

THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF FRELIMO, COMRADE SAMORA MACHEL, WAS BROADCAST TO THE MILITANTS AND THE MOZAMBICAN PEOPLE OVER FRELIMO RADIO ON MAY 3.

Comrades,

On 25 April, a coup d'état in Portugal toppled Marcelo Caetano's regime. The coup d'état was organised by a movement that arose within the Portuguese Army and called itself the 'Movement of the Armed Forces'. After taking power, this movement handed it over to a «Junta of National Salvation» comprising officers from the Portuguese armed forces.

The coup d'état, according to its promoters – the Movement of the Armed Forces – was intended to solve the serious crisis being faced by the regime and Portuguese society at the present time. As we all know, this crisis is the result of the colonial war which the colonialist government has been waging for more than 13 years.

For many years there has been opposition to the colonial war amongst the Portuguese people. This growing opposition reflects a new awareness that the oppression of our people, and the peoples of Angola, Guiné-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, Sao Tome e Principe and other colonies, is not in the interests of the Portuguese people, and that our armed liberation struggle is a just struggle because we are fighting to win our fundamental rights – freedom and independence.

The Portuguese people, who have already lost many of their sons in the colonial war of repression, realised that this war is not being waged to defend their interests but the interests of the big Portuguese and foreign monopolies which exploit both the Portuguese people and the peoples of the colonies.

At this time we hail the struggle of all the Portuguese anti-fascist democrats who have courageously taken and continue to take a clear stand against the colonial war and for our independence. This awareness is primarily due to the determination of our people who, without any

*'The coup may lead to the establishment of democracy in Portugal. . . but in Mozambique colonialism continues. . . the enemy are resorting to manoeuvres which they call 'political' solution. . . we must intensify the struggle to win our freedom and independence.*



**Peace is inseparable  
from independence**

hesitation, have faced the toughest sacrifices to win their basic rights.

In the course of the armed struggle for liberation, the Mozambican people, under the leadership of FRELIMO, have achieved great successes. Large regions of our country have been liberated from colonial domination, where for the first time in centuries the Mozambican people have reconquered the dignity of free men and the exercise of their sovereignty. We have dealt severe blows against the colonial

apparatus of domination and repression and inflicted enormous losses in men and material. Internationally, our struggle has enabled the affirmation of the personality of the Mozambican people and has earned the respect and admiration of all the peoples of the world. In the last two years in particular, our struggle achieved spectacular successes when the colonialist plans to block our struggle failed and FRELIMO fighters started to operate in the centre of our country, namely in Manica e Sofala province, in-

flicting heavy blows on the nerve centres of the imperialist and colonialist machinery of exploitation and constantly extending the armed struggle to the south of our country.

These successes sowed panic among the colonialists and convinced them that an exclusively military victory was already impossible in the face of the determination of the Mozambican people and the political and military ability of the organisation leading them – FRELIMO.

In the international field, an increasing number of forces, parties, governments and international organisations, such as the United Nations and its specialised agencies, have condemned Portuguese colonial policy and recognised FRELIMO as the legitimate representative of the Mozambican people.

The isolation of Portuguese colonialism internationally became almost total. From African countries, even from some traditional allies of Portugal, including certain NATO countries, from organisations and political parties of the most diverse tendencies, religious organisations and bodies, including the Pope himself, countless voices the world over were raised in condemnation of the barbarity of Portuguese colonialism.

Today world opinion as a whole fully supports the Mozambican people's struggle for the liberation of their country, for the justice of their cause has been well understood.

The armed struggle for national liberation was launched in order to put an end to Portuguese colonial domination.

Invaded and occupied by a foreign country, deprived of all political rights, subjected to the exploitation of their labour and riches by the capitalist monopolies, deprived of their personality, history and culture, the Mozambican people never gave in to colonial domination.

In the face of brutality, of exploitation, repression and massacres, the Mozambican people clearly understood that these were not the result of mistakes of colonialism but were inherent in its very nature.

So long as there is colonialism, so long as there is the domination and exploitation of one people by another, there will always be oppression, torture, massacres and discrimination.

When, on 25 September 1964, the Mozambican people, under the leadership of FRELIMO, took up arms, they made it clear that they would not shirk from sacrificing their own lives in order to put an end to foreign domination. Given the persistent refusal of the Portuguese colonialist government to grant independence to the Mozambican people peacefully, FRELIMO proclaimed the people's general armed insurrection against Portuguese colonialism for the attainment of complete national independence, the only way to realise political, economic and social liberation and to affirm the cultural personality of the Mozambican people.

In 1964 our forces were greatly inferior to those of Portuguese colonialism. But armed with our determination and unity and the support of the anti-colonialist forces the world over, and guided by FRELIMO's correct political line, we became strong, developing the political and armed struggle which made it possible to liberate extensive regions of our country, where our people began to enjoy the fruits of freedom, and where true democratic and popular power is growing for the benefit of the broad masses of the Mozambican people. The struggle is steadily spreading to new regions, and more and more people are taking an active part in the armed struggle.

In the zones which are still occupied by the Portuguese colonialists, FRELIMO militants are stepping up political work and mobilisation amongst the people, who are anxiously awaiting the launching of direct action in their regions.

How did the enemy react to the advance of our struggle? From Salazar to Marcelo Caetano, the enemy increasingly intensified repression, trying to terrorise the Mozambican people and stifle their aspirations. There were more and more arrests, crimes, torture, bombings and concentration camps. Faced with the continuous advance of the war, the colonialist military chiefs then resorted to big offensives, like «Operation Gordian Knot», which was ignominiously defeated.

The events which have just taken place in Portugal are therefore closely related to the development of our armed struggle, they are a reaction to the anti-colonialist fight.

The coup d'état took place in Portugal:

the changes it will produce may lead to the establishment of democracy in Portugal. We regard this fact as a victory for the Portuguese people, a victory about which we rejoice, since our struggle has never been directed against the Portuguese people, who were themselves being oppressed by fascism.

In Mozambique, however, colonialism continues and as long as it does, the Mozambican people will continue to be oppressed. Only the overthrow of Portuguese colonialism will give the Mozambican people their rights, for only independence makes it possible to achieve complete liberation and the affirmation of our Mozambican personality.

As we have repeatedly stated, we are not fighting to become Portuguese with black skins. We have our own history, our own traditions, our own personality, that we wish to assert as a free and sovereign people.

The armed struggle to win full independence has advanced due to our people's total identification with this objective, leading us from success to success.

Despairing at the continuous development of the liberation struggle, the colonial army started to resort to systematic massacres, killing hundreds of people, as happened in Mucumbura in 1971, in Wiryamu in 1972, in Chawola in 1972 and in Inhaminga in 1974, to mention only a few of the most barbarous massacres which came to the knowledge of international opinion.

What did the enemy gain from these massacres? Did they succeed in discouraging the Mozambican people? Quite the contrary. These massacres served only to show the real face of our enemy. The spirit of resistance became even stronger and more determined, the armed struggle spread to new areas more vigorously.

The only result of the intensification of repression was that it created an internal crisis and unprecedented international isolation for Portuguese colonialism.

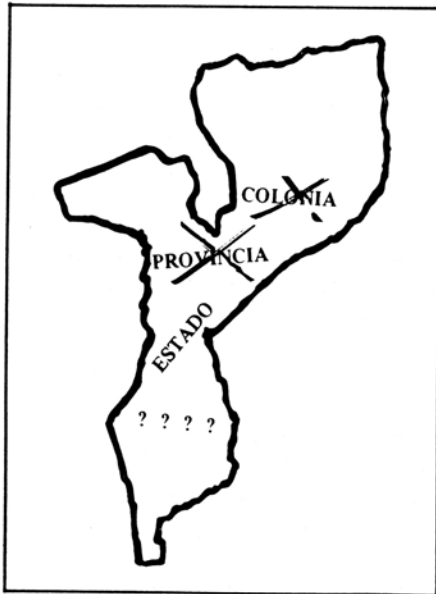
Faced with the determination of the Mozambican people and the successes of the armed struggle for national liberation, certain sectors of the Portuguese army itself came to question the colonialist policy of suppressing the Mozambican people's legitimate right to independence.

It is therefore clear that Portuguese colo-

nialism cannot win the war militarily. What conclusion can be drawn? If the war cannot be won, the only solution is to recognise our people's right to total liberation and independence.

However, the reactionary forces did not give up. Conscious that they cannot win the war and that they are heading for inevitable defeat, they are now trying to resort to manoeuvres which they call a «political solution».

Our experience has shown that whenever the enemy meet with military defeats, they resort to manoeuvres. We have had occasion in the past to witness how they have tried subversion, the infiltration of agents, the assassination of leaders, in-



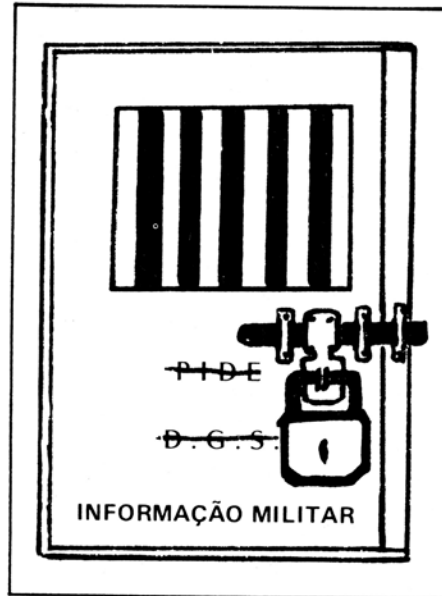
citment to desertion and attempts to encourage reactionary ideas in our ranks.

In their propaganda, the enemy resort to political mystification, using terms like «autonomy» and «self-determination», twisting their meaning and using them in an attempt to demobilise public opinion, both national and international. The Caetano government was skilled at such manoeuvres, namely the change of names and titles. Mozambique was called a State, the National Union was renamed the A.N.P. (National Popular Action), the PIDE was called the DGS. But although names were changed the Mozambican people were increasingly oppressed, the repression was intensified and the

colonial war became more and more barbarous.

At present, while growing numbers of democratic forces in Portugal are speaking out against the colonial war and for the independence of the peoples of the colonies, the reactionary sectors, which live off the exploitation of the labour and the plunder of the natural resources of the peoples of the colonies, are not conceding defeat.

In Mozambique, these forces are active and enjoy the support of the neighbouring racist countries – South Africa and Rhodesia. These groups, desperate at the fall of Caetanism, which has made them lose the control of the situation



they have had up to now, are going to make every effort to oppose the independence of our people.

Their action will be chiefly at two levels: intensifying repression and trying ever more manoeuvres to find new formulae for maintaining colonial domination.

We must study and anticipate the forms such manoeuvres are going to take in order to know how to oppose them.

We are going to witness the creation and strengthening of puppet groups of collaborators at the service of colonialism whose task will be to try to show that the Portuguese colonialist government is fulfilling the Mozambican people's aspirations for independence.

All these manoeuvres are aimed at sowing confusion in order to create the illusion that we are independent and therefore do not have to fight any longer.

The creation and strengthening of puppet groups will go hand in hand with the intensified recruitment of puppet troops such as GE, GEP, Mozambique Commando Companies, Flechas (Spears) and the OPV, which will be increasingly involved in the repression, so as to mask foreign aggression and present it as a civil war between Mozambicans.

The reactionary and colonialist forces' plans include continued and intensified repression brought forcefully to bear on all nationalists. Proof of this is the fact that in Mozambique the PIDE-DGS will not be disbanded, but all the PIDE-DGS criminals will merely be absorbed into the army.

The reactionary forces will pay particular attention to infiltrating agents into our zones, with a view to spreading the enemy's slogans, sowing confusion, undermining the discipline in the armed forces and disrupting the work of national reconstruction in the liberated areas.

We are going to witness the issuing of appeals, through pamphlets and the radio, like those made by other traitors in the past, trying to incite the fighters and the civilians to surrender.

Convinced of the racist myth of the inferiority and incapability of Africans, the colonialist forces, who refuse to admit that the Mozambican people are capable of inflicting on them the defeats they are suffering, will step up their propaganda, claiming that we are agents of foreign forces.

Internationally, the manoeuvres will be aimed at hoodwinking world opinion, trying to present the Mozambican people as a free people who accept Portuguese domination of their own free will, just as Caetano tried to do. A few Mozambican puppets will be made to travel around the world to defend Portuguese colonialism.

Can such manoeuvres succeed? To answer this question we should once more look at our past experience. What was the result of the countless manoeuvres the enemy attempted in the past?

First of all it should be stressed that each new manoeuvre was always the result

of a new victory of ours, of progress in the politico-military field. The manoeuvres the reactionary forces will resort to now, as in the past, will also be attempts to counter the resounding victories recently achieved in our struggle.

But just as previous attempts failed, so too will future manoeuvres fail. Our people are politically mature and solidly united around FRELIMO, thanks to the experience of twelve years of political and military struggle against the colonial army and against any kind of subversive manoeuvre.

We must nevertheless be especially alert to the stepping up of crimes against both the African and European populations which the colonialists will try to blame on FRELIMO, as they have done in the past.

In this respect, FRELIMO wishes to reiterate clearly once again its policy towards European civilians. The armed struggle for the liberation of the Mozambican people has as its objective the total liberation of the Mozambican people from the Portuguese colonial system. Its targets are the military, police, administrative and economic machinery of domination. All those who live from their honest labour do not constitute targets for our weapons.

FRELIMO does not practise any kind of discrimination in its ranks. Mozambicans of all races, origins and religious beliefs are members of FRELIMO, so long as they are prepared to fight against Portuguese colonialism and follow FRELIMO's political line, which aims at winning the complete and total independence of Mozambique, politically, economically, socially and culturally.

For this reason, we would like to draw the attention of certain sectors of the European population to the fact that they are being manipulated by ultra-reactionary groups which are inciting them against the African people and FRELIMO, with the aim of creating a racial war between whites and blacks in Mozambique. These ultra-reactionary and ultra-racist forces, allied with racist South Africa and Rhodesia, are prepared for any adventure in order to prevent the independence of the Mozambican people. The Mozambican people must mobilise themselves to ensure the failure of these manoeuvres, aimed at making our coun-

try totally dependent on South Africa and Rhodesia. The racist governments of these countries which fear that the independence of Mozambique would deprive them of the cheap Mozambican slave labour which enables them to run their mines and plantations, (which would otherwise be uneconomic) will do everything possible to use white settlers in Mozambique as instruments of their policy. The European population must dissociate itself from these manoeuvres which are contrary to their interests and to those of the Mozambican people.

White Mozambicans, men and women, young and old, students, intellectuals, office workers, civil servants and others whose support and involvement in the liberation struggle have been growing and whose nationalist feelings are a source of pride for the Mozambican people as a whole, must decisively intensify their action within the framework of FRELIMO, for the triumph of our ideals of freedom and complete and total independence for Mozambique.

The colonial war will be intensified but at the same time will be accompanied by a demagogic campaign about peace, trying to accuse FRELIMO of being responsible for the war.

The Mozambican people, the FRELIMO fighters, who are the people in arms, are not professional soldiers. They want peace, but the peace we want, real peace, cannot exist so long as colonialism dominates our people.

Peace is inseparable from national independence, for only with national independence will the war end, and will there be peace in Mozambique.

Comrades,

The manoeuvres that are underway are therefore a repetition, although more intense, of the preceding ones. Consequently, we must be prepared to defeat them at every level.

We must first of all strengthen and consolidate our political and ideological unity, continuing to mobilise the Mozambican people under the banner of FRELIMO and the watchwords of total and complete independence of Mozambique, politically, socially, economically and culturally.

Only total and complete independence will permit Mozambicans to rule their

country, free their economy from the domination of foreign monopolies, put an end to exploitation and revive and develop their culture.

We must intensify and extend to new zones the armed struggle for national liberation which has already enabled us to achieve great victories, so as to hasten the collapse of Portuguese colonialism.

We must intensify the mobilisation and explaining of FRELIMO's programme, both among militants and among the people in order to consolidate our organisation and structures and strengthen the people's power, the only instrument capable of serving the interests of the broad masses and giving independence its true content, thus justifying the immeasurable sacrifices we have made.

We must denounce all the puppet groups of old and new lackeys, both black and white, at the service of Portuguese colonialism so as to neutralise them.

We must increase our vigilance against enemy attempts to infiltrate agents into our zones, be on the alert against any watchwords aimed at sowing confusion, undermining discipline or decreasing our efforts in the struggle.

Let us make our ranks impenetrable to the infiltration of enemy agents, and especially to any attempts to deform the nature of our struggle, trying to change it into a racial war.

At this time, when our struggle and that of our brothers in Angola and Guiné-Bissau and Cape Verde has proved able to create an unprecedented crisis in Portugal which heralds the collapse of Portuguese colonialism, we must mobilise ourselves to generalise our offensive on all fronts, from armed struggle to national reconstruction, in order to inflict even heavier blows and hasten the defeat of Portuguese colonialism and imperialism.

Let us unite, strengthen our political and ideological unity, and intensify the struggle to win our freedom and independence, putting into practice our watchword, which is now more pertinent than ever before.

The struggle continues. . .  
Independence or Death  
We shall Win.

Samora Moises Machel  
President of FRELIMO.