

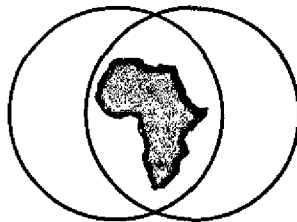
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FRELIMO
AND THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT
OF MOZAMBIQUE

The Lusaka Agreement

Policy Statement of Samora Machel,
President of FRELIMO

THE SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS



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Introductory Note

The signing of the Lusaka Agreement between Frelimo and the Portuguese Government on 7 September, 1974, brought to an end protracted negotiations which had been initiated soon after the Lisbon Coup of 25 April, 1974.

In terms of the Lusaka Agreement, the terms of which are reproduced in the first part of this paper, a transitional Government has been formed in Mozambique, whose task is to prepare for the coming of independence on 25 June, 1975. A High Commissioner, representing the Portuguese President and Government, has also been appointed, in terms of the Agreement, in the person of Rear Admiral Victor Crespo.

Six Ministers in the transitional Government have been appointed by Frelimo. They are:

Prime Minister - Mr. Joaquim Abberto Chissano (38 years of age)

Minister of Internal Administration - Mr. Armando Guebuza (31)

Minister of Economic Co-ordination - Mr. Mario Fernandes de Graca
Machungo (34)

Minister of Information - Mr. Jose Oscar Monteiro (32)

Minister of Education and Culture - Mr. Gideon Ndombe (36)

Minister of Labour - Mr. Mariano De Araujo Matsinha (36)

The four Ministers appointed by the Portuguese Government are:

Minister of Justice - Mr. Rui Baltasar Dos Santos Alves (41)

Minister of Health and Social Affairs - Dr. Antonio Paulino (42)

Minister of Public Works and Housing - Mr. Lui Maria Alcantara Santos (46)

Minister of Communications and of Transport - Mr. Eugenio Baptista De
Figueiredo Picolo (44)

A joint Military Commission of five members has also been appointed, as follows:

Brigadier Pissarro De Lima, a Portuguese Officer

Commander Mario Trinca of the Portuguese Navy

Mr. Jacinto Velosa of Frelimo (previously a Portuguese officer)

~~Mr. Alberto Chápaude of Frelimo~~

Mr. Sebastian Mabote of Frelimo

(All the above names are taken from a report in The Star (Johannesburg) of 20 September, 1974.)

Mr. Joaquim Chissano, Prime Minister in the new Government, is reported to be number three in the leadership hierarchy of Frelimo. The first two are Samora Machel, President of Frelimo, and Marcelino dos Santos.

On the occasion of the investiture, or swearing in, of the members of the new Government in Lourenço Marques on 20 September, 1974, a long message from Samora Machel (who^s was not present himself) was read to the gathering, conveying the aims of Frelimo in Mozambique and the policies to be followed in various areas of internal development. An English translation (from Portuguese) of this important policy statement is reproduced in full in the second part of this paper.

A. THE LUSAKA AGREEMENT

On 7 September, 1974, negotiations between representatives of the Portuguese Government and of the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) concluded in Lusaka, Zambia, with the signing of the following Agreement, in terms of which Mozambique will become an independent state on 25 June, 1975, the anniversary of the founding of FRELIMO in 1962.

1. Having recognised the Mozambique people's right to independence, the Portuguese State accepts by agreement with Frelimo the progressive transfer of the powers it holds over the territory, under the terms following.
2. The complete independence of Mozambique shall be solemnly proclaimed on June 25, 1975, the anniversary of Frelimo's foundation.
3. The following governmental structures are created with a view to ensuring the aforesaid transfer of powers. They will be operative during the transitional period which begins on the signing of the present agreement. They are:
 - (a) A High Commissioner appointed by the President of the Portuguese Republic.
 - (b) A transitional government appointed by agreement between the Mozambique Liberation Front and the Portuguese State.
4. The duties of the High Commissioner as representative of Portuguese sovereignty are:
 - (a) To represent the President of the Portuguese Republic and the Portuguese Government.
 - (b) To ensure Mozambique's territorial integrity.
 - (c) To promulgate the legislative decrees approved by the transitional government and to ratify the acts which involve the direct responsibility of the Portuguese State.
 - (d) To ensure the implementation of agreements reached between the Portuguese State and the Mozambique Liberation Front and the respect for mutual guarantees, namely those subscribed to in the universal declaration of human rights.
 - (e) To boost the process of decolonisation.

5. The transitional government's task will be to promote the progressive transfer of powers at all levels and to prepare Mozambique's independence. Namely its duties are:
 - (a) The exercise of legislative and executive functions relating to the territory of Mozambique. Legislative functions will be carried out through legislative decrees.
 - (b) The general administration of the territory up to the proclamation of independence and the restructuring of the cadres concerned.
 - (c) The defence and safeguard of public order and the safety of persons and property.
 - (d) The implementation of agreements signed by the Mozambique Liberation Front and the Portuguese State.
 - (e) The financial and economic administration of the territory, namely the establishment of structures and mechanisms of control which may contribute towards the development of the independent Mozambique economy.
 - (f) The guarantee of the principle of non-discrimination on the grounds of race, ethnicity, religion or sex.
 - (g) The restructuring of the territory's judiciary organisation.

6. The composition of the transitional government shall be as follows:
 - (a) A Prime Minister appointed by the Mozambique Liberation Front and whose task is to co-ordinate government action and to represent the government.
 - (b) Nine Ministers holding the following portfolios: Internal Administration, Justice, Economic Co-ordination, Information, Education and Culture, Transport and Communications, Health and Social Affairs, Labour, Public Works and Housing.
 - (c) Secretaries and under-secretaries to be created and appointed under the Prime Minister's proposition, by the transitional government's decision, submitted to the High Commissioner's ratification.
 - (d) The transitional government shall define the distribution of its competence through the respective Ministers, secretaries and under-secretaries.

7. Given the transitional character of this stage of governmental action, Ministers shall be appointed by the Mozambique Liberation Front and by the High Commissioner in the proportion of two-thirds and one-third respectively.

8. The joint military commission will consist of equal numbers of representatives from the armed forces of the Portuguese State and from the Mozambique Liberation Front. Its main task will be to control the implementation of the cease fire agreement.

9. The Mozambique Liberation Front and the Portuguese State hereby agree to a ceasefire on the terms specified in the adjoining protocol.

10. In the case of serious disruption of public order requiring intervention by the armed forces, the command and co-ordination will be entrusted to the High Commissioner, assisted by the Prime Minister on whom the armed forces of the Mozambique Liberation Front directly depend.
11. The transitional government shall set up a police corps charged with ensuring the maintenance of order and the safety of persons. Until such a corps becomes operative, the police forces presently existing will be commanded by the High Commissioner, in accordance with the general orientation defined by the transitional government.
12. The Portuguese State and the Mozambique Liberation Front undertake to act jointly in the defence of the territorial integrity of Mozambique against aggression.
13. The Mozambique Liberation Front and the Portuguese State solemnly state their aim to establish and develop links of friendship and constructive co-operation between their respective peoples, namely in the cultural, technical, economic and financial fields, upon a basis of independence, equality, community of interests and respect for the personality of each people.

For this and during the transitional period specialised joint commissions will be created and thereafter the relevant agreements will be signed.
14. The Mozambique Liberation Front declares its readiness to accept responsibility for financial obligations undertaken by the Portuguese State in the name of Mozambique, provided that those obligations were undertaken in the effective interest of this territory.
15. The Portuguese State and the Mozambique Liberation Front undertake to act jointly in order to eliminate all vestiges of colonialism and to create true racial harmony. In this context the Mozambique Liberation Front reaffirms its policy of non-discrimination, according to which the quality of a Mozambican is not defined by skin colour, but by voluntary identification with the aspirations of the Mozambican nation. On the other hand special agreements will define the status of Portuguese citizens resident in Mozambique on a reciprocal basis.
16. In order to ensure for the transitional government the means to pursue an independent financial policy a central bank will be created in Mozambique, which will also have the functions of an issuing bank. For this purpose the Portuguese State undertakes to transfer to that bank all assets and liabilities of the Mozambique department of the Banco Nacional Ultramarino (National Overseas Bank). A joint commission will begin work immediately to study conditions for such a transfer.

B. POLICY STATEMENT OF SAMORA MACHEL, PRESIDENT OF FRELIMO.

The following message was delivered, on behalf of Samora Machel, on the occasion of the investiture of the Transitional Government of Mocambique - 20 September, 1974.

Mocambican Women and Men,
FRELIMO Militants and Combatants,

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

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

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

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

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

Thus the Mozambican people have an instrument both able and prepared to face the serious problems of the present phase: a Government led by FRELIMO and which has within it militants seasoned in the tough struggle for national liberation, in political and armed struggle, in clandestine struggle.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In every factory, every department, every service, every commercial establishment, in every agricultural enterprise, Party Committees must be formed to implement the watchwords of FRELIMO and the Transitional Government, thus releasing the people's initiative and setting in motion the masses' creative ability.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The watchword is work and self-sacrifice.

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

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

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

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

This means that a Government which deviates from the People's interests, from FRELIMO's political line and leadership, is like the colonial-fascist regime, bound to be overthrown.

Led by FRELIMO, the Transitional Government begins its action today.

Although it is not for us to spell out the Transitional Government's programme, since this is its own task, it is nevertheless necessary to define, as from now, the tasks which must be undertaken by FRELIMO, the Government and the masses at this decisive moment in our country's reconstruction.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We inherited a colonial economic structure in which the productive factors did not serve our country or our people, but foreign domination. We must combat this situation by laying the foundations of an independent economy to serve the working masses.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The overwhelming majority of our people live in the countryside, and it is in the countryside that are to be found the natural resources which must be developed so as to make our country prosper. It was the countryside that most suffered from the destructive effects of war and it is in the country-

side that the clearest signs of hunger can be seen. It is therefore towards the countryside that our main efforts to improve the living conditions of the masses will be directed. Priority must be given to the development of our agriculture, animal husbandry and the most effective use of our sub-soil resources.

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

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

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

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

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

We are engaged in a Revolution whose advance depends on the creation of the new man, with a new mentality. We are engaged in a Revolution aimed at the establishment of People's Democratic Power. Therefore at school level we must be able to introduce collective work and create an open climate of criticism and self-criticism. Teachers and pupils must learn from one another in a climate of mutual trust and harmonious comradesly relations in which it will be possible to release the initiative of each and develop the talents of all, so that all grow together in the great task of national reconstruction.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mocambican women are still weighed down by two burdens: on the one hand reactionary traditions which deprive them of initiative in society and reduce them

to mere instruments of men and, on the other, the colonial-capitalist system which regards them as objects of exploitation and a means of production. We must wage a close struggle for the emancipation of women and the restoration of their dignity.

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

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

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

This watchword is also valid for many people in the Asian community and many mulattoes, who still regard themselves as superior or different to the black population.

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

There are no superior and inferior races. But it is not enough to talk about racial harmony for everyone to get on well together from one day to the next. What is needed is the political work of constant explanation, a conscious effort to change attitudes and habits, a deliberate effort to make people of the different races which go to make up our people live together in harmony. The togetherness which must be established must be full and real, and not just superficial togetherness during hours of

work and in professional relations. Most especially, clubs and associations based on racial, ethnic or regional origins must be transformed into associations for all Mozambicans, into centres of Mozambican culture where all can meet in a healthy spirit of true fraternity, and with a clearly defined political line on the building of a new society. We should like especially to draw attention to the fact that since the fact of being Mozambican is not determined by skin colour, language, religious belief, social origin or sex, we must vigorously combat the minority concept which some people are trying to instill in the minds of especially white Mozambicans.

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

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

Hence the chief task of all FRELIMO militants is to further the work of organising the masses and guiding them in each factory, each agricultural unit, each PFLM* detachment, each co-operative, each neighbourhood, each department, so that the government is constantly aware of the people's feelings and thoughts. In other words, the FRELIMO militant's work is to create the conditions to release the creative initiative of the masses, to free them from passive obedience and to create structures and channels through which the will of the masses can determine government action.

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

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

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

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

* People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique.

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

Ultra-leftism is thus a weapon of reaction.

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

We wish to reaffirm the friendship which unites us with the Portuguese people, and in particular with the Portuguese democratic forces, a friendship forged in the common struggle against the colonial-fascist regime.

That common struggle continues.

Colonialism has already been buried, Mozambique's independence will be a fact within a few months. Let us therefore definitely turn towards the future. What matters now is to build the future relations between our peoples, between the democratic forces of our countries. And the future relations between our peoples largely depend on the actions of the High Commissioner and on frank and sincere co-operation between the High Commissioner and the Transitional Government.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

UNITY, WORK, VIGILANCE.

Samora Moises Machel
President
FRELIMO