfer of powers over the territory, under the following terms.
2. The complete Independence of Mozambique shall be solemnly proclaimed on 25 June 1975, the anniversary of the founding of FRELIMO.
3. With a view to ensuring the said transfer of power, the following government structures shall be created and shall function during the transitional period which begins with the signing of the present agreement:
  - (a) A High Commissioner appointed by the President of the Portuguese Republic.
  - (b) A Transitional Government appointed by agreement between the Mozambique Liberation Front and the Portuguese State.
  - (c) A Joint Military Commission appointed by agreement between the Portuguese State and the Mozambique Liberation Front.
4. The duties of the High Commissioner, as representative of Portuguese sovereignty, shall be:
  - (a) To represent the President of the Portuguese Republic and the Portuguese Government.
  - (b) To ensure Mozambique's territorial integrity.
  - (c) To promulgate legislative decrees approved by the Transitional Government and ratify acts which involve the direct responsibility of the Portuguese State.
  - (d) To ensure the implementation of the agreements reached by the Portuguese State and the Mozambique Liberation Front and respect for the guarantees mutually given, especially those mentioned in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
  - (e) To give impetus to the decolonisation process.
5. It shall be incumbent on the Transitional Government to promote the progressive transfer of power at all levels and to prepare for Mozambique's Independence. Its duties shall be, in particular:
  - (a) To perform legislative and executive functions related to the territory of Mozambique. Legislative functions shall be carried out by means of legislative decrees.

- (b) To carry out the general administration of the territory until the proclamation of Independence and to restructure the cadres concerned.
  - (c) To defend and safeguard public order and ensure the safety of persons and property.
  - (d) To implement the agreements entered into by the Mozambique Liberation Front and the Portuguese State.
  - (e) To carry out the economic and financial administration of the territory, and especially to establish structures and control mechanisms which will contribute to the development of an independent Mozambican economy.
  - (f) To guarantee the principle of non-discrimination on the grounds of race, ethnic group, religion or sex.
  - (g) To restructure the territory's judiciary.
6. The Transitional Government shall comprise the following:
    - (a) A Prime Minister appointed by the Mozambique Liberation Front whose function it shall be to coordinate government action and to represent the Government.
    - (b) Nine ministers holding the following portfolios: Internal Administration, Justice, Economic Co-ordination, Information, Education and Culture, Communications and Transport, Health and Social Affairs, Labour, Public Works and Housing.
    - (c) Secretaries and Under-Secretaries to be established and appointed on the proposal of the Prime Minister, in consultation with the Transitional Government and on ratification by the High Commissioner.
    - (d) The Transitional Government shall determine the allotment of its powers to the Ministers, Secretaries and Under-Secretaries.
  7. Taking into consideration the transitional character of this stage of government action, the Ministers shall be appointed by the Mozambique Liberation Front and by the High Commissioner, in the proportion of two-thirds and one-third respectively.
  8. The Joint Military Commission shall comprise equal numbers of representatives of the Armed Forces of the Portuguese Army and the Mozambique Liberation Front and its principal task shall be to supervise the implementation of the cease-fire agreement.
  9. The Mozambique Liberation Front and the Portuguese State hereby agree to a cease-fire at 00 hours on 8 Septem-

# AGREEMENT

ber 1974 (Mozambique time), under the terms of the attached protocol.

10. In the event of any serious disturbance of public order requiring the intervention of the armed forces, the command and coordination shall be provided by the High Commissioner, assisted by the Prime Minister, to whom the armed forces of the Mozambique Liberation Front shall be directly subordinate.

11. The Transitional Government shall establish a police force entrusted with ensuring the maintenance of order and the safety of persons. Until such time as this force takes up its duties, the police forces now in existence shall be subordinate to the High Commissioner, in accordance with the general orientation laid down by the Transitional Government.

12. The Portuguese State and the Mozambique Liberation Front undertake to act jointly in defending Mozambique's territorial integrity against any aggression.

13. The Mozambique Liberation Front and the Portuguese State solemnly affirm their intention to establish and develop ties of friendship and constructive cooperation between their respective peoples, especially in the cultural, technical, economic and financial fields, on the basis of independence, equality, community of interests and respect for the personality of each people.

To this effect, specialised joint commissions shall be set up during the transitional period and relevant agreements subsequently entered into.

14. The Mozambique Liberation Front declares its readiness to accept responsibility for financial obligations undertaken by the Portuguese State in the name of Mozambique, provided that they were undertaken in the real interests of this territory.

15. The Portuguese State and the Mozambique Liberation Front undertake to act jointly to eliminate all the vestiges of colonialism and create true racial harmony. In this respect, the Mozambique Liberation Front reaffirms its policy of non-discrimination, according to which the fact of being

Mozambican is not determined by skin colour, but by willing identification with the aspirations of the Mozambican nation. At the same time, special agreements shall regulate, on a reciprocal basis, the status of Portuguese citizens resident in Mozambique and Mozambican citizens resident in Portugal.

16. In order to ensure the Transitional Government the means to pursue an independent financial policy, a Central Bank shall be established in Mozambique which shall also perform the functions of a bank of issue. With a view to achieving this objective, the Portuguese State undertakes to transfer to that Bank the prerogatives and the assets and liabilities of the Mozambique department of the Banco Nacional Ultramarino (National Overseas Bank). A Joint Commission shall immediately take up its duties to study the terms of the transfer.

17. The Transitional Government shall seek to obtain from International Organisations or within the framework of bilateral relations the aid needed for the development of Mozambique, and especially for the solution of its most pressing problems.

18. The Independent Mozambican State shall exercise full and complete sovereignty in domestic and external affairs, establishing political institutions and freely choosing the political and social system it deems best suited to the interests of its people.

19. The Portuguese State and the Mozambique Liberation Front welcome the conclusion of the present agreement which, with the end of the war and the restoration of peace with a view to the independence of Mozambique, opens a new page in the history of relations between the two countries and peoples. The Mozambique Liberation Front, which in its struggle, always made a distinction between the deposed colonial regime and the Portuguese people, and the Portuguese state, will further their efforts to lay the foundations for fruitful, fraternal and harmonious cooperation between Portugal and Mozambique.

Lusaka, 7 September, 1974.

For the Mozambique Liberation Front. Samora Moises Machel, President.

For the Portuguese State. Ernesto Augusto Melo Antunes (Minister without Portfolio), Mario Soares (Minister for Foreign Affairs), Antonio de Almeida Santos (Minister of Inter-Territorial Co-ordination), Victor M. Trigueiros Crespo (State Councillor), Antero Sobral (Secretary of Labour and Social Security in the Provisional Government of Mozambique), Nuno Alexandre Lousada (Lieutenant Colonel in the Infantry), Vasco Fernando Leote de Almeida e Costa (Lieutenant Commander in the Navy), Luis Antonio de Moura Casanova Ferreira (Infantry Major).

*(continued from page 11)*

cally refused to recognise our status as belligerents in accordance with the international convention it had signed.

The deposed regime did not therefore accord prisoner of war status to our comrades captured in action. Moreover many of our captured comrades, contrary to the most elementary principles of human decency, were subjected to barbarous tortures and even cold-blooded murder.

«During the ten years of war, ignoring the interests of its own soldiers, the deposed regime made full use of the accomplices at its disposal among its allies in order to block our attempts to be covered by the relevant international conventions, and especially those dealing with prisoners of war.

«However, although FRELIMO had no juridical obligation in this respect, our fighters and our people have always treated captured Portuguese soldiers with

great respect.

This undeniable behaviour, as well as the act taking place today, characterise one of the essential points in FRELIMO's political line: the policy of clemency.

«Thus we have often unconditionally liberated Portuguese soldiers captured in action. Among these there were some who even asked to be returned to Portugal, which we allowed. There have been seriously-wounded captured soldiers who were saved by our health services, saved by blood transfusions from our fighters.

«We are proud of all this and especially of the fact that no Portuguese soldier has even been ill-treated in our hands. Never has a captured Portuguese soldier died in captivity.

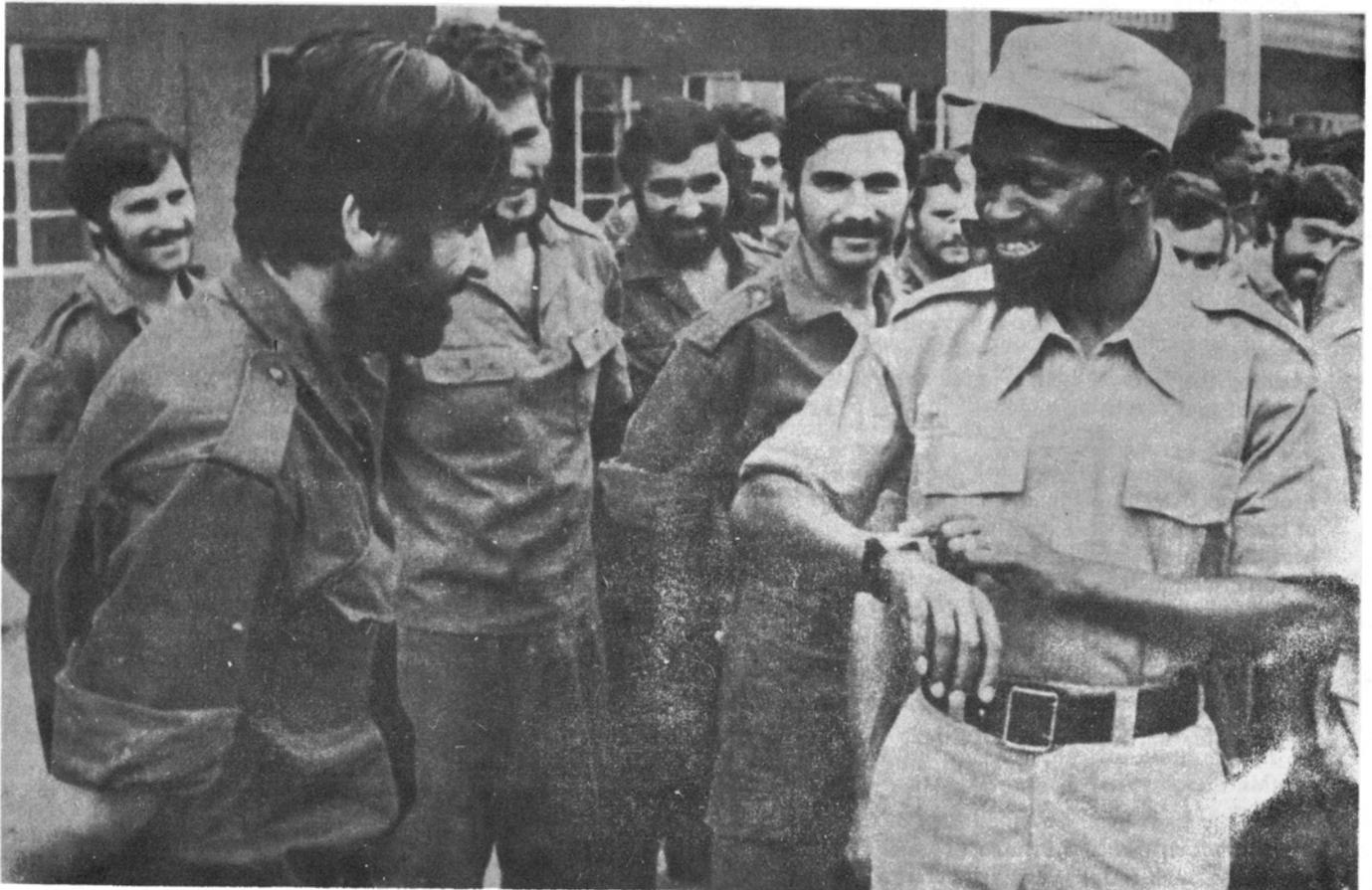
«This results from a political line, a political line which is an integral part of our revolutionary ideology.

«On behalf of FRELIMO, our fighters and our people, today we solemnly hand over to the Portuguese authorities the prisoners of war who were in our custody.

«Nearly 150 officers, sergeants and soldiers are of Portuguese nationality. We strongly hope that the time spent with us has helped them to know the Mozambican people and FRELIMO better, and therefore that it has enabled them to contribute in Portugal towards the consolidation of friendship between our peoples.

We particularly hope that they will work for the consolidation of Democracy in Portugal, for the building of a new Portugal, because that will be the basis on which the relations between our two countries will be built.

«Finally, among the troops there are about fifty officers, sergeants and soldiers who are Mozambicans of various races. They were captured because they were fighting against our people. Although they are Mozambicans they belong to the Portuguese army, from which they will soon be discharged. We hope they will be integrated in Mozambican society; FRELIMO will do everything to orient them on the new path».



# Frelimo's tasks in the struggle ahead

*A message from the  
President of FRELIMO  
on the occasion of  
the investiture of the  
Transitional Government*

Mozambican Women and Men,  
FRELIMO Militants,  
Comrades.

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 fought a war  
without days of rest.  
We must engage in the  
battle for national  
reconstruction in  
the same spirit.*

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 exciting 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 ex-

pression of the domination of our countries by companies.

Who rules? 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 favours 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 re-

*The advance  
of the revolution  
depends on the creation  
of the new man,  
with a new  
mentality.*

ceived inflated salaries as payment for services rendered.

The government of the exploiter was characterised 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 favours 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 battle-

field, 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 Rovuma 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 taking.

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 mobilises 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 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 Organisation 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 co-operation and the elimination of the compartmentalisation 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 behaviour. 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 favours.

Material, moral and ideological corruption, bribery, seeking comforts, string pulling, nepotism, that is favours 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 labour 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 timetable, without days of rest, we must engage in the battle for national reconstruction in the same spirit.

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 organised masses, conscious of their true interests, within FRELIMO are the militants forged and seasoned in the People's struggle, guaran-

teeing the intransigent defence of the interests of the workers and the Revolution. Hence, only FRELIMO is capable of organising, 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 organised, 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 leadership, is like the colonial-fascist regime, bound to be overthrown.

## 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 programme, 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 mobilising and organising 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 decolonise and, secondly, to build the appropriate structure for People's Democratic Power.

Decolonisation does not mean the geographical transfer of the decision-making centres 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 decolonise 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 Rovuma 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 organisation 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, characterised by 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 wastage 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 labour 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 countryside, 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 and animal husbandry and the most effective use of our sub-soil resources.

Agriculture will therefore be the base of our development, and industry its galvanising 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 centres 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 centred especially on rural areas, where schools are practically non-existent.

The schools must be fronts in our vigorous and conscious battle against illiteracy, ignorance and obscurantism. They must be centres 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 comradely 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 centres for the propagation of national culture and political, technical and scientific knowledge. The propagation of knowledge must be aimed at mobilising nature and human potentialities for the development and progress of society.

It is therefore necessary to democratise teaching methods. Pupils and trainees must play a responsible part in creating a school of a new type in which manual labour 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 mobilisation of the people, which is now possible on a national scale because the people are in power.

The judiciary must be reorganised 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 cause.

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 centre 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 organisational capacity, and it will be able fully to assume the defence 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 centre of cultural fusion, our army also is a centre 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 centre.

FRELIMO's army is not an army of parasites; it is an army with a tradition of productive labour, 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 jeopardising independence, sabotaging national reconstruction and destroying the Revolution.

The People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique also have the task of mobilising and organising 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 organising 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 labour.

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 organisation for all Mozambicans without distinction as to race, colour, 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 labour, 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 mulattos, 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 centres 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 colour, 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 Mozambicans, 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 organising the masses and guiding them in each factory, each agricultural unit, each PFLM detachment, each co-operative, each neighbourhood, 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 analysed in every productive unit, village, neighbourhood and family cell. At the same time, and guided by FRELIMO's political line, suggestions on organisation 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 neutralise 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 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 co-operation between the High Commissioner and the Transitional Government.

Even now in the co-operation 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 colonised and those who were forced to be instruments of that colonisation.

We therefore expect the High Commissioner, in the spirit of the Lusaka Agreement, to carry out to the full what we regard as his most inspiring duties, which are to give impetus to the process of decolonisation, 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 co-operate 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 to build the future.

At this moment we wish to pay a 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 galvanise us to continue on the road of building independence, freedom and democracy in our country.

## AFRICA'S VICTORY

If the destruction of Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique was brought about primarily by the sacrifice and efforts of the Mozambican people, it is nevertheless important to emphasise 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 Organisation 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 honour 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 Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations, we greet the United Nations Organisation 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 organisations 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 co-operation.

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.

Samora Moises Machel  
President of FRELIMO

20 September, 1974.



# ***THE WEAPONS THAT BROUGHT US VICTORY***

Determined struggle  
and a correct  
political line

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.

*The President's message on September 25, 10th anniversary of the start of the armed struggle*

We need to understand this fight and to analyse 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 Programme.

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 concretised by the declared need for the unity of all Mozambican men and women, bound together by the same oppression, exploitation and humiliation, mobilised 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 organising and mobilising 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 analyse 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 Rovuma 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, realising 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 colonialist 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 rumours, intrigues and slanders. Comrades were arrested. Brandishing the weapon of racism, the expulsion of white militants was organised 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 people dominated and knowing that their inspiration and strength stemmed from the people, the revolutionaries mobilised and organised 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 analysed 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 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 organised 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» definitely destroyed the enemy's capacity to take the military initiative, changed the balance of forces in our favour, 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.



Mozambicans being rounded up for transportation to a concentration camp

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 neutralise hundreds of infiltrated agents, sealing our ranks from enemy subversion.

Heightening the political and organisational 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 decolonisation, 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 in unity.

FRELIMO will continue to stand by the people of Sao Tome and Principe, 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 Rovuma 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 centres, 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, mobilised 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 organisations 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 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 mobilise and organise 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 within 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 labour 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 time-tables 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 colour, 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, neutralise and defeat reactionary manoeuvres.

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 Programme 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 Rovuma 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!



The President of FRELIMO, Comrade Samora Machel, explains to a unit of the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique the significance of the 25th of September.

