



# cfm news & notes

OCTOBER, 1974, # 28

Information is ammunition for your struggle. A fighter without ammunition is not a fighter. And for you, a fighter without information cannot speak.

Samora M. Machel, President of FRELIMO to CFM delegation, Dar es Salaam, 8/71.

On September 7, 1974, the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Mario Soares, and FRELIMO President, Samora Machel, signed an agreement in Lusaka, Zambia, establishing the modalities for the transfer of power in Mozambique to an independent government headed by FRELIMO. On September 20 the transitional government was sworn in in a ceremony at Lourenco Marques.

The following are excerpts from a message from Comrade Samora Machel, President of FRELIMO, delivered on September 20th on the occasion of the investiture of the transitional government.

Mozambican Women and Men,  
FRELIMO Militants and Combatants,

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.

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 taking.

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.

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.

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 time-table, 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 practise 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.

Led by FRELIMO, the transitional government begins its action today.

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 re-launch 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 countryside 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 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.

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

Mozambican 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 as 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 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.

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.

## SHARFUDINE KHAN SPEAKS TO CFM'S NEW YORK WORKING GROUP

On October 3, Sharfudine Khan, FRELIMO's representative to North America, just recently returned from Mozambique, spoke to the CFM New York working group about FRELIMO's assumption of leadership of the transitional Mozambican Government and about the continuing struggle to create a new Mozambican society. While we don't have room to print the entire text of Khan's talk, we do want to share at least some parts of the speech with News and Notes readers. We want to draw particular attention to Khan's references to the past and future role of support groups like CFM.

### On the Continuing Struggle

"...You should consider the date of independence to be the beginning of the real revolution. The armed struggle was just shooting enemies, but the real revolution will begin on June 25th. In this revolution we will continue to create the conditions for building a new man and rebuilding the old man. We will clear the country of the old mentality and the last vestiges of colonialism. This will be a huge task requiring a huge, concerted effort by all our friends.... Mozambique will be different than other independent countries in Africa which got their independence through constitutional talks. This process didn't give them time to create the conditions to build the special relationship with the people that we have...."

### On the Relationship Between FRELIMO, the People, and the Transitional Government

"...There is no change in our policy. FRELIMO and the Transitional Government are the same thing. A Minister in the Transitional Government is responsible to, receives directives from, the Central Committee of FRELIMO. The Central Committee receives its directives from the people...."

### On the Role of the Portuguese in the Transitional Government

"... The Minister of Health and Social Welfare, who is Portuguese-appointed, has come to Tanzania to visit our hospital at Mtwara. He has learned a great deal about our health service system. The Portuguese in the Transitional Government have to be part of the whole set-up of FRELIMO. The High Commissioner and the three Portuguese-appointed Ministers are there not to rule, but to help with the handing over of power. They can make no laws, hand down no orders; they are there to carry out certain responsibilities. They are there to dynamize and accelerate the process of decolonization."

### On FRELIMO's Relationships to the Governments and People of Other Countries

"... Other independent African countries started their relationships with foreign countries at the level of government. In our case things are different. We started with an armed struggle and sought support at the level of the people. We will continue to have contacts with the people and through them we may go up to the government level of relationships. We are pleased to have started by working closely with the people, for from the people we learn. Therefore, you (CFM and other support groups) have to grow in your contacts, look for real sources of help to water the newly independent country you helped to make independent...."

A Special Message to CFM Supporters

"...Inform the people of your committee that what you've given has been used toward Mozambique's complete and total independence. The buttons, for example, have really played a prominent role-- if you could only see them being worn in Lourenco Marques by our people! (reference to buttons, produced by CFM with funds raised from our membership, for FRELIMO troops, picturing first FRELIMO President Eduardo Mondlane)... The Mozambican people are happy with what you are doing and send their best regards. They are waiting anxiously for the day when they can welcome you to Mozambique...."

The composition of the Transitional Government of Mozambique is as follows:

- Prime Minister: Mr. Joaquim Chissano (FRELIMO)
- Minister for Home Affairs: Mr. Armando Guebuza (FRELIMO)
- Minister for Economic Co-ordination: Mr. Mario Madungo (FRELIMO)
- Minister of Justice: Mr. Rui Baltazar dos Santos Alves (FRELIMO)
- Minister of Information: Mr. Jose Oscar Monteiro (FRELIMO)
- Minister of Education: Mr. Gideon Nbo Digo Ndohe (FRELIMO)
- Minister of Labour: Mr. Mario Matsinhe (FRELIMO)
- Minister of Communications and Transportation: Mr. Eugenio Picolo (Portugal)
- Minister for Health and Welfare: Dr. Antonio Paulino (Portugal)
- Minister of Public Works: Mr. Luis de Alcantara Santos (Portugal)

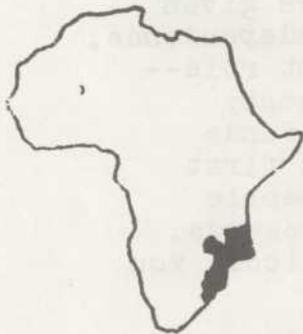
**FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR FRELIMO**

Name \_\_\_\_\_

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Amount Enclosed \_\_\_\_\_





# committee for a FREE MOZAMBIQUE

October 25, 1974

Dear Friend of Mozambique,

FROM NOW UNTIL INDEPENDENCE HAS ACTUALLY BEEN  
ACHEIVED, JUNE 25, 1975, IS A MOST CRUCIAL TIME  
OF THE LONG STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE.

WOULD YOU CONSIDER GIVING FRELIMO AN EQUAL DONATION  
TO WHAT YOU HAVE GIVEN IN THE PAST OR, IF YOU HAVE  
NEVER GIVEN, A FIRST DONATION AT THIS TIME?

If you can make this sacrifice, you will have aided  
FRELIMO at the time it is beset by the need for  
political education of a whole population. At a  
time when it feels the international pressures of  
many special interest groups. At a time it is facing  
reactionary forces recruiting mercenaries and  
engaging in intrigue to undermine this victory.

Think about it. If there is a time to aid FRELIMO,  
that time is now.

The first 'white rebellion' (read reactionary) was  
put down a little over a month ago. This newsletter  
contains excerpts from two sources: Samora Machel's  
speech on the occasion of September 20, and Sharfudine  
Khan's discussion of the new situation in Mozambique.  
One interesting observation: the FRELIMO VENCERA buttons  
we sent to Dar Es Salaam are now very much in demand in  
Mozambique.

A LUTA CONTINUA--THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!

COMMITTEE FOR A FREE MOZAMBIQUE

NOTE: The entire text of Samora Machel's speech will be  
reprinted in Southern Africa magazine available from the  
Southern Africa Committee, 244 W. 27th St., NYC 10001.

N.Y. Working Committee & Pledgers

Barbara Barnes	Mimi Edmunds	Ellen Gesmer	Richard Leonard
Martha S. Bean	Lawrence Frank	Judy & Marty Hanlon	William & Ruth Minter
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