

# SEPTEMBER 25

## *A message from the President of FRELIMO to the fighters and people of Mozambique*

Comrades,

Today we are celebrating our Revolution's most important day. We are celebrating the day on which our armed struggle for national liberation started. We are celebrating the day which enabled us to become what we are: a conscious and united people, a people with a country, a people creating a new society through struggle and sacrifice.

The companies that are disappearing, the machila that is beginning to be forgotten, the administration, the palmatoria the colonialist taxes, the forced labour — all that started to die on 25 September.

The schools and hospitals, the co-operatives — everything that has been created and is growing in our country was born on 25 September.

It is true that most of our country is still not free, is owned by the companies. It is true that most of our people are still not free, are enslaved people sold to the mines in South Africa, imprisoned people held in concentration camps, humiliated people receiving orders from foreigners.

All this is true, what we have accomplished and what remains to be done.

And we already know, we can already measure, the concrete and real advantages that the struggle is bringing to our people; this enables us to understand the direction in which we are heading.

The seventh year of war is ending, the eighth is beginning. A year is ending in which our struggle has been consolidated and expanded. With the seventh year, our certainty of victory grew and the confidence in our political line grew as well. With the eighth year, our freedom will become even more real, just as the ignominious defeat of Portuguese colonialism will become more real.

In 1970, the enemy tried to win a quick victory and met with defeat. This year, 1971, they have tried to be more flexible, less adventurous, they have attempted to combine crimes against our people with political manoeuvres aimed at sowing confusion. This too has failed.

After the end of the dry season, our fighters south of the Zambezi had created the conditions for expanding the armed struggle. By the end of the year, the flames of war had already attained the southern bank of the Zambezi. Nothing succeeded in preventing the spread of the war, neither the

aircraft criss-crossing the Zambezi, the constant patrols along the banks, the driving out of the population, the destruction of boats, nor the murder of peasants and fishermen crossing the river in the course of their daily work.

South of the axis Montepuez — Porto Amélia, south of Mecanhelas, along the outer limits of the eastern zone of Niassa, south and east of the Zambezi, the great fire which consumes colonialism is spreading, touching even more the enemy nerve centres. Faced with this expanding struggle, the enemy are trying to reorganise the deployment of their forces, evacuating certain positions, reinforcing others, intensifying bombing raids with more than two dozen aircraft and stepping up their helicopter incursions into our areas.

As a result of the constant attacks against their posts, as a result of the ever greater losses they are suffering, the enemy are now withdrawing from certain strategic posts. But this situation must not create a feeling of victory, leading to a superiority complex and a slackening of vigilance and discipline among the fighters and people. We must always remember that the enemy's withdrawal from certain strategic positions does not mean that they are withdrawing from Mozambique. The enemy are withdrawing because our struggle is advancing. By withdrawing they are enabling us to gain ground but, in so doing, they would also have us believe that they have become weak, so as to promote the growth of ambition, division and corruption, making some think that we are already independent just because the enemy have already evacuated their region, as if an arm could live severed from its body. This situation in which the enemy are stepping up their political manoeuvres at the same time as evacuating certain regions is one that cadres need to seriously study.

This year, because the enemy armed forces suffered heavy reverses, because the combat zone expanded and because our forces maintained a consistent offensive, despite all their intentions and threats, the enemy were incapable of launching any large-scale ground offensive. Hence the intensification of their criminal and barbarous acts against the people: massacres of the population, bombing raids, incursions against granaries and cultivated plots, and the burning and looting of villages. Portuguese terrorist action is being cynically combined with psychological action aimed at leading the people astray with political promises which are as demagogic as they are devoid of content, like the promise of autonomy, for example. This situation, this new tactic of enemy duplicity, requires that we analyse the present situation.

The liberation war is beginning to press at the enemy's nerve centres. The extent of Portuguese losses in both lives and material is rapidly increasing. The areas of confrontation are expanding in all directions. The colonialists are finding themselves in the position of a man surrounded by a number of fires who rushes to put out the fire on his right only to feel the flames on his left burning more intensely. The colonialists are disorientated. They had thought that with operation «Gordian Knot», in 1970, they could have quenched the flames in Cabo Delgado. The flames were not put out in Cabo Delgado and the fire has spread south of the Zambezi and Montepuez — Porto Amélia. Then they tried to concentrate on Cahora Bassa, only to realise that our fighters had transformed Cahora Bassa into an island, isolated from the rest of the country. The Portuguese enemy realises how immense has been their failure, but they cannot accept their defeat.

The enemy is now trying to achieve three objectives in the hope of saving their interests:

1. To change the nature of our war.
2. To further internationalise the war.
3. To sow confusion among us.

Our war is a war of national liberation against Portuguese colonialism, against imperialism and against the exploitation of man by man. The colonialists want our war to cease being a struggle against the exploiters and to be transformed into a war against the Portuguese people, to stop being against imperialism and to become a war between the black people of Mozambique and the white population in Mozambique, a racist war. In order to achieve this objective, Portugal is systematically driving the African people from their fertile lands and settling European people there.

When the Portuguese government drives Mozambicans from their land in order to put settlers there, their prime aim is to force the emergence of contradictions between the Mozambican and Portuguese peoples. In so doing, colonialism will tell the white farmers that they must defend their land against the Africans, at the same time creating in the African population a feeling of hatred for those who have occupied their land. Transforming the nature of our war and making us become confused as to the identity of the enemy, would be to create confusion as to who should be the target of our bullets.

A very great responsibility faces FRELIMO and the Mozambican people in avoiding any perversion of the content of our struggle, making the masses ever more deeply aware of the identity of the enemy and making the Portuguese and white Mozambicans understand that our struggle is not directed against them, that they have only to gain from the defeat of colonialism and Portuguese fascism.

The colonialists are also trying to further internationalise their war against our people. Although enemy forces already number more than 70,000 men brought from Portugal, these forces are not able to deter the advance of our forces. All Portuguese attempts to impede our advance have failed and resulted in growing losses among the Portuguese troops.

On the other hand, the advance of the struggle in Angola and Guiné, the appearance of armed anti-colonialist action in Portugal itself and the great number of desertions from the Portuguese forces are preventing the enemy High Command from significantly increasing their total strength in Mozambique. Therefore, Portugal, which claims to be protecting Mozambique from foreign invasion, is bringing foreign troops into Mozambique. Portugal, which claims not to be racist, is instal-

*'The eighth year of struggle will mark even bigger advances'*



Speaking to the people: Com. Samora Machel.



ling racist troops from racist South Africa and racist Rhodesia in Mozambique. Portugal, which is always screaming that our struggle is financed and sustained from abroad, is not only bringing mercenaries to Mozambique, but is also begging its imperialist masters for money and aid.

Two countries have already sent their troops to Mozambique: South Africa and Rhodesia. Only this April, the Rhodesian government itself announced the death of its soldiers and destruction of its vehicles during operations in Mozambique. Aircraft and helicopters from these two countries are taking part in countless operations against our forces. Foreign mercenaries are being used in our country. Foreign military advisers are coming to Mozambique disguised as civilian technicians.

Showing consistent contempt for the interests of the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Guiné, contempt for the Portuguese people's opposition and contempt for African and world opinion, NATO is stepping up its criminal aid to Portugal. The leaders of world imperialism — the United States, Federal Germany, Britain and France — are no longer seeking hypocritical pretexts, but openly supplying Portugal with money and arms, publicly training new war criminals and even sending military advisers, as they did most recently last June. The United States, France, Britain and South Africa are ringing Mozambique with naval and air bases, on the pretext of defending the Cape route, which is threatened by no one more than imperialism. This growing internationalisation of the war of aggression against our people is aimed at prolonging the war against Mozambique and at making our people capitulate before the demands and manoeuvres of imperialism.

We are mobilised to fight and win a protracted people's war. We are in a position increasingly to transform our growing political consciousness into a material force which will crush the enemy, no matter how powerful they may be. The unity achieved among us, the dividing line that has been drawn between us and the reactionary elements, the clarification of our political line and the purification that has taken place within our ranks, have given our organisation new vigour, strengthening the masses' confidence in FRELIMO and the leadership, making the people deeply aware of the objectives of the struggle.

All this created the conditions for the masses to assume our revolutionary ideology, that is, for them to transform correct ideas into a material force, a material force which gave rise to the vigilance which exposed infiltrated subversive agents, a material force which has defeated the enemy's criminal offensives, a material force which has resulted in our present successes.

Finally, our enemy would like to foment subversion, to sow confusion in order to divide, weaken and ultimately annihilate us, and this is certainly their major aim. The terrorist campaign of bombing and slaughtering our people, the destruction of crops, granaries, school and hospitals, the infiltration of agents, are all aimed at intimidating the people, at robbing the people of the initiative and rendering them passive, forcing them to capitulate, obliging the people to seek exile abroad or to accept being imprisoned in concentration camps. The planes with loudspeakers, the millions of leaflets dropped and the constant radio programmes are aimed solely at weakening the morale of the fighters and sowing confusion among the cadres. This situation, the enemy's present intentions and actions, clearly proves two things: that we are working correctly and that our struggle is steadily advancing.

But this positive fact should not be a source of contentment. We should not be filled with a feeling of victory. We should be satisfied with the work done, but concerned about the work still to be done.

Three provinces are at war, but six others are not. More than a million Mozambicans are living in freedom, but another seven million are enslaved. About a quarter of our territory has been liberated, but three-quarters still has to be liberated. There are still many unresolved problems in the liberated areas. The medical care is not sufficient, the number of schools is very far from meeting our needs and production still falls short of meeting all the requirements of the people and the war. We feel that there are still shortcomings in our political work among the masses, limitations in the consciousness of cadres and fighters and inadequacies in our technical knowledge.

We are listing our weak points so as to locate the wounds in order to treat them. Of course, if we look at our past weaknesses, we can certainly say that most of them have been eliminated. Yet if we look to the future, we will see that a lot remains to be done.

We are entering our eighth year. During this year, we will have to carry out three major tasks: step up work among the cadres, expand our areas and strengthen our areas.

Cadres are decisive to the implementation of our political line, our ideology. That is, those cadres who have already waged an internal battle against the vices and shortcomings from the past, those cadres who have already assumed our new mentality, our ideology, those who hold the people and the Revolution close to their hearts, who create new ideas and fresh initiative through their work and who, among the masses and fighters, are the most vital representatives of FRELIMO, its objectives and methods.

Intensifying our work among the cadres means, in fact creating the conditions for stepping up ideological work among the masses, to further unite the masses and make the war advance even more. Our task is to raise the cadres' level of political consciousness and knowledge, uniting them even more with the masses and the fighters. This can only be achieved through the method of always combining the practice of combat and production with study, ensuring regular discussion, criticism and self-criticism, not allowing them to fall into a routine, ensuring study with practice.

We must continually democratise methods of leadership, so as to reach decisions collectively and always avoid the use of administrative methods to solve political problems. By doing this work we will create favourable conditions for expanding the combat zones. The more we advance into areas which are vital to the enemy, the more difficult the fighting becomes, the greater the abilities required of cadres and fighters and the higher the degree of mass mobilisation and organisation needed. By expanding the struggle and consolidating our areas, we force the enemy to further disperse their forces and weaken themselves. Our constant concern is to expand the struggle so as to give freedom to more people.

During the tough year of victorious battles that we have had, we gained very important successes. During the period from June 1970 to July 1971, the FRELIMO fighters wiped out 1,507 enemy soldiers, destroyed 261 vehicles, shot down 2 aeroplanes and 1 helicopter, attacked 59 Portuguese posts and destroyed 17 bridges and 4 trains.



The reason for these successes, what explains them, what made them possible, was our struggle to make the cadres, fighters and masses live by our revolutionary ideology and implement it in a vital way.

The seventh year started with the transformation of our armed struggle into a Revolution, with the intense battle to create a new mentality. The seventh year was the point of departure of the conscious development of the nature of our organisation, of its development into a vanguard party of the working masses in our country, a vanguard party with a vanguard ideology.

During the eighth year of our struggle, during the tenth year since the creation of FRELIMO, we must intensify this battle and work in a more thoroughgoing way. This means, concretely, greatly advancing the work of political education, especially among the fighters, and most particularly among the cadres, to make the fighters and above all the cadres living examples of the new mentality, active transformers of society, creators and promoters of our advanced, scientific, revolutionary ideology.

This demands greater vigilance of the masses and cadres, constant purification of our ranks, winning over militant elements and strengthening genuinely revolutionary comrades.

This action cannot take place merely in the realm of ideas. For ideas to live, to develop, they need practice, just as a plant needs sun and water. Concretely, our ideology must be given increased material form and must be something which is actually lived, both at the structural level and in day-to-day work. This means developing collective methods of leadership production and trade. It means stepping up the development of the people's committees. It means strengthening work in study combined with practice. We are entering this eighth year under excellent conditions, both internally and internationally. While assessing the internal situation, it is also important to consider the situation on the international front.

During the seventh year, our prestige and the international solidarity with FRELIMO grew, the support for our people grew. This year, Portugal was even further isolated internationally. Portugal found itself forced to leave international organisations such as UNESCO for fear of the disgrace of being expelled. In the imperialist countries allied with Portugal there was increased popular opposition to Portugal. Even within the Church, until recently Portugal's unconditional ally voices such as those of the White Fathers were raised against Portuguese colonialism and in support of our people. In Portugal the true patriots are demonstrating against the war and organising daring acts of sabotage against the colonialist war machinery. In the socialist countries, the African countries, the countries adjacent to Mozambique, respect for and solidarity with our struggle and people increased considerably.

All these victories are a direct and important result of the growth of our struggle. Our struggle is growing, growing both in extent and in strength. Our struggle is growing because we are growing. The results we achieve are created by our unity, the unity of the people, the unity of the fighters and leaders.

We are now entering into our eighth year of war. This year will be either good or bad, depending on our work. When we sow cassava, cassava grows, and when we sow nothing, weeds grow. The eighth year will be a year of great victories, because we are preparing for this, but it will also be a year of greater

sacrifice in which the enemy's crimes will be increased. During this eighth year there will be more foreign troops in Mozambique and there will be more and bigger bombing raids.

But we are also sure that, just as the seventh year marked the advance of the struggle to south of the Zambezi, the eighth year will mark even bigger advances. The eighth year will see us creating solid support bases, the eighth year will see us furthering the advance.

Everything that we are doing is the result of sacrifice. Our thoughts and our determination must derive stimulation and strength from the example of the comrades who, fully assuming our ideology and with the interests of the people in their hearts, have given up their lives for the victory of the revolution. Let us show our respect for the sacrifice of the comrades who have fallen by intensifying the struggle. In so doing, we will be accomplishing our national duty and also our duty of solidarity with all peoples, our internationalist duty.

**LONG LIVE REVOLUTION DAY!  
LONG LIVE THE SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY OF OUR  
PEOPLE'S WAR!  
LONG LIVE FRELIMO!  
LONG LIVE THE MOZAMBICAN PEOPLE UNITED FROM  
THE ROVUMA TO THE MAPUTO!**

