



A state born of our people's struggle



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 becoming a full and integral part.

But it is not so much about the present we are living through, though 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 of 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...

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



Machel

and wives raped, our traditions humiliated, our civilization 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 genius of a people, the result of the bestial wickedness of a man or group of men?

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

It was in order to plunder our subsoil that the big multi-nationals 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 urban areas, with some success - to destroy our personality, sow division and create a slave mentality 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.

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...

We are not going to trace here the history of the national liberation process through the events which took 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 struggle, demanded permanent vigilance and action to neutralize 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 anti-people manoeuvres. The 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 Women's Detachment, women's instruments 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 impetuous 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 contradiction 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 headed 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.

This fresh victory unleashed a wave of reactionary violence in which new national exploiters, now openly allied with the colonial-imperialist forces, 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 bourgeoisies and imperialism, to seize power.

Assuming the heritage of Com-

rade Eduardo Mondlane, closely integrated with the masses of the people and resolutely 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 impetuous 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 south of the Zambezi in November 1970, and the opening of the Manica e 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 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 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 Wiriyamu, Joao, Chawola and Inhaminga, sharpened the contradictions and strengthened the people's determination to destroy the enemy.

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 at 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 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, ideological, 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 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 fulfil 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...

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 underway. 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 labouring classes are in a position to assume their leading role.

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

In the present battle, the people have a most valuable instrument: the Mozambique People's Liberation Forces, 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 Mozambique People's Liberation Forces a great and inex-

haustible 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 Mozambique People's Liberation Forces, 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 Mozambique People's Liberation Forces are also a combat detachment on the 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.

The participation of women in the Mozambique People's Liberation Forces 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 Mozambican Women (OMM) is called upon to develop its activities everywhere in the country, dealing with the crying problems faced by women.

In order to fulfil 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 structure among the least organised and most oppressed, humiliated and exploited women.

A greater 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 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, educational, 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 the people. Here too, we must seek inspiration from our own experience, in particular in the liberated areas. One need only compare the successes in the work of reconstruction in the liberated areas, which are now apparent to everyone, with the misery in which 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 like to emphasise 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 of contact with colonial society. Far-reaching political, ideological and organisational efforts had to be made to overcome the influence of the past, and attempts of traditional forms 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 the 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. 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.



A poster in Maputo. It reads: "Apartheid is responsible for the death of our president. We will never allow our nation to fall into the hands of the South African fascists and racists. Let the struggle continue."

The Party must launch a big campaign to mobilise and explain, at the best living and production conditions.

The fulfilment of the giant 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 combating 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 resentments 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..

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 religions or appear to have links with any of them...

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 only from 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.

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...

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 the 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.

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 any 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 for the personality of each people...

We are prepared to assume our responsibilities within the African and international community and, within this context, we shall apply for membership of the Organization 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 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 unshakable certainty:

WE SHALL MAKE REVOLUTION TRIUMPH! LONG LIVE FRELIMO! LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE! THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES...
Independence Day, 25 June 1971

