

MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT OF FRELIMO

TO THE MOZAMBICAN PEOPLE AND FRELIMO MILITANTS ON THE OCCASION OF THE RESUMPTION OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION IN ZAMBEZIA PROVINCE

Comrades, Compatriots:

In the face of the repeated and brutal refusal of Portuguese colonialism to accept their inalienable right to national independence, the Mozambican people, under the leadership of FRELIMO, took up arms on September 25, 1964 to win the freedom of their country.

The transition from national resistance to the higher stage of armed struggle was a result of the unity of the people who, under the banner of FRELIMO, initiated the process which was to enable them to regain control over their own destiny.

Once the armed struggle was launched, Mozambicans from all provinces of our country joined it, clearly demonstrating the people's support for the aims and methods of achieving national independence. Meanwhile in the occupied zones, amid the dangers and hardships of clandestinity, our militants tenaciously prepared the way for expanding the struggle.

The armed struggle began in the provinces of Cabo Delgado, Niassa, Tete and Zambezia, with great victories for the people in arms.

However, logistic reasons led to the suspension of military operations in Tete and Zambezia, and they were centred on Cabo Delgado and Niassa during the period from 1964 to 1968.

The enemy forces concentrated essentially on those two provinces. The heroic population on those two fronts was not spared any crime, act of terrorism or massacre.

Assuming the mission conferred upon them by history and personifying the national dimensions of their fight, the militants and masses checked the enemy onslaught and gradually neutralised and destroyed the colonialist forces, thus turning their provinces into support bases for the expansion of the people's war.

Because they were grasped by a determined people and guided by FRELIMO's correct line, our weapons liberated the land and liberated the people.

In this way, conditions were created for organising the production of material goods and establishing the structures of power. Then started another struggle which reflected the conflict between the

interests of the broad working masses and the greed of a handful of new exploiters who, headed by the Kavandame-Simango-Gwenjere group, intended to take the place of the colonialists.

Our line was forged in this fight, imparting greater depth to our correct definition of who is the enemy and teaching us the true dimensions and objectives of the people's aspirations.

Seasoned in the political and armed struggle waged in Cabo Delgado and Niassa, and because of the underground work of mobilising and organising the masses, in March, 1968 we were able to expand the people's war into Tete Province.

The expansion of the struggle led for the first time to a direct confrontation with imperialist interests in our country.

The enemy reaction has been to intensify their subversive manoeuvres, which are now more insidious and treacherous, and to develop more barbarous and desperate forms of aggression.

But the manoeuvres and aggression have failed.

Tempered in the similar struggle which took place in Cabo Delgado and Niassa, FRELIMO made the masses and militants understand the nature of their interests. The armed struggle therefore struck roots in Tete, and the reactionary forces were politically annihilated.

As a consequence of this all-encompassing process on three fronts, in 1970 the national liberation struggle was definitely transformed into a people's democratic revolution.

It was this victory in the political struggle of the working masses which enabled us at the same time to smash the powerful operation "Gordian Knot" offensive and carry the armed struggle south of the Zambezi River, breaking through the military barrier which the enemy had tried to establish along the river.

The successive defeats sustained by the military forces of Portuguese colonialism supported by the racist armies, led the enemy to systematise their programme of driving people into concentration camps, while generalising their campaign of

terrorism and massacre in order to intimidate the masses and alienate them from the struggle.

All in vain. The concentration camps which were intended to halt the progress of the struggle became centres of insurrection against colonial domination. Far from intimidating the masses, the unfettered repression in the urban centres is making them even more actively involved in the struggle to liberate their country.

The struggle has spread to the entire province, turning it into a bridgehead from which the people's war has been carried into new regions.

In July 1972, the liberation struggle was launched in Manica e Sofala province, an economic and strategic nerve centre of foreign domination in our country.

The inhuman exploitation and brutal repression carried out in the Province account for the speed with which military operations spread, soon reaching the main centres of Manica e Sofala and paralysing strategic and economic communication lines.

These victories are further proof of the fact that FRELIMO is the Mozambican people in arms, the unflinching expression of our entire people's determination to win total and complete independence.

Putting into practice this desire and implementing the strategic principle laid down in 1964, of generalising the struggle throughout our country, we have now opened a new front.

On July 1, 1974, our forces launched the armed struggle for national liberation in Zambezia Province.

The first operations against military columns and posts resulted in the destruction or capture of a large quantity of enemy war material.

In the areas where the struggle has begun, those who had been armed by the colonialists to oppose FRELIMO have turned the barrels of their weapons on the occupation troops.

Repudiating the democratic mask behind which colonialism is now trying to conceal oppression, humiliation, exploitation and massacre, the Mozambican people are

once again showing their unity and their determination to win national independence.

Colonialist manoeuvres in Zambezia Province to sow the seeds of regionalism and tribalism, to create puppet political and military forces led by notorious PIDE agents and to provoke racial confrontation, are now utterly doomed to failure.

With the start of the struggle in Zambezia Province, the process of liberating land and people, of establishing democratic freedoms and of setting up people's power is now underway in a new region of our country.

Zambezia Province, covering an area of more than 100,000 square kilometers and with a population of nearly two million holds a choice place in the enemy's strategic arrangements. Being one of our country's central provinces, it links the north and the south of Mozambique and is the hub of communications between the western zone and the sea.

It was from Zambezia that men went abroad into the slavery of the South African mines and plantations. The big colonial copra, sugar, sisal and tea companies subjected the masses to barbarous exploitation. The Province's sub-soil, rich in berilium, tantalite and bismuth, the continental shelf as a potential source of hydrocarbons and the value of its fishing grounds have already attracted big multi-national interests eager to plunder our resources and exploit our labour.

In yet another of our country's provinces, the flame of freedom has been kindled alongside the banner of FRELIMO already fluttering on the highest peaks. The process of abolishing colonial taxes, destroying the domination of the companies and freeing people from subjugation to an oppressive, alien and humiliating administration has been inexorably launched. The masses' creative initiative now free from colonialism and tradition, will lead to the establishment of people's power and they will thus regain control of their own historic destiny.

With the opening of a new front and the defeat suffered by the colonialists, their hatred of the masses is being roused.

We shall therefore witness the intensification of ideological and military aggression against our people's gains.

Colonialism has always made the Mozambican people's unity, as embodied in FRELIMO, its main target.

The chief instruments for its divisive action are tribalism and racism.

The colonialists foster tribalism and regionalism and at the same time try to convince us that their presence is the only guarantee against tribal and regional

conflicts. While forces armed by them are doing everything possible to incite a racial confrontation, the colonialist spokesmen are striving to show that without colonialism Mozambique would be doomed to a bloodbath between black and white. The very forces which are planning to present the colonial imperialist war of aggression as a civil war, claim to be the only defence against the "congolisation" of our country.

Masquerading as democratic and humane, now as in the past, the colonialism of oppression, humiliation, exploitation and massacre has only one aim: the perpetuation of its domination in order to plunder our resources and exploit us through our labour.

As always, we must oppose the enemy's manoeuvres, crimes and aggression by consolidating our struggle both horizontally and vertically.

To consolidate the struggle vertically means making our political line take root among the masses, making our ideology a tremendous material force to transform society. This demands the setting up of democratic structures of people's power reflecting the interests of the broad masses of our working people. In the final analysis, it means popularising our struggle, democratising our working methods and collectivising our leadership.

Horizontal consolidation, that is, the expansion of all forms of the struggle to all sectors, is the necessary precondition for generalising the offensive. It is not only a question of expanding and intensifying the armed struggle, but also of expanding and intensifying the ideological struggle and the struggle for national reconstruction on the various fronts of production, education, culture, health and social welfare.

It is the deep roots struck by our line, the establishment of people's power and the gains of the masses on the political, economic and social fronts that are making the process of national liberation irreversible and laying the foundations for true democracy. These victories are transforming our zones into unyielding bastions against all forms of enemy aggression, and veritable centres of inspiration for the struggle of the masses in the still occupied zones.

Because ours is a popular struggle, because it is just, because we were able to define our target correctly, the national liberation struggle of the Mozambican people and the brother peoples of Angola and Guiné-Bissau, brought about the fall of fascism in Portugal. This is a victory of our solidarity with the Portuguese people, our consistent allies in the struggle against colonialism and fascism.

If fascism has meanwhile fallen in Portugal and democracy is taking its first steps there it must nevertheless be emphasised that colonial aggression is continuing.

At the start of the struggle, ten years ago, FRELIMO solemnly proclaimed that our fight would end only with the liquidation of Portuguese colonialism.

If the Portuguese government sincerely wishes to restore peace and make a start on the road leading to the establishment of relations of friendship and co-operation between our countries, it must accept the bases for the solution of the conflict pitting the entire Mozambican people against Portuguese colonialism, and recognise that peace is inseparable from national independence.

The victory we have just achieved with the resumption of armed struggle in Zambezia Province is a result of the united efforts of our people to win their national independence; it is a victory of the sacrifice and bloodshed of Mozambicans who, arms in hand or working clandestinely, are bringing our free country into being.

This further victory is also a result of the great tide of international support for our struggle. It is a victory for the brother peoples of Tanzania and Zambia and for the great movement of African unity. It is a victory for the exemplary support of our natural allies, the socialist countries. It is a victory for the support of the democratic and anti-colonialist forces which have been able to understand that our struggle is part of the struggle of mankind as a whole for a new society.

At this inspiring moment of our history when a decisive step has just been taken on the road to total independence, FRELIMO extends special greetings to the people and fighters who, having internalised FRELIMO's principles, objectives and strategy, are now beginning the liberation process in Zambezia. Greetings also to the comrades in Tete Province, who, having assumed the national dimensions of our struggle, made great efforts and sacrifices to carry the struggle to a new Province.

Lastly, our greetings to all our People, whose unity, determination and vigilance have built this further great victory.

Long Live the Mozambican people united from the Rovuma to the Maputo.

Long live National Independence.

Long Live the resumption of the armed struggle for national liberation in Zambezia Province.

Independence or Death,
We shall Win.