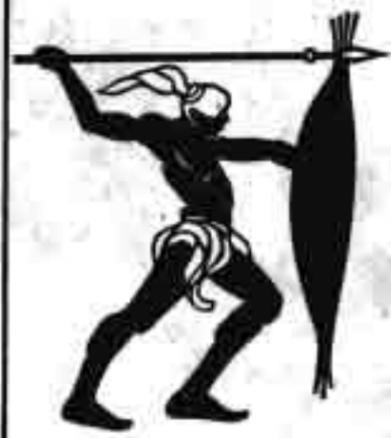


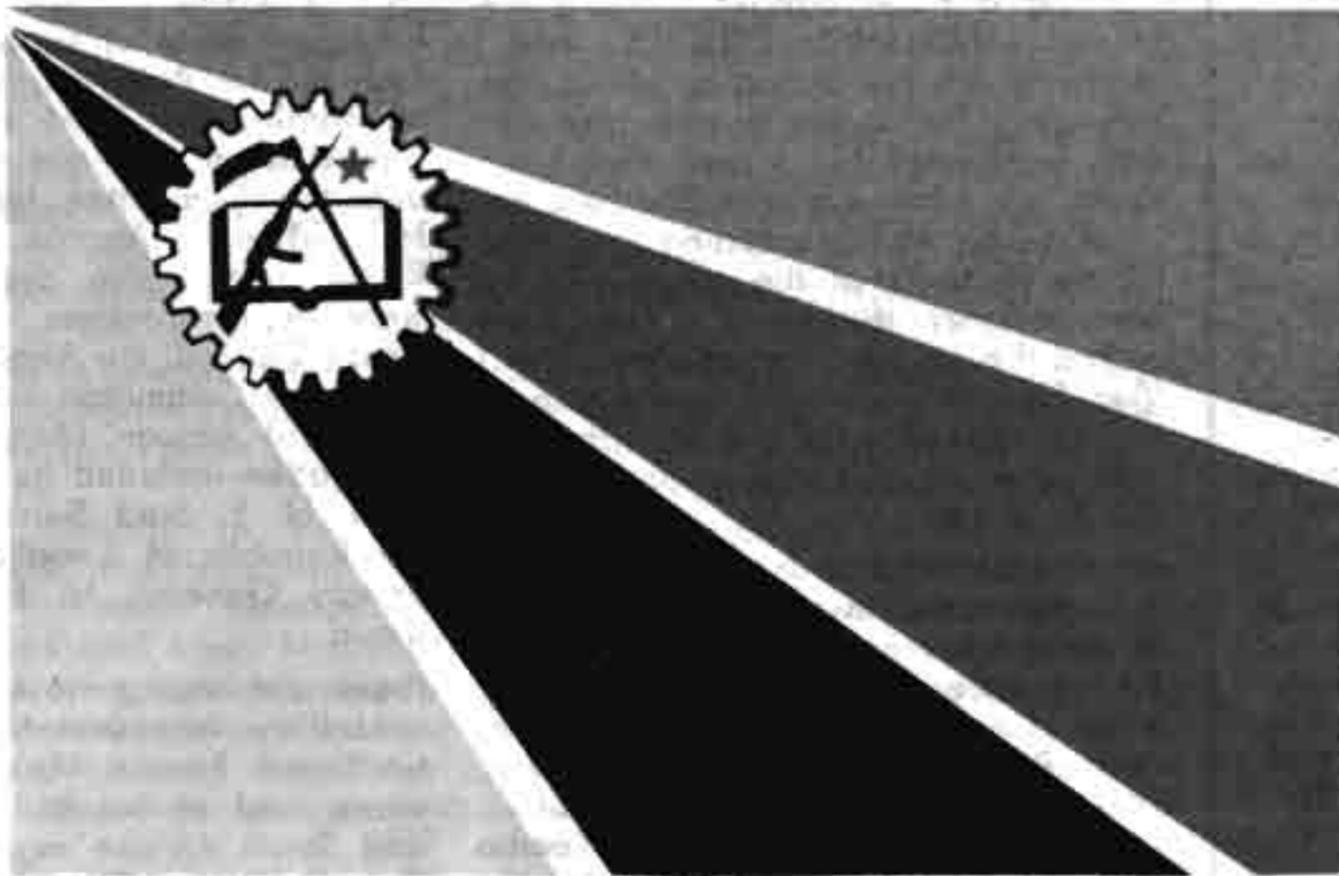
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The new
Republic of
Mozambique



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"I welcome my friend,
my comrade, my brother-in-arms,
Oliver Tambo,
President of the
African National Congress
of South Africa."

With these words, Comrade President Samora Moises Machel of Mozambique introduced Comrade Tambo to the fifteen hundred foreign and local guests gathered at a State Dinner to celebrate the establishment of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

Spontaneously the entire gathering broke into prolonged and enthusiastic applause. They were joined by scores of members of the Frelimo armed forces and Mozambican militia who were on duty at the reception.

This enthusiasm for our President and our organisation - the African National Congress - was not confined to this one event. For instance, when Comrade Tambo arrived at Lourenco Marques airport from Lusaka to attend the independence celebrations, he was met by a crowd, mostly women, carrying a huge banner bearing the legend: FRELIMO EQUALS ANCI. When he left the airport buildings, the thronging thousands outside the airport, who until his arrival had been quiet, broke loose and mobbed the car in which he was proceeding to a villa in the outskirts of the city where he was to stay during his visit. They rocked the car and roared: Viva ANCI Viva Frelimo! over and over again to the consternation of the security men who were charged with accompanying the President.

A similar demonstration of solidarity was expressed by the thousands of Mozambicans gathered outside the former Lourenco Marques' City Hall, when, Comrade Joachim Chisano, interim Prime Minister, and at present, Foreign Minister of the new Republic, introduced Comrade Oliver Tambo from the balcony of the hall after the

investiture of Comrade Samora Machel as President of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

The strong and committed solidarity between Frelimo, the government and peoples of Mozambique and the African National Congress and the struggling peoples of South Africa were expressed in many other ways, too numerous to mention here.

The official guest list was dominated by representatives of African, Asian and Socialist States. Liberation movements represented at the celebrations included, SWAPO, the ANC of Zimbabwe, the Socialist Party of Puerto Rico and the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

Comrade Augustino Neto, President of the MPLA of Angola, was an honoured guest.

Representatives of support movements such as the Anti-Apartheid Movement of Britain, the AAM of Ireland, the International Defence and Aid Fund and the Committee for Freedom for Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau, were also present. So also were representatives of the World Peace Council, the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Committee and the Organisation of African Unity, whose large delegation included its outgoing President, H. E. Siad Barre, President of the Republic of Somalia and the Secretary General, H. E. Etaki Mboumou.

Prominent among those not invited included the representatives of the United States, France, Malawi, West Germany, and of course, the Rhodesian and South African regimes. Black US Congressmen, Charles Diggs and

FRELIMO = ANC!



Part of the crowd in Lourenco Marques that welcomed a delegation of the African National Congress of South Africa to the Mozambique independence celebrations.

Cardiss Collins were invited as individuals.

Only seven Western countries were invited – Portugal, Sweden, Britain, Norway, Denmark, Finland and Holland.

Junkyard

Most city streets, named after Portuguese "heroes" or "important dates" in Portuguese history, will have their names changed soon. Already missing from the capital's broad, flag-festooned boulevards are dozens of statues erected in colonial days to honour such Portuguese colonisers of old as Lourenco Marques and Vasco da Gama, who brought the first Portuguese presence to Mozambique in 1498. Only the pedestals remain in place, while the stately stone and iron images of Lourenco Marques, who founded the city in 1545, Vasco da Gama and others stand in disarray in a junkyard.

Each Province held its own celebrations – meetings, demonstrations, youth festivals, sporting events, athletic displays, cultural activities etc.

The highlight of the celebrations was a meeting held in Lourenco Marques, the capital, to proclaim independence and inaugurate the People's Republic of Mozambique.

Machava, a suburb in Lourenco Marques, where the infamous Machava Prison, in which hundreds of Frelimo militants and other Mozambican democrats were tortured, murdered and imprisoned under the most barbarous conditions by the Portuguese colonialists is located, also has a stadium.

The Machava Stadium, which the colonialists used for bull fights, has seated

accommodation for 80,000 people. Long before midnight on June 24, despite insistent rain, the stadium was packed to capacity. Only those which special invitation cards were allowed admittance. Thousands without such cards were turned away disappointed. Those invited, apart from the international guests, were representatives of workers from the different factories and plantations, miners and railwaymen, intellectuals and civil servants, Students and Women, the Mozambican army and militia . . . Representatives from every walk of Mozambican life.

Viva Samora

It was not a celebration by the elite . . . it was a celebration by the people . . . all the people!

As the Presidential convoy, flanked by militia outriders, entered the stadium, the entire crowd rose in unison, burst into applause and yelled: **Viva Samora! Viva Frelimo! A Lutta Continual** (The Struggle Continues!) **Unidade! Trabalho! Vigilancia!** (Unity! Work! Vigilance!)

Once Comrade Samora completed greeting his distinguished governmental guests on the canopied platform, which incidentally included Comrades Neto and Tambo, three Frelimo soldiers, led by their Commander – in – Chief, Comrade Alberto Chipande, marched to the flagmast in front of the platform where the Portuguese flag was flying. Simultaneously, two Portuguese marines and a Portuguese sailor marched to the mast from the right of the platform.

The moving and colourful ceremony began with the lowering of the Portu-

guese flag by one of the Portuguese marines. As the flag reached the ground the two marines folded it and placed it in a silver tray carried by a Portuguese sailor and all three of them marched away.

The time was 0.22 hours, the date June 25, 1975. An era of Portuguese colonialism had ended in Mozambique. Five hundred years of colonial domination had come to a final, irrevocable end.

As the Black, Green, Gold, White and Red Frelimo flag (the colours denoting the people, the land, the wealth, peace and the blood of the martyrs respectively) was raised, the emotion-packed audience – many openly weeping – rose and sang the Republic's new national anthem.

Throughout the ceremony President Samora Moises Machel stood at attention with his hand raised in salute to the birth of the new State – the People's Republic of Mozambique.

In the following pages we report the three main speeches delivered by the President and the speech by Comrade Marcelino dos Santos, the Vice-President of Frelimo at the investiture of Comrade Samora as president of the Republic.

In doing so we join Comrade President Samora Machel in saying:

A Lutta Continual
The Struggle continues!
Unidade! Trabalho! Vigilancia!
Unity! Work! Vigilance!
Long Live Frelimo!
Long Live the Solidarity and Friendship of the Frelimo and the ANCI
Long Live the Unity and Brotherhood of the fighting peoples' of Mozambique and South Africa!

Mozambique...

A LUTTA CONTINUA! THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!

The Portuguese flag comes down . . .



. . . and the flag of the Peoples Republic of Mozambique goes up





Samora salutes the birth of the new Republic. On his left is Frelimo Vice-President Marcelino dos Santos and on his right H. E. Siad Barre - President of Somalia and Chairman of the OAU

"Mozambicans . . .

Workers and peasants, workers in the plantations, in the saw-mills and in the concessions; workers in the mines, in the railways, in the harbours and in the factories; intellectuals, civil servants, students, Mozambican soldiers in the Portuguese army, men and women, young people, compatriots:

In the name of all of you

FRELIMO today solemnly proclaims the general armed insurrection of the Mozambican people against Portuguese colonialism, for the conquest of Mozambique's total and complete Independence.

Our struggle will not cease until the complete liquidation of Portuguese colonialism.

Let us unite from the Rovuma to the Maputo.

Long live Independent Mozambique!

Long live FRELIMO

Long live united Africa!"

It was with these words that almost eleven years ago, on 25th September 1964, the Central Committee of FRELIMO issued the historic declaration for the launching of the general armed insurrection against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism.

This declaration met with a deep response from among the broad masses who, from the Rovuma to the Maputo, were equally subjected to the savage rule of the occupier; to the greediness of his exploitation; the infamy of his continuing humiliation. The Mozambican found himself deprived of his national personality, his civilization and culture completely denied and despised, his habits and customs ridi-

Comrade Samora Machel's speech on the proclamation of independence of the People's Republic of Mozambique

culed, transformed into an enslaved foreigner in his own country.

The brutality of repression and the terror it aroused, the cultural obscurantism systematically and deliberately aimed at uprooting people from their environment, the cold blooded spreading of alcoholism and other vices, prostitution, the establishment of racism with its inherent complexes, the programmed division of the people on the basis of religion, and ethnic and regional origin, the systematisation of passive and submissive behaviours towards colonialism, with the active support of the churches, were some of the various methods used by foreign domination to stifle the creative ability of the masses, and keep them divided and impotent.

However, if colonialism succeeded in its purpose of conquest and domination, it did not manage to dominate the spirit of the masses and destroy their desire for freedom. The more blind the repression the more hatred was aroused against the barbarian aggressors. The greater the oppression and humiliation, the stronger became the desire for freedom. The more brutal the exploitation and plunder, the more powerful grew the desire for revolution.

Glorious Feats

Throughout the whole historical process of the war of conquest, the Mozambican people everywhere continually rose heroically against colonial greed. From the resistance of Monomotapa to the insurrection of Barue, Mozambican history can pride itself on the glorious feats of the masses in their struggle to defend freedom and independence. The historic resistance of the People was defeated exclusively by the treachery of the feudal ruling classes, their greed and ambition, which enabled the enemy to divide the people and thus subjugate them. Even after colonial domination was entrenched throughout the territory, opposition to foreign domination persisted and was even intensified: There were successive revolts against the colonial Administration, an increasing exodus of workers abroad, and protest movements were organized in the urban areas.

The transformation of colonialism to colonial-fascism did not succeed in stifling the determination of the people. Throughout the country, mothers educated their children in the traditions of national resistance.

The liquidation of nazism, the creation of the socialist camp, the victory of China, the defeat of the colonial armies in Indochina, the Algerian uprising, and the emancipation of the African and Asian peoples, all stimulated national resistance.

Though still disorganised, there were popular uprisings like those in Xinavane and Mueda. The bloodshed of the workers who were imprisoned, deported, murdered and massacred served

for to increase national consciousness.

It was in this context that on 25 June 1963 Mozambican patriots, under the leadership of Comrade Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, launched a new and victorious phase of national resistance: the creation of FRELIMO, which made possible the Mozambican people's organised and united struggle.

The creation of FRELIMO provided the decisive and fundamental weapon of unity for the Mozambican people's fight. FRELIMO, rooting itself in the purest traditions of the age-old struggle of the Mozambican working masses, assuming the true interests of the broad exploited, oppressed and humiliated stratas, was able to clearly define the aims and methods of the fight for liberation.

In two years, under the watchword of unity and struggle against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism, FRELIMO created the necessary conditions for the liberation struggle to go over to the phase of general armed insurrection, thus cementing and making operative the unity achieved.

It was under the leadership of FRELIMO and integrated in the ranks of FRELIMO that the Mozambican people redeemed the blood spilled over gene-

rations, regained command of their own history, made useful the sacrifice of their own lives, destroyed the enemy's vital forces, fully affirmed their African revolutionary personality, and imposed defeat on the colonial-fascist regime.

It was under the leadership of President Comrade Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, whose glorious and unforgettable memory we venerate, that the Mozambican people consolidated their real unity, structured their organisation and, having exhausted peaceful means, launched the armed struggle for national liberation.

It was under the direction of FRELIMO, guided by the political line clear in the formulation of objectives and in the definition of the enemy, that the Mozambican people defeated the Portuguese colonial army.

The Republic is Born

**Mozambicans,
Workers, peasants, and fighters,
Mozambican people,**

In the name of all of you, at 00 hours today, 25th June 1975 the Central Committee of FRELIMO solemnly proclaims the total and complete Independence of Mozambique, and the creation of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

The newly-born Republic is the concretization of the aspirations of all Mozambicans, the extension to the whole country of the freedom already won during the liberation armed struggle in some areas of our country, the product of the sacrifices of nationalist fighters, the whole Mozambican People; the concretization of our victory.

Our People's Republic is born from the blood of the people. Its consolidation and development is a debt of honour for every patriotic and revolutionary Mozambican.

The sovereign and independent People's Republic of Mozambique is a People's Democratic State, in which all patriotic strata under the leadership of the alliance of peasants and workers are engaging themselves in the struggle to destroy the remaining vestiges of colonialism and imperialist dependence; to eliminate the system of exploitation of man by man, and build the new material, ideological, political, cultural, social and administrative base of the new society.

The People's Republic of Mozambique, a State of the Mozambican working people will be guided by FRELIMO, an instrument for the organisation and the mobilization of the Mozambican People in the struggle for national

Jubilant crowds greet the new Republic



liberation, which shall continue to guide them in the new phase of the struggle for the building of the people's democratic State, for rebuilding the Nation, for liquidating the exploitation of man by man.

At all levels the primacy of Party decisions and structures over those of the Government will be affirmed.

The People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique under the leadership of FRELIMO, educated and tempered in the liberation and class struggle, is a vanguard sector of our People. This armed wing, is a force for the mobilization of the broad masses, an instrument for national reconstruction, and fundamentally a conscious revolutionary force for the defence of the interests of the working masses.

In the process of the material building of the new society, with agriculture as its base and industry as the propelling factor, relying upon its own forces and supported by its natural allies, the People's Republic of Mozambique will build a prosperous and independent advanced economy, ensuring the control over its natural resources for the benefit of masses and progressively applying the just principle of: to each one according to his work and from everyone according to his ability.

The People's Republic of Mozambique will have political and administrative structures designed to apply the principle of the People's Democratic Power, in which democratically appointed representatives of the working masses will exercise power at all levels.

Education

The objective of the People's Republic of Mozambique is the cultural well-being of all citizens, to achieve which it will promote the spread of education at all levels through democratization guided by the State: The wiping out of elitism and discrimination in education based on wealth, and the formation of a new popular and revolutionary mentality in the new generation.

Youth

The youth, the lifeblood of the Nation, will be protected and priority will be given to their education, which will be always closely linked with the life and the interests of the masses.

The State will promote knowledge and revitalization of Mozambican culture and will spread it nationally and internationally, as a part of the consoli-



The late Dr. Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane

dation of national unity and as an essential part of the Mozambican personality.

Health

The wiping out of disease, one of the features of colonialism and underdevelopment, will be a major concern. The People's Republic of Mozambique will extend the network of health services throughout the country, particularly into the rural areas, with the aim of benefitting the working masses.

The People's Republic of Mozambique will protect the family, encouraging its development through the protection of mothers and children.

Women

The People's Republic of Mozambique, by following FRELIMO's political line, will be engaged in the struggle for the emancipation of women, for the total liberation from the several forms of traditional and capitalist oppression, so that they may recover their role as citizens enjoying full rights in our society, and so giving them political, civic and social freedom.

The People's Republic of Mozambique regards special protection of war widows and orphans, as well as people deprived by war, as an absolute duty of all Mozambicans. They are symbols of the sacrifices offered by millions of Mozambicans during the period of colonial domination and of the struggle for national liberation.

Religion

The People's Republic of Mozambique will be a secular State in which there will be complete separation between the State and any church or religion. The State will guarantee full freedom of conscience and the right of every citizen to practice a religion or not.

Born of the liberation struggle for national independence, the People's Republic of Mozambique is in fundamental solidarity with national liberation movements, and the militant internationalism is a basic concept of its national and international policies.

The People's Republic of Mozambique regards itself as an integral part of mankind, oppressed peoples and classes fighting to change the world and to establish a new and just social order.

The People's Republic of Mozambique has as its natural allies the socialist countries, which constitute a liberated area of mankind, the young States, in particular African countries committed with the national liberation movement in one of the main fronts of anti-imperialist struggle, the democratic and progressive forces, the working masses of all mankind.

The People's Republic of Mozambique, born of a long, hard and difficult struggle, learned and appreciates the value of peace. It will therefore undertake, with no hesitations, a policy aimed at establishing a genuine peace based on justice, and here and now declares itself to be in favour of general and complete world disarmament. Because of the particular responsibility due to its geographic position, the People's Republic of Mozambique affirms its concern that the Indian Ocean should be made into a zone of peace.

Mozambicans, women and men.

This is the first State in which power belongs to us, this is our own country born out of plunder, ruins, sacrifices, and bloodshed.

We salute our Flag, symbol of our victory, and we salute its honourable insignias of study, work, and struggle.

United under the leadership of FRELIMO from the Rovuma to the Maputo, dedicated to the liberating work that is the basis for all things, with the banner of vigilance raised high, let us build, consolidate and develop our State, and our Power, and our Victory.

**LONG LIVE FRELIMO!
LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC
OF MOZAMBIQUE!
THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!**



From the left, T. E. Rashidi Kawawa – Prime Minister of Tanzania, Vasco Goncalves – Prime Minister of Portugal, M. dos Santos – Minister of Development and Economic Planning, President Samora, Siad Barre and Alberto Chissano – Minister for Foreign Affairs

**Comrade
Samora
Machel...**

**SERVANT OF
THE PEOPLE**

**Speech by Comrade
Marcelino dos Santos,
Vice President
of FRELIMO
at the investiture
of Comrade Samora
as President of the
People's Republic
of Mozambique**

In May 1970, the Central Committee of FRELIMO decided to elect Comrade Samora Moises Machel President of the Mozambique Liberation Front.

A few days ago, the Central Committee Meeting entrusted Comrade Samora Moises Machel with a new task: that of President of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

On both occasions, although they were under different circumstances, the Central Committee's decision was motivated by identical objectives and reasons.

Now as then, the essential thing is to ensure the triumph of FRELIMO's correct political line. Now as then, it is a matter of eliminating the reactionary forces and imperialism, and imposing the interests of the working masses. Now as then, it is essential that the Mozambican people continue to fulfil their internationalist duty.

Comrade Samora Moises Machel is a militant who has been forged and seasoned in the hard process of the people's liberation war, formed in political and armed combat and in class struggle.

Comrade Samora Moises Machel is a veteran of FRELIMO and a veteran of the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique who, in every crisis,

every difficulty, every difficult moment; always defended and made his own, the interests of the majority; the interests of the revolution, the cause of the working people — the workers and peasants.

As a militant, as the founder of the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique, as a member of the Central Committee and as a top leader, Comrade Samora Moises Machel demonstrated in practice that he is, in the real sense of the word, a servant of the people who is prepared to sacrifice himself for the majority. We know his ability to plan and lead and his complete identification with the masses.

The Central Committee's decision, which was joyfully supported by the broad working masses, is a just decision which corresponds to the present requirements and tasks of the Mozambique Revolution.

It is within this context that, on behalf of the FRELIMO militants, the workers and peasants, the entire Mozambican people united from the Rovuma to the Maputo, the Central Committee of FRELIMO invests Comrade Samora Moises Machel, President of FRELIMO, with the functions of President of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

Part of the crowd
outside the old City Hall
where Comrade Samora
was invested
President of the Republic



The time — 0:22 hours; the date — June 25, 1975;
the place — Machava Stadium, Lourenco Marques.
The Flag of the new Republic proudly flutters



From the Rovuma
to the Maputo ...

The People March For- ward

Comrade Samira Maibeli's
speech in accepting
his installation as President
of the People's Republic
of Mozambique

**Mozambican women,
Mozambican men,
Workers, peasants and fighters,
Compatriots,**

At 00 hours today the People's Republic of Mozambique was born, a State born of our people's struggle for freedom and independence, which spanned many centuries, a State in which the power of the alliance of working people is being established in our country for the first time.

The profound historical significance of this moment in the life of our people cannot escape any Mozambican, nor any citizen of any other country, whether free or still oppressed, and neither can the international dimension of this fact in relation to the community of nations, of which we are now



President Samora's triumphant entry into Lourenco Marques with Comrades dos Santos and Chissano

becoming a full and integral part. But it is not so much about the present we are living through, although exalting, which can be seen in our faces, houses and streets, and which exists even more profoundly in our consciousness, it is not so much about the present happiness, enthusiasm and euphoria that we are going to speak. We wish, above all, to recall the past, so as to foresee and plan the future better.

We wish first and foremost to recall the memory of our heroes – those who fell in the struggle against the foreign invaders, those who perished in the slaughter-houses of Portuguese colonialism, through deportation, the slave trade and forced labour, those who were condemned by colonial-fascism to slow death, family disintegration,

spiritual disintegration and depersonalisation.

We wish to honour the memory of all the glorious fighters who have fallen in the course of the armed struggle for national liberation and, before all else to remind everyone, we cite the imperishable memory of the First President and founder of FRELIMO, Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane. Their blood laid the foundations for the new Mozambican nation which asserted itself in the course of those ten years in our zones of struggle and clandestine work, which already took on material form in our liberated areas and which, before it was transformed into the national reality we are celebrating today, was already alive in our consciousness.

We ask every Mozambican from the

Rovuma to the Maputo to join us in observing a minute of silence in their memory.

The People's Republic of Mozambique is being born as the fruit of the Mozambican people's unshakable will and iron determination to win back their freedom and enjoy the supreme and inalienable right of all peoples – national independence.

At this time when we are winning this independence, we must reflect on the reality which prevailed in the previous situation, under colonial domination. Why did colonialism kill? Why did it seize, deport and massacre people? Why were our mothers and wives raped, our traditions humiliated, our civilisation negated and Mozambicans arrested for the slightest show of patriotism? Why was alcoholism made

widespread and prostitution and the disintegration of the family encouraged, and why were whole families removed from their home regions and forced to abandon their ancestral lands, their cattle, houses and few possessions? Why did all this happen in many places in our country, as the unmistakable mark of the Portuguese colonialists? Could this have been a sadistic manifestation of the evil ge-

nius of a of Mozambicans were enslaved and taken to the coasts of the Americas, where the few who arrived were sold as commodities. It was in order to exploit our sweat that the colonial administrators seized us and sent us into forced labour.

It was in order to appropriate the wealth of our soil that entire regions were set aside for certain crops, such as cotton, which the people were

tality towards the foreigner. Assimilation was not merely the fascist caprice of a senile dictator, but was in fact mental enslavement to the foreigner in its purest form, a deliberate process of negating all the culture, history and traditions of our People. A man thus spiritually destroyed became a living corpse, a docile receptacle for the colonisers' way of thinking, acting and living.



Section of the crowd greeting the investiture of Comrade Samora as President of the Republic

people, the result of the bestial wickedness of a man or group of men?

Forced Labour

Let us not deceive ourselves about this. Portuguese colonialism was the form that imperialist domination assumed in our country, the exploitation of a whole people and their resources by foreign capitalism, both Portuguese and from other countries. It was in order to exploit our labour power that thousands

forced to grow, dying of hunger while the big concessionary companies accumulated fabulous profits.

It was in order to plunder our sub-soil that the big multinationals were granted concessions and mining facilities which they used to drain our country of its wealth.

It was in order to keep our people subjected to its domination that colonialism tried – in some cases, particularly in the urban areas, with some success – to destroy our personality, sow division and create a slave men-

Religion, and especially the Catholic church, was a powerful factor in the cultural and human alienation of the Mozambican, to make him a docile instrument and object of exploitation, and smash any display of resistance in the name of Christian resignation.

This is the heritage we are reaping today. A heritage of poverty and social and economic backwardness which the superficial beauty of the skyscrapers and grassy hills can never hide. One need only travel the length and breadth of our country, one need only

know that the expression "from the Rovuma to the Maputo" is not a mere slogan for us, but a reality we feel in our flesh and blood, to understand that the age-old backwardness, disease, nakedness, hunger and ignorance are the bountiful fruit of the very tree that sprouted, grew and thrived together with colonialism, and which is known as exploitation. It is an evil and noxious tree which

place in it. But a recapitulation of the political process involved, albeit brief, is needed in order to understand the birth today of the People's Republic of Mozambique and the line that guides it. In Mozambican history, the fight for a revolutionary political line has been intrinsically bound up with the fight for unity. The struggle to defend and consolidate unity, the driving force of the liberation



Flowers for the President at the LM airport. In the centre is a member of the Central Committee of Frelimo

we have not as yet uprooted; it is a leech which is still sucking our blood, weakening our resistance, ability and intelligence. It is a python which is today dressing itself in the skin of the very same victim that it would have swallowed yesterday.

The Struggle for Liberation

We are not going to trace here the history of the national liberation process through the events which took

struggle, demanded permanent vigilance and action to neutralise and eliminate the manoeuvres of the enemy and of national opportunist and reactionary forces. This same struggle required a constant fight to clarify and develop FRELIMO's political line, especially as regards the definition of who is the enemy and the nature, methods and objectives of the fight. The successive dividing lines that were drawn within FRELIMO and the process of cleansing our ranks which was established, revealed in practice that

the contradictions which arose reflected antagonistic interests, the contradiction between the working masses and a handful of new exploiters who wanted to take the place of the colonial bourgeoisie as an exploiting class.

By defining racism, regionalism and tribalism as enemies to be fought against, just like colonialism, the Central Committee meeting held in October 1966 deprived the opportunists of the chief instruments of their manoeuvres against the people. The



Section of a Women's Detachment at a celebration parade

same meeting put an end to the contradiction between political militants and military militants by defining the struggle as a politico-military one, thus enabling the most vanguard elements to free themselves from the control of marginal reactionary elements. The historic decision to entrust the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique with creating the Woman's Detachment, women's instrument in their historic struggle for emancipation, broadened the base of mass support for our struggle and brought new decisive forces into the revolutionary fight.

These ideological victories permitted the speedy advance of the liberation struggle, the destruction of substantial enemy forces, the expansion of the armed struggle to Tete Province, the transformation of the semi-liberated areas into areas free from the system of exploitation and the beginning of

the process of creating operational bases.

Our politico-military victories having made Portuguese colonialism more desperate and increased the isolation of the strata among us with exploitative designs, the contradictions between the masses and the exploitative system became more marked.

In a desperate attempt to stave off their inevitable defeat, the colonialist and reactionary forces joined forces and launched an offensive of manoeuvres and crimes against the correct political line outlined by Comrade Eduardo Mondlane.

The Second Congress of FRELIMO, which was held in the liberated areas of Niassa Province in June 1968, exposed and neutralised the reactionary forces and their ideas, enabling the broad masses to consolidate their unity behind FRELIMO's just and clear objectives.

Mondlane Murdered

This fresh victory unleashed a wave of reactionary violence in which new national exploiters, now openly allied with the colonial-imperialist force, started a process of physical liquidation of revolutionary militants and leaders, a process which culminated in the barbarous assassination of Comrade Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane on 3 February 1969.

The assassination of the leader who embodied the national and revolutionary dimension of our struggle and the actual implementation of FRELIMO's line and practice, was aimed at decapitating the Mozambican revolution and enabling representatives of the new exploiting classes, faithful servants of the bourgeoisie and imperialism, to seize power.

Assuming the heritage of Comrade Eduardo Mondlane, closely integrated with the masses of the people and re-

solutely supported by the fighters of the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique, the most dedicated sons of the people, the revolutionary vanguard of FRELIMO stood up against the forces of opportunism and reaction during the historic Central Committee meetings held in April 1969 and May 1970, and exposed, isolated, neutralised and eliminated the erroneous political line of the new exploiters.

This victory, which led to the cleansing of our ranks and the deepening of FRELIMO's ideology, created the conditions for transforming the armed struggle into a people's war, for going over from a liberation struggle to the higher phase of a people's democratic revolution.

The ideological transformations which took place led to a new advanced development of the liberation struggle: the strategic defeat of colonialism in the period from May to September 1970, during Operation Gordian Knot, the smashing of the blockade of the Zambezi by the expansion of the armed struggle to the south of the Zambezi in November 1970, and the opening of the Manicae Sofala front in June 1972.

It was from the time of the failure of the big Gordian Knot enemy operation that the irreversible deep-rooted and profoundly popular nature of the revolutionary process led by FRELIMO was affirmed, and it was from that time

that the disintegration of the squalid Portuguese colonialism started to be hastened at a giddy pace.

Neither the transformation of the colonial war into a colonial-imperialist war through the internationalisation of the aggression against our people nor the intensification of the plunder of our resources by the monopolies, the most criminal strategic plans like the Cabora Bassa one, could halt the progress of our struggle and its progressive expansion to the whole country.

The attempt to terrorise our people by widespread terrorism, the systematic bombing of villages, schools, hospitals, cultivated fields, the use of chemical agents and, finally, massacres like those at Wiryamu, Joao, Chowole and Inhaminga, sharpened the contradictions and strengthened the people's determination to destroy the enemy.

International Isolation

At the international level, Portuguese colonial-fascism, which still had some room for manoeuvre, thanks to the active complicity of the capitalist countries, and particularly some members of NATO, started to be denounced with renewed vigour and was isolated abroad, as shown by the expulsion of Portugal from one international organisation after another.

The watchword issued by the Central Committee in December 1972, calling



for a general offensive on all fronts, hastened the collapse of the enemy. It is obvious that the general offensive was not confined simply to stepping up large-scale battles, and neither could it have been successful, even militarily, had it been reduced to this. In issuing the watchword calling for a general offensive on all fronts, the 1972 Central Committee meeting affirmed, first and foremost, the need for ideological unity. In other words, actual practice had shown that unity based on the negation of the enemy and on just the demand for independence was not enough. It was essential that unity be achieved on the basis of a clear and unequivocal definition of the principles of what we want to do, how we want to do it, and what kind of society we want to build, and above all, the principles asserted must be lived by and developed through consistent practice.

The struggle therefore spread, new fronts were opened and the ideological line gained strength in the liberated areas, establishing a clear dividing line in relation to the enemy-controlled zone. Sound foundations were laid for people's democratic power.

It was a correct line combined with correct practice which led to the destruction and defeat of Portuguese colonialism and opened up a new phase in the Mozambican people's independence process which started with the Lusaka Agreement and has just ended with the proclamation of the complete national independence of Mozambique.

The task of the Transitional Government was essentially that of consolidating the power so arduously won, especially by extending popular mobilisation and making it more far-reaching.

We congratulate the Transitional Government for the success it has achieved in its task, for the conditions it created for people's power to be really extended and consolidated in our country.

We need to be conscious of the great difficulties we shall have to face as a

Statues of Portuguese 'heroes' relegated to the junkyard





A warm greeting from the President for his dear friend and comrade-in-arms Augustino Neto, President of MPLA

result of the colonial situation, which the Transitional Government could obviously only partially tackle.

With the proclamation of the People's Republic of Mozambique we are starting a new phase of our history in which we are going to put into practice everywhere in the country the political, economic, social and cultural gains won during the struggle.

To say the People's Republic is not to voice an empty and demagogic formula. To say the People's Republic means to give substance to the aspirations of millions of dominated and exploited Mozambicans for whom independence is a precondition for the end of exploitation and the establishment of a people's regime.

To say the People's Republic is to say Independence, to say the People's Republic is to say Revolution.

The New Battle

The State is not an eternal and immutable structure; the State is not the bureaucratic machinery of civil servants, nor something abstract or a mere technical apparatus. The State is always the organised form through which a class takes power in order to fulfill its interests. The colonial State, an instrument of domination and exploitation by a foreign bourgeoisie and imperialism which has already been partially destroyed by the struggle, must be replaced by a people's State, forged through an alliance of workers and peasants, guided by FRELIMO and defended by the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique, a State which wipes out exploitation and releases the creative initiative of the masses and the productive forces.

In the phase of people's democracy in which we are now engaged as a phase of the Mozambican revolutionary process, our aim is to lay the material, ideological, administrative and social foundations of our State.

We need to be aware that the apparatus we are now inheriting is, in its nature, composition and methods, a profoundly retrograde and reactionary structure which has to be completely revolutionised in order to put it at the service of the masses.

There are other realities we also need to be profoundly conscious of, the fact that we are winning political power but do not yet have economic power, that the administrative, educational, health, judicial and other machinery still escaped our control.

The new battle is only beginning. Against us are the exploiters and privileged, who will try to impede the revolutionary process with all the means available to them. We must not be deceived by the fact that the enemy are not now resorting to direct action. They are only weakened, not dead. Their methods will therefore become more treacherous. Right now we already have proof of this action, of infiltration, attempts to distort our line and political opportunism.

Our unity will be an essential target of enemy activity. Unity, we continue to repeat, is not just a feeling or something abstract. Vital unity is sustained by a clear concept of our objectives and a precise understanding of the tasks for each moment. Unity implies drawing an ever firmer dividing line between us and the enemy, regardless of the form he may take.

Through practice and its action, FRELIMO has asserted itself as the leading force in our society. For this very reason, the broad masses, from the Rovuma to the Maputo, have quite spontaneously fully identified with FRELIMO's principles and fight.

This popular support has tremendous potential and, properly channelled and structured, is an inexhaustible source of progress, an invincible force. At a time when the tasks of consolidating the power of the worker peasant alliance are a priority and when the new phase of national reconstruction is starting, it is essential that FRELIMO be in a position, structurally and organisationally, to carry through the giant tasks that face it.

Party School

It is primarily a matter of carrying out an ideological offensive to wipe out the colonial and capitalist mentality

which is deeply rooted in the urban areas, as well as the feudal traditional mentality which is predominant in the rural areas. An ideological offensive will enable the working masses to understand their historic role, their leading role in the process of transformation which is now under way. This task must be preceded by the consistent heightening of the political and ideological level of cadres seasoned and forged in the process of the people's liberation war. It was for this very reason that the last Central Committee meeting decided to give priority to the setting up of a Party School.

The task of mobilising and organising the masses in the tough class struggle which is approaching can be entrusted only to cadres who have been put to the test of practice. One of the main bastions of the system of exploitation of man is the complex machinery we are inheriting as regards administration, the judiciary, education, health, etc. Irrespective of the goodwill and honesty of the people who make it up, this machinery was designed solely to

serve foreign domination and the system of exploitation of man. It is therefore imperative for us to create a new mentality and way of seeing things, and to instill new methods in the people who are in it. This work can be done only if authentic representatives of the working class are in a position to assume their leading role.

These factors explain the reasons, why FRELIMO must remain the leading force in State structures.

In the present battle, the people have a most valuable instrument: The People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique, forged and seasoned in the tough fight against colonial-imperialist aggression, and also in the fight against both old and new exploiters. The historical circumstances experienced by our people over the past decade have made the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique a great and inexhaustible store of revolutionary cadres.

By consistently raising the political and class consciousness of the



fighters, consistently raising their educational, cultural and technical level, strengthening discipline in our ranks, reinforcing the feeling of internationalist duty and educating the new generation of fighters in the glorious revolutionary tradition of the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique, we shall always have a decisive force to defend our country, the revolution and the interests of the masses of the people.

Now as in the past, the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique are also a combat detachment on the

Members of the Organisation of Mozambican Women (OMM)





Less than 8 % of the population is literate . . . education for all is a top priority

fundamental fronts of production, study and mass mobilisation. Active participation on these fronts will enable the fighters to internalise the political dimension which will prepare them always to perform their patriotic and revolutionary duty.

Women in the Struggle

The participation of women in the Peoples' Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique, within the framework of the Women's Detachment, is imperative to the battle for women's emancipation, in the fight to involve women in the revolutionary process. Women's participation in work traditionally regarded as exclusively for men is a profoundly mobilising factor, a decisive factor establishing sexual equality in practice.

The Organisation of Mozambique Women (OMM) is called upon to develop its activities everywhere in the country, dealing with crying problems faced by women.

In order to fulfill its task, OMM must rely firmly and surely on the Women's Detachment, which is in practice the Mozambican women's vanguard.

The battle for women's emancipation is also an ideological battle against ideas which stem from decadent traditions and against the multiple attempts by the bourgeoisie to destroy the value of the fight for freedom. The fight is also an organisational one, a fight to establish structures among the least organised and most oppressed, humiliated and exploited women. A great number of democratic mass organisations, particularly for the youth and workers, need to come into being, after prior work by FRELIMO to organise those sectors.

At this time when we are proclaiming our independence, we must carefully avoid being carried away by emotional feelings of euphoria, especially in analysing our economic and social situation. It in no way diminishes the greatness of our struggle and of our people and country to have to acknowledge that the economic and financial situation is catastrophic, as a result of the unbridled plunder, the financial conditions imposed by colonialism and the disorganised exploitation of our potentials.

It is therefore necessary to undertake a cool-headed analysis, sector by sector of economic, social, educatio-

nal, cultural and health conditions in our country, so as to arrive at better methods of fighting. This will be the first task of our Government. Some of the problems to which priority will be given are solving the problems of unemployment, poverty, illiteracy, abandoned children, prostitution and banditry.

We must therefore draw up a national development policy, a correct policy on the use of our resources. The definition of the policy to be pursued is essential to establishing the priorities to be observed.

In establishing our development strategy, we must attach special value to what is our chief strength, the mobilisation and organisation of our people. Here too, we must seek inspiration from our own experience, in particular the liberated areas. One need only compare the success in the work of reconstruction in the liberated areas, which are now apparent to everyone, with the misery in which the people lived in the enemy concentration camps, despite the large sums spent on them. Therefore, we shall not seek solutions to our problems in miraculous palliatives coming from abroad, but we shall rely above all on our own

forces, getting down to work with determination, with a clear programme and clear objectives.

In this respect, we should emphasize the role we continue to ascribe to the liberated areas, to FRELIMO's bases and centres, as a store and source of inspiration for our revolution. It is in these areas that the population has already been living long years outside colonial society and its vices, defects and corrosive influence. It is in our centres and bases that a new and truly free generation is growing up, one which really deserves the name of continuadores (the continuers of the revolution).

Clearly, the creation of a new life in the liberated areas was not an accident or the automatic result of breaking off contact with colonial society. Far-reaching political, ideological and organisational efforts had to be made to overcome the influence of the past, the attempts of traditional form to reassert themselves and the new exploiters.

It is important to remember this experience in order to prepare for the new phase. Anyone who visits our whole country can note the big problem posed by the scattered population and the difficulty, under these circumstances, for the Government to organise social, educational and health services, in short, to improve the living conditions of these people. Hence, under the leadership of FRELIMO, the scattered population in the rural areas will be structured in revolutionary societies, in the final analysis in communal villages, where that people will have an organised life, developing production collectively, on the basis of their traditions, and promoting the exchange of knowledge.

In accordance with available means and observing the principle of self-reliance, the State will give all possible help to these communal societies, encouraging them to multiply and develop.

Racism

In this way, it will be possible to provide the people with services which will really enable them to enjoy greater well-being, especially by raising their technical and educational level, and by supplying water, electricity, health care and cultural activities.

Organising communal societies must be a priority in our activity, for both the Party and the State. The Party must launch a big campaign to mobilise and explain, the best living and production conditions.

The fulfillment of the gigantic tasks that lie ahead of us implies achieving and consolidating unity. To be united it is not enough to state that one is united. It is necessary to wage a constant battle against all divisive situations and tendencies.

It is necessary to understand the grandeur, diversity and complexity of our country. Knowing this complexity means studying the divisiveness in our country and the ways of combatting it.

Among the various vestiges of colonialism, Mozambican society has to a very high degree one typical form of discrimination, that based on racial and social groups.

In Mozambique we see parallel societies, taking the form of clubs, set up on the basis of race or of greater or lesser pigmentation, which have no contact with one another apart from compulsory and superficial contact during their working hours. This kind of social organisation abounds with superiority and inferiority complexes, with repression and tensions. It is imperative that all these specific peculiarities give way to real unity between Mozambicans. We do not know tribes, regions, races or religious beliefs. We know only Mozambicans who are equally exploited and equally desirous of freedom and revolution.

A priority for the new Republic - free medical services for all



Relations Between State and Church

We should like also to devote our attention to the problem of the relations which have traditionally existed between the church, religion and the State and to state very clearly what these relations will be in the people's Republic of Mozambique.

In the society we want to build, the State will be based on the principle that all change in society is a result of man's struggle on the fronts of class struggle, the fight for production and scientific innovation, and also the contradictions in natural phenomena. Colonialism, capitalism, the different systems of exploitation of man in our society, have always been associated with religious institutions. The colonial state transformed the faith of believers into a tool for neutralising the people's legitimate rebellion.

It is the duty of the State to guarantee freedom of conscience for its citizens which implies especially the protection of children against indoctrination within State institutions, as happened in the colonial schools which subjected children of differing religious origins to the evangelising of the Catholic church.

In order to respect freedom of conscience, the State cannot be connected with any religion or appear to have links with any of them.

It is up to the State to ensure the freely exercised right of every citizen to believe or not to believe. The mobilisation of the masses is a right and a duty won solely by FRELIMO through arduous struggle against colonialism and imperialism. The close association of religious institutions with the machinery of aggression and domination over our people certainly does not give them any right today to demand something against which they have always fought.

The Mozambican people did not struggle alone. Throughout the tough armed fight for national liberation FRELIMO established relations of friendship, solidarity and mutual help with peoples and countries sharing

the same aspirations of freedom, independence and social progress. This assertion does not stem from just feelings of gratitude although, on this day of happiness, we cannot fail to say how much the Mozambican people appreciate and esteem the fraternal and disinterested help they received from peoples, countries, organisations and individuals who made their efforts and sacrifices effective and victorious.

Comrades-in-Arms

In the first lines of this combat front we find the national liberation movements, fighters in the same fight and the same trench, comrades in arms who struggled alongside us and with whom we have established fraternal and indestructible relations of solidarity. To them we wish to affirm, above all, in this liberated African land, that the People's Republic of Mozambique fully assumes the internationalist dimension of the fight for the liberation of Africa and mankind and that our common struggle continues.

Through our Comrade and tried President Mohamed Siad Barre, current Chairman of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), we wish to hail all of independent Africa, our great and reliable rear base. Through his illustrious person as a revolutionary African militant, we wish to hail the political, moral, diplomatic, and material support of African countries and their consistent solidarity with our struggle.

We wish, in particular, to hail our brothers from Tanzania and Zambia who, without any hesitation or calculation of any kind, accepted all the risks involved in their position as our strategic rear, who suffered loss of life and property because they did not compromise with colonialism and made their contribution to Africa's liberation.

Because our struggle was, correctly, a part of the common anti-imperialist fight, the Mozambican people, under the leadership of FRELIMO, took up their posts in the great world front of revolutionary forces. It is within this context of political and ideological solidarity that we see our relations with the socialist countries, a liberated area of mankind where a new society is being built free from the exploitation of man by man.

The People's Republic of Mozambique will develop and intensify its militant relations with all socialist countries, seeking to benefit from their experience, in so far as it is common patrimony of mankind in the political, ideological, organisational, economic, social and cultural spheres. In hailing the progressive forces we cannot fail to salute the Portuguese people, who were always our allies in the fight against colonial-fascism and with whom we have bonds of fraternal solidarity forged through our mutual help and reciprocal contribution in the struggle for the liberation of our two peoples.

Peace and Friendship

Because our struggle never took on a racial character and because our people were always able to distinguish between the colonial-fascist regime and the Portuguese people, today we can extend a friendly hand to the Portuguese people, without complexes of any kind, so that we can build a future of friendship together, without hatred or feelings of revenge, on the basis of mutual respect and respect for the personality of each people.

Within the context of its policy of peace, friendship and solidarity with all peoples, the People's Republic of Mozambique wishes to establish healthy relations of international co-operation with all States, irrespective of their social system, on the basis of non-interference in internal affairs, absolute equality and mutual benefit. These principles, however, do not permit us to sacrifice the true interests of the people to transitory historical circumstances, as has always been the case in the past, we shall not co-exist with fascism and colonialism.

We attach great importance to developing our relations with the States of Africa, Asia and Latin America, which are also victims of imperialist plunder and aggression.

We also consider it important to develop our relations with the Scandinavian countries, Finland and Holland, which were able to understand the justness of the anti-colonial cause.

We are prepared to assume our responsibilities within the African and international community and, within this context, we shall apply for membership of the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations Organisation, both international organisations which have served the cause of national liberation and peace.

Mozambican women, Mozambican men . . .

We have won our independence by sheer dint of our struggle, our sacrifices and our revolutionary consciousness.

We marched, struggled and died to defend the interests of the masses of the working people.

In starting out on this new path, illuminated by the heroism of our martyrs and guided by FRELIMO's political line, we have one unshakeable certainty:

WE SHALL MAKE REVOLUTION TRIUMPH!

LONG LIVE FRELIMO!

LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE!

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES . . .

Farm in a liberated area . . . The revolutionary objective is State and Collective Farms



**Profile of a
Revolutionary ...**

Comrade Samora Moises MACHEL



Comrade Samora Moises Machel, President of Frelimo and President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, is a new type of African leader; a revolutionary steeled during a decade of armed struggle against fascist Portuguese forces.

Born in the Limpopo Valley in 1933, he may have become a priest had he not revolted against the decision of the missionaries at the Catholic school he had attended for six years to go to a seminary rather than a secondary school.

All avenues to further his studies were blocked and young Samora was forced to work and attend evening classes.

Even at this early age he was appalled at the conditions under which his people were forced to live and work. Finally, in 1963 he decided to leave the country and join the newly-formed Frelimo, led by his close friend and comrade Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane. He arrived in Dar Es Salaam via Bots-

wana on a flight chartered by the African National Congress which, among others, had the late J. B. Marks, Treasurer-General of the ANC, as a passenger. Almost immediately, he was sent with a few others to Algeria for military training and on his return he was made Camp Commander of Frelimo's first military camp.

When the armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism was launched in Mozambique on September 25, 1964, he was among the first 250 combatants to enter the country under the command of Comrade Filipe Magaia.

On the death of Comrade Magaia, he was appointed commander of the Frelimo forces and at Frelimo's second Congress in 1968, he was elected to the Central Committee.

A few months after the assassination of Comrade Mondlane in 1969, he was elected President of Frelimo. He decided to remain within the country and

in the years to follow he led his forces in the combat zones, spent considerable time in the liberated areas discussing the problems of rehabilitation and defence with the people.

Both young and old; men and women; youth and children were still awe-fired by his dynamism and dedication. He is loved by all who came into contact with him, not only for his simplicity but because he constantly consulted the people. As he once said, "the people are the thermometer." This remains his theme. Before going to Lourenco Marques the capital, he toured all the provinces, meeting the people from the factories, the mills, the plantations; urging them to be vigilant and to protect the revolution; exhorting them to work with Frelimo for the eradication of capitalism in the country.

Viva Samora Machel!
Viva Frelimo!
A Lutta Continua!



Comrade Neto surrounded by pressmen on his arrival in LM

WE SALUTE ALL OUR FRIENDS

Comrade Samora's speech
at the State Banquet
concluding the Independence
Celebrations

Comrades, Friends, Excellencies,
In the free country that Mozambique is, the Central Committee of Frelimo and all its militants, the entire Mozambican people have great joy and honour of solemnly receiving the representatives of the Parties, States, peoples and the forces that have been alongside us in our most difficult hours.

Born out of struggle, the People's Republic of Mozambique is now living its very first moments accompanied by its most faithful friends and allies. We are actually aware of how much many other friends who shared our sorrows and joys would enjoy being with us here, but unfortunately our organisational ability and the present reception structures throughout the country do not allow us to simultaneously receive all our comrades and friends. However, we hope that, with the development of the Republic, little by little, we shall be able to shelter everybody and express our people's brotherly feelings.

Respected Comrade and friend General Siad Barre: the Somalian October

Revolution marks one of the most important moments of the anti-imperialist march on the African continent and is one of the first steps on the way to the installation of a vast revolutionary base in Africa. The political and class fight waged by the Somalian working classes guided by their revolutionary forces is a source of inspiration and stimulus for all of us.

The victories achieved by the working people of Somalia made it possible that poor and underdeveloped Somalia became a vanguard of the movement of solidarity with our struggle. This movement of solidarity assumes a major importance as Tanzania and Zambia which have also assumed the decisive task of a strategic and reliable, rear base in the fight of the Mozambican people. Under the leadership, respectively, of TANU and UNIP, Tanzania and Zambia resisted and wiped out all provocations and aggressions of colonial fascism and imperialism and has kept very high the flame of solidarity with the Mozambican people. During the hard days, solid ideological understanding have been

created among FRELIMO, TANU and UNIP, which were forged and tempered in the process of the very same and common fight against colonialism and against capitalism.

African Unity

Our unity grew up at each victory achieved by the working masses in our countries. To pay homage to comrades Julius Nyerere and Kenneth Kaunda is to express the friendship, the respect and the love that FRELIMO militants and the Mozambican people have towards their faithful fellows in arms. In the battlefield, though far from our borders, our comrades in arms of the Guinea Democratic Party and the Labour Party of Congo have been alongside us, and they were bases of support for the liberation struggle in Guinea-Bissau and Angola, as well as bases of support for the revolutionary fight in our continent.

Our friends and fellows from Zaire and Senegal were also side by side with us, and being neighbours of the Portuguese colonial empire they fulfilled their duty of solidarity. The entire African continent lived our struggle and felt it as their own. From the Mediterranean to the Cape, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Indian Ocean and Red Sea, Africa united against Portuguese colonialism, accepted sacrifices, fought to isolate the most retrograde and barbarous force that dominated our continent. African unity has been affirmed as a real unity, an invincible force.

To all our brothers who are present here, representing the member states of the Organisation of African Unity, representing the African continent, we wish to express our deep joy for having them with us in the major feast day of our people; the celebration of our victory, the common victory, the victory of Africa.

The Liberation Movements

Comrades, Friends, Excellencies: The liberation struggle of the brotherly peoples of the former Portuguese colonies constituted for us a source of inspiration, a stimulus, an important factor for our victory. I welcome my brother and comrade in arms Augustino Neto of the MPLA. The struggle of Zimbabwe is our struggle. The Mozambican people under the leadership of Frelimo will resolutely support the fight of our brother people for real independence, for the end of the racist and illegal regime. As we have always done, we shall fulfill our international



O. R. Tambo

duty in Zimbabwe. We shall firmly stand alongside the Namibian people and shall support their struggle for the end of the illegal and foreign domination of the territory, for immediate independence of the area in accordance with the legitimate aspirations of the masses, which is expressed in the people's struggle guided by SWAPO.

I welcome my friend, my comrade, my brother-in-arms, Comrade Oliver Tambo of the African National Congress of South Africa. The Mozambican people and the People's Republic of Mozambique, under the leadership of Frelimo, will always assume their duty of solidarity with the interests of the South African masses and of all mankind, whatever difficulties they may face.

The victories of the heroic and brotherly peoples of Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia demonstrated once again the invincibility of a peoples' liberation war. Having annihilated the most cruel and barbarous aggression; having for many years neutralized the biggest imperialist power, the Indo-Chinese peoples made a decisive contribution for the cause of the world anti-imperialist struggle.

We wish to salute the representatives of the Arab peoples and to reaffirm our total support for their just struggle for recovering the occupied territories and for Palestine's national rights.

The Portuguese People

Comrades and Friends, Excellencies: The Socialist countries stood alongside us from the very beginning of our struggle. We may also say that the victory of Mozambique is a victory of the exemplary internationalism of the Socialist countries. Having destroyed in their countries the system of exploitation of man by man, they form the liberated area of mankind; they support all just struggles. Therefore, we salute with joy the presence of our natural allies. We also salute the Portuguese presence with emotion, especially the presence of those who participated in the anti-fascist struggle, in the trenches of the patriotic, clandestine class struggle, in the midst of torture and camps of death. We are grateful for their constant fight against tyranny, side by side with us. We have thus erected an unbreakable friendship and the alliance between our peoples, and today they build freedom in Portugal.

Having said this, we wish to particularly mention the Portuguese Communist Party, a revolutionary organisation of the Portuguese people, which is represented here by its Secretary General, Comrade Alvaro Cunhal.

We are also thinking of our Portuguese socialist friends that are represented here by their Secretary General, Comrade Mario Soares.

May I also greet our friend the Vice-Admiral Vitor Crespo who was able to represent before us the real feelings and interests of the Portuguese working masses. He has made a major contribution for the strengthening of the bonds between our peoples.

We also salute the representatives of the progressive and democratic forces and the movements of solidarity created by them in the tough front in the western countries, where they organised broad movements of support for our cause. We used to call them capitalist countries; however, today we change the word, we now call them western countries . . .

We salute the representatives of the United Nations and of the mass organisations, who are actually the spokesmen and the fighters of just causes. We salute all the friends of Frelimo and of the People's Republic of Mozambique, and we propose a toast in their honour, a toast to our common victory.

The Struggle Continues!

TO POINT A MORAL TO A COMRADE

Marcelino dos Santos

FIRST PAMPHLET

It isn't that things are easy,
nor is it being easy
that's essential.

The sunflower circles with the light
and that isn't easy but is beautiful.

It is time to understand
that macala and malapa*
grow on strong trees
in firm ground
and not in mud.

To go on studying or not to
is neither your nor my problem
it's ours.**

A hospital for the people,
a school for the people,
it's not true

in our land it's not possible
without digging the soil of Revolution

To expect rice
without sowing it
is not the history of man.

The second step
comes after the first
we live today
not yesterday nor tomorrow
and the mission of us all

is

REALISE THE PROGRAMME OF FRELIMO
COMPLETE NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE
AN END OF EXPLOITATION MAN BY MAN

Today's task,
comrade,

is, dig the basic soil of Revolution
and make a strong people grow
with a submachine gun, a bazooka, a 12.7
in Muidumbe, in Catur
and to the south again
in Nampula, Macequece and Inhambane

And a strong people,
comrade,

will move mountains

create hospitals
create schools.

As the first young shoots proclaimed
in Cabo Delgado and Niassa Province

* these are both types of fruit.

** This is a reference to a long controversy between FRELIMO militants and some students who were more anxious to continue their studies than to go into the liberated areas and use their education in the struggle.

We are FRELIMO soldiers
accomplishing our task
digging the basic soil of Revolution.

SECOND PAMPHLET

What matters is not what I want
or YOU want

but what WE want

Revolution is like that
is has its laws

and a secret as well

The laws of Revolution
are the laws of men united

Each of us
has a wish
strong with dream and desire

To be a doctor, pilot or mechanic
a carpenter, engineer
or even a political leader

and serve

the people

TOMORROW

as best he can and will

AND TODAY
COMRADES
HOW TO SERVE THE PEOPLE TODAY

Each of us
has a private wish
but what WE want
is not what I want or you want
but what WE want

The dove beats her wings and flies

The chirica sings

True,

But air and space are free
comrades.

In colonial Mozambique
No hospital is for the people
No school is for the people
and space are enclosed.

Today

we must cultivate
the shamba of the Revolution,
a hard future
of sweat, of toil, of blood

with moments of discouragement,
of despair

but always reviving enthusiasm,
sidetracked often

but always returning to the road

TODAY

we must cultivate the
shamba of the Revolution,
a hard future in the bush

wearing out our hands and eyes
in the great sustained effort

stumbling, falling

and getting up again

learning, and forming ourselves
from man's experience

of griefs and victories

and gathering the first fruits

hard and dry still

BUT ALREADY FRUITS, COMRADES

Revolution has its laws,
the laws of men united

and what matters is that we want



ALL OF US
TODAY
TO ACCOMPLISH OUR TASK
TO CULTIVATE THE BASIC SOIL OF
REVOLUTION.

THIRD PAMPHLET

The effort we make
is neither great nor small

It is

what it has to be

The march goes on
Three hours, six hours and more
until we reach the end,
with a break or without a break
one water bottle between six or ten comrades
or a whole river
to wash off a fortnight's sweat or a month's
which, flowing and drying
endlessly,

encrusts our bodies and our clothes

The effort we make
is neither great nor small

It is

what it has to be

We are FRELIMO soldiers
Accomplishing the party's task

Groups of men and women
Carrying arms, ammunition,
medicine, clothes

supplying the guerrilheiros

Groups of men and women
growing fields
of groundnuts, rice and maize

building a new life
in the FRELIMO zones

The effort we make
is neither great nor small

It is

what it has to be

We are FRELIMO soldiers
Accomplishing the party's task

spreading underground
the word of command
in the bush and in the towns

smashing the PIDE network

Bringing news of FRELIMO victories
to zones still under domination
by the colonialist enemy

preparing the hour of guerilla outburst

The effort we make
is neither great nor small

It is

what it has to be

We are FRELIMO soldiers
Accomplishing the party's task

Learning to read and write

one comrade teaching another
one teacher to a hundred pupils
under a wild tree
discovering anew the colours of the world

or learning mechanics,
medicine, chemistry
with a far-off friendly nation

The effort we make
is neither great nor small

It is

what it has to be

We are FRELIMO soldiers
Accomplishing the party's task

An ambush, a post attacked
With a submachine gun or mortars,
Lorries blown up on a mine
Enemy soldiers lost,
fallen dying

a protected village destroyed

THE PEOPLE FREED

Comrades reunited
drumming the victory march
National independence
The end of exploitation man by man

The effort we make
is neither great nor small

It is

what it has to be

We are FRELIMO soldiers
Accomplishing the party's task

FOURTH AND LAST PAMPHLET FINALLY

The time of Revolution
is the time of certainty
of hopes realised

and it is for us TODAY

No one is responsible
for being born when he was born
neither before nor afterwards

We grow up,
it's true,

Some before, some afterwards

Walking the earth apart
Each with his own past

But now

The Revolution rules our senses
and a million voices, a million hands united
say what matters

is not what I or you want
BUT WHAT WE WANT

and this is how the road is

Engraved on the mountainside

rising and falling

Carved into the plain

through wild grass and dense bush

even through maize higher than our own heads

The effort we make
is neither great nor small

It is what it has to be

A guerrilheiro
cultivating the earth
carrying ammunition
or medicine

Building a hospital, a school
or studying in a distant land

My place

is there, where FRELIMO decides

The line of battle

is where the Revolution takes me

WE ARE FRELIMO SOLDIERS
ACCOMPLISHING THE PARTY'S TASK
DIGGING THE BASIC SOIL OF
REVOLUTION

FOR AN END OF EXPLOITATION MAN
BY MAN

TO BUILD COMPLETE NATIONAL
INDEPENDENCE.



MOZAMBIQUE CABINET

Three White Mozambicans and one woman are included in the list of ministers in the new government of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

The full list:

Minister of State of the Presidency: Jose Oscar Monteiro
 Minister of National Defence: Alberto Chipande
 Minister of Interior: Armando Guebuza
 Minister of Development and Economic Planning: Marcelino dos Santos
 Minister of Foreign Affairs: Joaquim Alberto Chissano (the former interim Prime Minister)
 Minister of Justice: Rui Baltazar
 Minister of Information: Jorge Rebelo
 Minister of Industry and Commerce: Mario Graca Machunga
 Minister of Agriculture: Joaquim Carvalho
 Minister of Finance: Salomao Munguambe
 Minister of Transport and Telecommunications: Jose Luis Cabaco
 Minister of Health: Helder Martins
 Minister of Public Works and Housing: Julio Carrilho
 Minister of Health and Culture: Grace Simbine
 Minister of Labour: Mariano Matsinha
 Vice Minister of Interior: Daniel Mbanze
 Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs: Armando Panguene
 Vice Minister of National Defence and Chief of the General Staff of the Army: Sebastiao Mabote



Jose Oscar Monteiro



Alberto Chipande



Armando Guebuza



Marcelino dos Santos



Joaquim Carvalho



Joaquim Alberto Chissano



Sebastiao Mabote