# Samora Machel: The Beira speech

*The speech by Samora Machel (1933-1986) printed here in translation was made to a large crowd in a football stadium in Beira on 14 June 1975, a few days before Mozambican independence. The country's second city, Beira had a history as a centre of reaction in the later colonial period and in the war against FRELIMO.*

*The speech was one of over thirty made in the course of an emblematic and little-studied journey that Samora Machel, soon to become Mozambique's first president, undertook between 24 May and 25 June 1975. He crossed the Rovuma River from Tanzania into Mozambique and moved slowly southwards to the capital, Lourenço Marques, in the extreme south. This 'Triumphal Journey' symbolically set the stage for and culminated in the formal handing over of power by the Portuguese to FRELIMO. It was clearly intended to begin the work of emphasising unity in a country subject to extensive attempts at political division by the Portuguese colonial administration in the preceding decades, and still very much open to the threat of internal and external colonialist initiatives.*

*The content of the speech is significant for what it represents in the sequence of political transition, and particularly for its relevance in analytically demolishing colonial social structure and presenting telling parts of FRELIMO's vision of the transformation process. The text is interesting as much for its paucity of overt theory as for its rhetorical and theatrical complexity. It adds little in the way of concrete data to our knowledge of the historical events of the period. It does, however, consolidate our knowledge of the intricacy of FRELIMO's approach to race, colonial class structure and internationalism at various levels, subjects that are basic to Machel's line of argument.*

*The speech has never been published in any language, although a short extract was included in a Mozambican collection of political texts, and quotations appeared in contemporary newspaper accounts of Machel's visit to Beira. These published extracts were heavily 'normalised', as was commonly done with transcripts of speeches when they appeared in print. However, in reconstructing the text for publication from a contemporary audio recording, we have followed minimalist principles, attempting to avoid prescriptive or normative correction of Machel's utterances. The text as presented inevitably represents choices and includes interpretations on our part, but other analysts are free to derive their own readings from this source.*

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Samora Machel, "The Beira speech", pp. 67 - 83.

## Sources

Samora Machel, *The Beira speech* (14 June 1975), Colin Darch and David Hedges, trans. The recording is available in digitised MP3 format at *Mozambique History Net:* http://www.mozambiquehistory.net/samora_audio/ .

A heavily 'corrected' fragment appears in João Reis and Armando Pedro Muiuane (eds.), *Datas e documentos da história da FRELIMO* (Lourenço Marques: Imprensa Nacional, 1975): 426-7. See also *Notícias da Beira* (15 June 1975): 2.

## References

Colin Darch and David Hedges, *Retórica política na transição à independência de Moçambique*, is scheduled to appear in 2012 and will include an analysis in which they attempt to achieve a non-prescriptive reconstruction of the original 'text' as well as a fuller analytical and historical reading in the context of the last few days before independence.

(*Watchwords*).[1]

Come closer so that we can talk better!

(*Watchwords*).

I should like to introduce here the comrade vice-president of FRELIMO, comrade Marcelino dos Santos, member of the Central Committee of FRELIMO and of the Executive Committee — the former terrorist! (*Applause*).

(*Marcelino speaking: watchwords*).

I want to introduce another terrorist. One more 'turra'[2] (*laughter, applause*). Here we have the great terrorist (*laughter*) who is responsible for breeding other terrorists — Minister of Education in the Transitional Government. This is why he was charged with breeding more 'turra', more terrorists (*laughter, applause*).

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[1] Translation of the Portuguese *Palavras de ordem*, meaning roughly 'call-and-response political slogans'. A South African example would be *Amandla!* followed by the response *Ngawethu!*

[2] Portuguese slang abbreviation for *terrorista* or terrorist.

I am introducing the great terrorists to you, (*laughter*) because the centre of terrorism was here. They were swarming in every corner, the true 'gangsters', the true bandits and the true brigands. The centre of racial discrimination is here in Beira (a*pplause).* Here! And this discrimination was deliberately fostered, deliberately, by the fascist, colonial-fascist government of Salazar, and consolidated in rotten structures by Marcelo Caetano, head of the bandit ranks (a*pplause, jeering*).

Since childhood, we have known Beira, the satellite of apartheid, the satellite of South Africa, of the racism of Rhodesia and South Africa (a*pplause*). And they chose it during the war as a centre, a centre for the reinforcement of the reactionary forces, of the forces that attacked, asassinated, massacred, killed, raped the Mozambican people. The centre of the forces that humiliated, the centre of the forces that discriminated, the centre of humiliation based on the colour of your skin.

To speak of Beira is to speak of crime. It is to speak of crime against humanity. We lived separated in our country. We lived dominated, discriminated against, treated with contempt as incompetents in our own country. But these elements, all these instruments aimed only at a single objective — to be able to exploit, to be able to suck the blood of the Mozambican people, to be able to pillage the riches of our country.

Employees who didn't receive any money (a*pplause, vivas*). Employees who were jailed after six months because they stole (*applause*). Employees who were sacked after twelve months to avoid paying them (*applause*). In Beira — women raped, banditry. The centre of banditry, here. Constant arbitrary imprisonment of women for growing rice, and without payment (*applause*). And this fact, this happening wasn't only in Beira, it was in the whole colony. It happened to all the Mozambican people. It was all those elements who administered colonialism. This was the real and true face of colonialism, and above all when colonialism was accompanied by fascism.

We were prevented from using legal remedies. We didn't have freedom of expression. We died with our feelings [bottled up] — we were "animals without feelings, without love". Everything for the benefit of Portuguese colonialism. To benefit imperialism. To benefit a handful of people. It wasn't for the Portuguese people, and even less for the Mozambican people. It was for this that FRELIMO directed its struggle against the bandits (a*pplause, vivas*). Against the real ones, the real 'turras', the real terrorists, who shifted the responsibility for the terrorism that they practised onto FRELIMO, the highest expression of the Mozambican people, denied the right to demand freedom, independence. It was because of this, because of this, when there was a coup

in Portugal, some groups here split up their organisations into terrorist organisations with the objective of dividing and weakening the Mozambican people. With the objective of fighting FRELIMO, legitimate representative of the Mozambican people.

How many parties were founded here in Beira? How many? How many? (*Five*). Five? (*Five*). Just in Beira city? (*Yes*). How many? Where are their leaders? Where are their leaders? (*crowd responds*). Where are their leaders? (*Crowd responds again*). First, I want to call attention to these puppets (*laughter, applause*). To these puppets. Marrionettes. Marrionettes. There you are. Marrionettes, they are marrionettes. It wasn't them, they were controlled by somebody else. They were controlled by an external force. They were encouraged by the Rhodesians too, declare a second Rhodesia here in Mozambique. They were encouraged by the Republic of South Africa, because the racists are satellites of the Republic of South Africa. We don't want to say that these gentlemen — because here we have comrades, gentlemen and friends, not everybody is a comrade...

We want to call attention — 'mister' doesn't mean a White person. Not so. 'Reactionary idea' is what 'mister' represents (*applause, vivas*).

But it seems everybody understands Portuguese, right? (*No*). Have I got to speak in Portuguese only? (*No*). Hem? [3] (*No, no*). The people are refusing.

Portuguese culture during five hundred years — well, such a long time wasn't long enough to transmit sufficiently and to turn us into little black-skinned Portuguese? Was it? (*Laughter*). The time wasn't sufficient. It wasn't sufficient, and we can't grasp why. Why is it that they didn't evoke enough, if the mission of Portugal in Mozambique was a civilising mission?

Civilise the savage beast (*laughter, applause*), civilise the savage. But all humans are descended from monkeys, and I'm surprised at why (*laughter*). All humans, all humans of all races, come from monkeys. It was the development of work that produced humanity. The development of work, the role of work formed mankind. Man is a product of work. We started to work unconsciously, and work produced us. Manufactured us. It's work that developed the brain of each one of us. Do you hear? (*We hear*).

But I want to say to the puppets, to the reactionaries, to the agents of imperialism, that we defeated the most organised power, which was the Portu-

[3] Interrogative, roughly equivalent to 'Well?', and used when he wants a response from the crowd.

guese force. We defeated it. We defeated the organised power, the prepared force, the well-oriented force, we defeated it here in Mozambique. First we defeated it politically, second militarily. That's why these little groups (*inaudible. Machel indicates among the audience*), (*laughter*) ...but they're everywhere. They are here. They are here. Isn't it true? Hem?

They are here. They are here. We want to point out that in Mozambique there is no place for you (*laughter, applause*). There is no place for White racism, as there is no place for Black racism, because racism, racism, in its essence, in its essence racism is an organised attitude, a reactionary attitude. We defeated Portuguese power because, first, it practiced racial discrimination. It was isolated, the Portuguese power, all over the world, first in Europe. Do you hear? (*We hear*). First, in Europe. Europe. Europe, there are only Whites. But they isolated Portugal, because they practised racism — racism is a reactionary attitude, racism. First they isolated Portugal.

Racism is intimately connected to fascism. Fascism doesn't respect humanity. Fascism. It's for this that Portugal is so backward in Europe (*applause*). Because they had, because the fascist system was there. Hitler, in 1939, launched — he mobilised the entire force of the German people, saying that the German represented the superior race in the world — he launched a war against Europe. And all those Whites, all of them, were from an inferior race. There was no delay. He was defeated. Mussolini was defeated, in Italy. Because these countries were immediately isolated from the rest of the human community, from the rest of the international community, because of racism. Racism is a reactionary attitude. Beaten, Hitler, because he launched an unjust war against humanity, using racism. The peoples of the entire world united themselves around a single ideal, the single desire to smash fascism.

This is what happened with Portugal. Portugal, why Portugal? Because it practised, in the first place, fascism, and had to practice, immediately, racism, it was isolated in the international community. It was isolated from the rest of the world. Portugal was ignored during the war in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau. It didn't exist, Portugal. It was expelled from many international organisations, because it practiced racism. Because it practiced — its system was a fascist system — that is to say, there was no democracy in Portugal. There in Portugal, isolated from the rest of the world, later on isolated within Portugal. The ones who oppressed us were a little group of bandits, of terrorists, despised in Portugal, despised in the international community, and fought against here in Mozambique. All the peoples of the whole world immediately supported our struggle, because our struggle was never against any race. Because there isn't any imperialist race in the world. There

is no race that likes to have its blood sucked. All races, all peoples in the world want liberty, want independence.

Very aggravated, Portuguese fascism, because... its colonial system. Colonialism is a crime against humanity. Colonialism is a crime against humanity. Because of this, with our correct definition of the enemy...

So you are asking, have you already told us what colonialism is? I should say "occupation of a country by another external force, a foreign force". The Portuguese presence here was a foreign force (*applause*). It did nothing here in our country; it was exploitation by a group — a group of scoundrels. Scoundrels. A little group of scoundrels.

The Portuguese people live like you: those huts that you use here are what the Portuguese people live in, in Portugal. It's very backward, in Portugal (*applause, vivas*) they don't have bedrooms, they don't have shoes, the Portuguese people, the Portuguese people (a*pplause, laughter*). They don't have schools for the people, there is no school for the people. Do you hear? (*We hear*). And so, and so, we say that the Portuguese people are our friends. Our friends, our allies all the time. Do you hear? (*We hear*).

And you say "Aha! But it was the Portuguese who treated us badly here. Here we only saw Portuguese soldiers". Yes or no? (*Yes*). The ones who assassinated us, they were Portuguese soldiers. They were the governors. They were the administrators, the district heads. Right? (*Right. Applause, vivas*).

I would say "If you think it was Marcelo Caetano, then, who gave the Portuguese people" — isn't that true? (*Yes*). There you are, yes. The Portuguese people gave their sons to Marcelo Caetano to come and oppress the Mozambican people. That's it, isn't it? (*Yes*). So then you gave your sons to be OPV [Voluntary Police Organisation], and to be GE [Grupos Especiais] — that's right too? Is it? Is it? (*No!* ) It is (*No!* ) How is it that your children took part there? In the struggle, on the side of Portuguese colonialism? How is it that they appeared in the Portuguese ranks? Hem? (*Various inaudible replies*). How is it? (*Various inaudible replies*). Okay. So, have you answered me? Have you answered me? Have you answered me? (*No*). Your brothers, your husbands, your sons were prisoners, right? (*Right, right*). To fight against FRELIMO (*Yes*). To fight against the Mozambican people. (*Yes*) For you to fight against yourselves (*Yes*). So they could prevent your liberty (*Yes*). So they could prevent the independence of Mozambique (*Yes*). It's done! (*Applause*).

(*Long silence*).

So, so, the Portuguese people will say "the Mozambican people enjoyed colonialism". Right? (*No*). The Mozambican people were satisified with colonialism. (*No. Laughter*). The Mozambican people were already independent for many years, according to the declaration of His Excellency Mr. Oliveira Salazar. Yes or no? (*No*). Yes or no? (*No*). The Portuguese people will say that the Mozambican people don't want independence; they are satisfied with the Portuguese government. Yes or no? (*No! No!* ) No? (*No!* )

(*Silence*).

In the same way that your husbands, your brothers, your sons, your brothers-in-law were drafted into the Portuguese army, it's the same way that the sons of the Portuguese people came to oppress Angola — the people of Angola, the people of Guinea, and the people of Mozambique. Do you hear? (*We hear*). Do you hear? (*We hear*). Do you hear? (*We hear*). They were imprisoned in Portugal in order to come here. The colonial system, do you hear? (*We hear*). The colonial system.

Now, I would ask, "during ten years of war in Mozambique, thirteen years of war in Angola, eleven years of war in Guinea-Bissau, did the sons of the Portuguese people develop a conscience?" They overthrew Marcelo Caetano there in Portugal. Yes or no? (*Yes*). When power was returned to the Portuguese people, the Portuguese people immediately acknowledged the right of the Mozambican people to independence. Do you hear? (*We hear*).

We finished, we liquidated the war together — us and the Portuguese people. Do you hear? That is why we made a declaration, a famous sentence. Do you hear? (*We hear*). International assistance or solidarity with other peoples is not an act of charity, it is not. It is a duty, it is mutual assistance between forces fighting for the same objectives.

I know your difficulty. In Asia, there, there was colonialism. Among the Asians, do you hear? Do you hear? (*We hear*). Among the Asians. In Europe there was also colonialism. Do you know that Portugal, to be born, had to go through war? Yes or no? Yes or no? (*Yes*). To liberate themselves, to create a Portuguese nationality, they struggled. Then the Spaniards came. They occupied Portugal for sixty years. Do you hear? (*We hear*). To destroy the Portuguese personality. To destroy Portuguese liberties. To destroy Portuguese values. Every people had its own values, do you hear? (*We hear*). So the Portuguese took to arms. They fought. Do you hear? (*We hear*). But at the same time that they were fighting there in Europe, against Spanish colonialism, they oppressed the Mozambican people here. The Portuguese people enjoy freedom. (*Pauses for emphasis*). The Portuguese people enjoy freedom.

When they were occupied by the Spanish, they gave up their lives for Portuguese liberation. Because colonialism is a crime. Colonialism is a cancer that destroys humanity, it is a cancer that feeds from blood. Killing, massacring, assassinating, humiliating — it destroys the lives of human beings.

That's why the Portuguese people themselves took up arms and destroyed Spanish colonialism, and at the same time they colonised Africa! And us — when we started to fight, they said it was a terrorist struggle. (*Adopts ironical tone of voice*). It's terrorism. It's terrorism. It's racism. This is racism. This is racism, when we want Mozambican independence? Hem? No, this struggle against the Whites... If this White is a colonialist, yes, it is against him. It is. Why not? A Black as well, when he is a colonialist, there is a war against him. Who is it that is authorised to colonise other people? Who?

It's for this reason that you find it hard to understand the mechanism of colonialism — why it is represented here by White people, and you think that all Whites are colonialists. Yes or no? (*Yes*). Yes or no? (*Yes*).

No, it's not! This is what I am explaining here and now. Do you hear?

A Black can be a colonialist as well. Hem? (*He can*). Can he or can't he? (*He can*). He can be an exploiter (*He can*). He can be an imperialist agent (*He can*). Yes or no? (*Yes*).

So this is why we say to the misters, I want to get to this point, "There is no place for racism here! There is no place for racism here!" First, there was a class of Whites here in Mozambique, Whites from Portugal. First class Whites, classified, themselves, by Portuguese colonialism — sometimes they didn't know, they weren't the ones who asked for it, but because they came from Portugal they were automatically first class Whites. Continental Portugal. Continental Portugal. They're from the metropolis. Metropolis of what? (*Laughter*). Metropolis of what? (*Laughter*).

Then come the Whites from Mozambique itself. Whites born in Africa, they are automatically the Whites — doesn't matter what social class, doesn't matter — today they are second class Whites. Among themeselves. Among themselves. We saw them, they walk together but there is no meeting. They have contradictions, the Whites. Didn't you know? Because of social classification.

Then we also have some Indians, they get in a little way, they enter. We also have Chinese here, they get in a little way, above all here in Beira, especially here. They are also better than Blacks, right? They are superior.

Then come the Coloureds, also a little. (*Laughter, applause*). I ask (*adopts an ironic and imitative tone of voice*). "Oh Coloured, oh Coloured, oh Coloured, isn't your mother my cousin?" (*Explosion of laughter, vivas and applause*). Hem? Yes or no? (*Yes*). Isn't he the son of my cousin? Isn't he the son of my aunt? Isn't he the son of my sister? (*Yes*). So now he says "Oh, Mr. Black Man, oh Mr. Black Man, how's it?" (*Explosion of laughter and applause*).

Now, we already saw the Whites from Portugal, right? Did we see them or not? (*We saw them*). We saw the Whites born in Mozambique, didn't we? (*Yes*). The Indians, right? (*Yes*). Then the Coloureds, right? (*Yes*). The Chinese as well...

They all have associations — associations of Lisbon people, of people from Minho — White regionalists. You see, don't you? They didn't have a single organisation, no. They were divided — the Algarve, Coimbra, Porto and Lisbon. "We from Lisbon are better than everybody" (*laughter, applause*). We from Lisbon! We from Lisbon! "Where are you from?" He's from Porto (*laughter*). You see, don't you? Colonialism. Fascism. Do you hear? (*We hear*). Amongst themselves, from Lisbon, all of them.

But when they are on the road, under our eyes, we say "Look at the colonialists!" Yes or no? (*Yes*). All of them. We say "Look at the colonialists!" They have deep contradictions, antagonistic contradictions, insoluble, irreducible, in their bosoms. Hem?

And then, and then comes the assimilated little Black as well. Right? (*Yes. Applause*). Because he knows how to pronounce about twenty words in Portuguese. He knows how to put a sentence together. Imitating, he doesn't think, imitating. He imitates. Imitates. It doesn't come from his head. He imitates. Certain habits, he imitates. He imitates even a way of thinking. He even imitates the accent, because he is ashamed to use his own accent, because they will say he's a Black, he's not civilised yet. Yes or no? (*laughter, applause*). Mental colonialism. Do you hear? There it is, mental colonialism. There it is, mental colonialism.

He goes home with his friends, this *assimilado.* The *assimilado.* We are talking about the *assimilado.* He arrives home. He hasn't told his mother that he's bringing friends. He finds vegetables, cooked with peanuts — (*laughter*) and he says (*imitating*) "You know, sometimes I enjoy this food (*laughter*). You know, usually, my usual food is codfish here at home, but see, my mother is late. My father's maid. My mother's cousin...". He doesn't say "This is my mother here", he's an *assimilado.* (*Yes*). Do you hear? (*Yes, we hear*). He's already ashamed to introduce his father, he's ashamed to introduce his

mother — he hasn't got a mother. (*Imitating*). "I have no mother. My mother, they say she died when I was a baby". (*Laughter, applause*). And when he needs identity documents, they are going to say, these documents, he's the son of unknown parents, he's happy. He is happy with documents that say "son of unknown parents", he's happy. Ah! Now he is Black, this one.

There is a struggle here in Mozambique, a big struggle. Do you know? Do you hear? (*We hear*). To get all these people to change their way of thinking. To have a personality, to have a Mozambican personality, and to know that the Mozambican personality is valid in any part of the world. Do you hear? (*We hear*). Our personality must never appear behind the Portuguese personality: we are not Portuguese. How is that? We are Mozambicans, and proud to be Mozambicans. This was our battle — to conquer our Mozambican personality. We are not Portuguese!

Do you hear, comrades? (*We hear*).

Only by freeing ourselves from this will we be able to understand the world and understand colonialism. Only, only, only understanding this, are we in a position to make the revolution triumph in Mozambique. First, let's be proud to be Mozambicans — to be what we are. Yes or no? (*Yes*).

There is no inferior race in the world. There is no superior race in the world. All races are equal. All peoples are equal. There is an imbalance in development that is a reality. But if that's how we must classify the superiority of races, then the Portuguese race is the lowest of all the peoples, because it's the most backward, yes or no? (*Yes*). Do you hear, comrades? (*We hear*).

With this, we want to say that we don't want — we don't want — racism here in Mozambique. White racism. Black racism. We don't want it here in Mozambique. We want harmony between peoples. Harmony between races. Because we are all equal. Do you hear, comrades? (*We hear*).

Now I want to invite the Whites, invite them whether they are from Portugal or from Mozambique, the Whites to abandon this attitude. It's a reactionary attitude. Yes or no? (*Yes*). Yes or no? (*Yes*). It is, it is, it is a racist attitude. It doesn't establish harmony, and even less equality among us, and it makes the development of the country difficult. Racial division. We don't want it here in Mozambique — if to resist we have to take up arms anew, to remove racism. White racism and Black racism, we don't want it in Mozambique, we don't want it here. We don't want reactionaryism here in Mozambique. We don't want it. Do you hear (*We hear*). We don't want it.

First, I want to invite the Whites to abandon this reactionary attitude. Colonialism inculcated in you that the White race was superior. Isn't it true? (*Yes*).

But colonialism has already fallen. Isn't that so? (*Yes*). Why did it fall, if colonialism is a superior race? If it is represented by the White race? Why did it fall, then? It proves that the people are stronger than any other force. Do you hear? (*We hear*). We defeated Portuguese colonialism here. Right? So, Portuguese colonialism was defeated by an inferior race! Yes or no? (*Yes*). We aren't inferior, no. We defeated them because we are equal to them. Do you hear?

No, we are not inferior. You must not think like that. You must not think like that. There is a reality that is equal development, equal what's more... equal to an imbalance in development between societies, nations, countries, entire peoples of the world. There is an imbalance, this is a natural contradiction, universal. This contradiction is a universal contradiction, but it must be resolved by the revolution, by people. It's people who make the revolution.

Whites in Mozambique mustn't think that they are superior. Indians mustn't think that they are superior. Do you hear? Hem, Coloureds, abandon these attitudes. You are from here, from Mozambique. Do you hear? (*Applause*). Coloured women, Coloured men, the Chinese also walk around here, they have an area here in Beira, there. And they are very racist. I know. Yes or no? (*Yes*). No, the Chinese are more racist here in Beira. They must abandon it, we don't want this!

The struggle in Mozambique didn't only free the land, it also freed mentalities, it freed complexes. Our struggle fought against superiority complexes and inferiority complexes and we have already won. We won because we were consistent in our line and now we want to rebuild Mozambique. Mozambique is a very rich country. We just need to use our strength correctly, our strength, our intelligence, our energy. And to use it correctly, it's necessary that we live organised, orientated and guided by FRELIMO. Do you hear? (*We hear*).

It was FRELIMO that guided you all, to win the battle. It was FRELIMO that defined for you who the enemy was, who the enemy was. Because of this, in national reconstruction we need the support of all the peoples. Peoples of all continents, of all races, of all peoples. In the first place, progressive peoples, progressive countries, because it was with them that we defeated colonialism in Mozambique, and we think that it will also be with them that we will rebuild Mozambique. Many countries that supported Portuguese colonialism have already changed, they recognise the government of Mozambique and they

are all ready to recognise the republic that will be proclaimed on 25 June 1975. And we think that this phase is the decisive phase for us to establish correct relations among ourselves, to establish equality among ourselves, to definitively liquidate racial discrimination in our society.

Therefore it's necessary that we liquidate the little associations here in Beira — associations of Whites, associations of Coloureds, associations of Blacks — and that we form Mozambican associations. This is the decisive step to enable us to live together (*applause*), for us to be able to rebuild Mozambique together, because we cannot continue divided, because divided we are weak, and once we are weak we will be liquidated by external forces. Once divided we furnish a fertile terrain for imperialism to penetrate and liquidate us.

We want to create a new Mozambique. New type of relations between people. We know that our country is in ruins. We don't have hospitals. Yes or no? (*Yes*). Yes or no? (*Yes*). We don't have schools. We don't have factories. We live without blankets in our huts. Yes or no? (*Yes*). But we have a chance to grow cotton. Yes or no? (*Yes*). We live on drinking hot water all the time, to avoid stomach ache and stomach disturbances because we have no rice, because we have no corn at home. The fields are occupied. Yes or no? (*Yes*). They are properties. Here in Mozambique, there is no land for so-and-so, there is no land for the people, here!

So, it's only FRELIMO that will indicate where each one of us will produce. We didn't die to create private farms, private properties here in Mozambique. Above all, the land, the land belongs to mankind, to the people. It isn't anybody's. Do you hear? (*We hear*). And because Mozambique. Above all, the land, the land belongs to mankind, to the people. It isn't anybody's. Do you hear? (*We hear*). And because of this, we need correct orientations.

The Dynamising Groups have a special task, a difficult task, but an exalted task, and it's a glorious task at the same time — to create political consciousness in each Mozambican, so that each Mozambican can trust in his own strength. Do you hear? (*We hear*). It is us who will rebuild Mozambique! It will not be a force that will fall down by a miracle. There are no miracles. Miracles stopped happening many years ago. There are no more miracles! There are no more miracles! If miracles happened, they would have fallen down many years ago and expelled Portuguese colonialism from Mozambique. We fought with weapons in our hands and we beat colonialism. We will rebuild Mozambique with our strength! There won't be some strange power, and even less any miracles. There are no more miracles! Do you hear? (*We hear*).

It's not divine will, the misery in which our people live. It's not. It's not. It's not divine will, this. It was organised, the misery here in Mozambique, and we must organise its liquidation as well. Do you hear? (*We hear*). Do you hear? (*We hear*). No saint descended here to say "the Mozambican people must live poor". No, it wasn't that. It wasn't that. It was the colonial organisation that put us in this miserable situation, a deplorable situation. And we have to get out of it, out of this situation. That we are free means the work begins. Work in freedom. Organise, with well-defined objectives.

What is it that we want with our production? First, we want to eliminate hunger. Yes or no? (*Yes*). Hunger. In the first place, hunger. Many people here return home and won't be eating. Yes or no? (*Yes*). Yes or no? (*Yes*). Let us fight to eliminate this. There is no miracle in eliminating hunger, there isn't. There's no miracle, there's no divine force to eliminate hunger. There isn't. It depends on our energy, on our intelligence, on our organisation, on our economic policy. It's this that will eliminate hunger in Mozambique. Do you understand? Do you understand? (*We understand*). If you stay here, waiting for some force — I don't know if it will come from that side or this, from above or below, I don't know. Where will it come from? Where will it come from (*clapping*). Where will it come from? (*Clapping*). Show me. I don't see it, myself (*clapping*).

Hands will be ready to do organised work, where? Hem? Here, and this is the instrument that will do it. Yes or no? (*Yes*). So the force comes from here. Yes or no? (*Yes*). It's from here that the force somes that will develop Mozambique, that will make Mozambique go forward, that will make the revolution triumph in Mozambique. Our force. Organised force, not scattered. Right? (*Right* ). Right? (*Right* ). Right? (*Right* ).

Hunger, in the first place. Hunger. The stomach doesn't accept credit. There's no credit. Since today I haven't eaten, I'll eat the day after tomorrow... No (*applause*). It doesn't accept credit, you have to pay three times a day. You have to pay three times a day. In the morning, before starting work, you pay. Yes or no? (*Yes*). Back from work, you pay. Right? (*Right* ). Before sleeping, you pay. Right? (*Right* ). So there you are (*applause*).

(*Silence*).

In the second place, what's in the second place? What is it? (*Various suggestions from the audience*). No, money, leave money out of it. We made war without money. We won the war without money. Twelve years of the existence of FRELIMO — there were no salaries in FRELIMO. It's not money that

makes revolution. It's not money that builds the nation. Do you hear? (*We hear*). Do you hear? (*We hear*). Leave salaries out of it by a long way, there.

If we had a lot of food, would life be cheap or expensive? Hem? To make life cheap, what is it that is necessary? To work! Yes or no? (*Yes*). To produce. Yes or no? (*Yes*). Clothes. Yes or no? (*Yes*). Shoes. Yes or no? (*Yes*). Blankets at home. Yes or no? (*Yes*). But all this requires work. All this, you need to work. It doesn't descend, there's no miracle to this. There isn't. Yes or no? (*Yes*). I know that you pray, that you have your patron saints... But the great patron saint is work. Do you hear? The great patron saint is work. Do you hear? (*We hear*). Do you hear? (*We hear*). Ah.

We are going to pray after eating, right? Yes or no? (*Yes*). Let's go there well dressed. Yes or no? (*Yes*). If you go there naked, they'll throw you out of church. Yes or no? (*Yes. Applause*). It's a scandal. It's a scandal. Yes or no? (*Yes*). Yes or no? (*Yes*). Can you appear at church naked? (*No*). Hah. They'll throw you out if you show up there naked. Hungry for thirty days, can you go there? You'll be a gangster because of hunger, you'll be a thief, you'll break into banks, shops. Hunger. Yes or no? (*Yes*). The stomach. Do you hear? (*We hear*).

Third... What else is there? Hem? A nice house. Yes or no? (*Yes*). Who builds the house? Who is it that builds the house? (*We do*).

We need to stress a few more interesting points here, because colonialism also classified professions by colour. Professions had colours. Yes or no? (*Yes*). They had colours, the professions. Salaries had colours as well. Yes or no? (*Yes. Applause*). There were Black builders and White builders, but they were all builders. Yes or no? (*Yes*). There were Black carpenters and White carpenters. Yes or no? (*Yes*). But they were all carpenters. Yes or no? (*Yes*). There were White chauffeurs and Black chauffeurs. Yes or no? (*Yes*). They're all chauffeurs. Black and White engine drivers. Yes or no? (*Yes*). Do professions also have colours nowadays? Do professions also have colours nowadays? Hem? Do professions also have colours nowadays? (*No*). And we want to eliminate this too. Black carpenter, White carpenter, make a chair, paid the same. Yes or no? (*Yes. Applause*).

The problem of production. There was rice grown by Whites and rice grown by Blacks, it had different prices. There were beans of Blacks, there were beans of Whites, they came from the same soil. They made borders on the farms, but the process was different. Yes or no? (*Yes*). I come from a very fertile area, where there's agriculture — I know this system, I know this system well. Beans of Blacks, and beans of Whites, livestock of Blacks, livestock

of Whites. A head of cattle, a head of cattle — of livestock of Blacks cost five hundred or a thousand escudos. 'No brand, no owner', it's not me who brands, it's the buyer (*applause*). It's not me, I who know the value, I who bred the head of livestock, I who grew the beans, I who bred the chicken, I who produced the eggs, I have the right to set the price, it costs so much. Yes or no? (*Yes*). Yes or no? (*Yes*). But it wasn't like that. That was colonialism.

Colonialism. There they have another system. What is it? It's capitalism, it's the capitalist system. It's not colonialism. Now, White Black, White Black, yes, that's colonialism. It's colonialism. But the prices — capitalism was already there. Do you hear? (*We hear*). It's for this reason that FRELIMO always shouts "Down with capitalism!" It's capitalism that is responsible for crime, for aggressions against peoples. It's capitalism that sacks, pillages the wealth and strength of the people.

They set up phoney trade unions that don't protect anybody. The authorities in the capitalist countries control the trade unions. They are organisations of great capitalists, of great monopolists who control their children who are there. Do you hear? (*We hear*).

The capitalist system is very complicated. System of exploitation. Exploitation of man by man. There it is. Employ a thousand men, spend, go and spend, go, go and say, two thousand contos. Let's say, per year, it costs two thousand contos, but he makes six thousand. He only pays the workers two thousand. All the expenses come at the end of the year — he spent two thousand — but he made six thousand contos. At the people's expense, there. The capitalist system. This system already doesn't have colours. Capitalism doesn't have colours.

Black capitalists will try to emerge here in Mozambique — the so-called national middle class. Those who have a capitalist calling, now with the coming of independence, they are taking off their false beards, right? (*Applause*). Greedy to want to revive the Luis Camoes College — "Luis Camoes. Now it was... the owner died, now it's going to be me. Since I'm Black, the other Blacks won't mind me exploiting, hey?" (*Applause*). It's in the capitalist system, that the doctor when he studies, it's to exploit. The doctor, the doctor doesn't want to do anything if not wish for lots of sick people. With lots of sick people, there will be more money. Do you hear? (*We hear*). Do you hear? (*We hear*). Now, knowledge is an instrument of exploitation in the capitalist system.

The individual's knowledge — he studied a tiny bit, or has a masters. Good, he has his big diploma, right, he's ready, he's licensed to exploit. Do this, follow that, follow... Letters. It's Doctor this, come this way, oh doctor, doctor sir, doctor of exploitation. Do you hear? (*We hear*). It's not the doctor who teaches the people. Doctor from where anyway, with minimal training, very small, weak, feeble, needing others, needing the support of others. He produces nothing but a repetition of what he was taught by capitalism. It's a repetition. He creates absolutely nothing, because he's separated from the people. He's isolated from practice.

The first greed, first greed, to set up colleges. Who will attend these colleges? Is it the people? Who will go there? Who will go there? Who will go there? The school has ceased to be a base for the people to take power. Yes or no? (*Yes*). It's become an instrument of exploitation. Yes or no? (*Yes*). We don't want it in Mozambique. We don't want this in Mozambique. There's no place for exploiters here. Black or White, can't exploit the people. The duty of each one of us [leaders] — is to give everything to the people, to be last when there are benefits to be won and first when there are sacrifices to be made. This is what it means to serve the people. Serve the people. Our knowledge must die in the ground. Our knowledge must be constantly examined by the people. Do you hear comrades? (*We hear*). Do you hear? (*We hear*).

Some are getting ready to buy ten tractors. They are already exploiting an area where they are going to produce. Isn't it so? There's no individual production in Mozambique. Collective production, so that we can collectively get rid of hunger, get rid of misery in our country. Do you hear? (*We hear*). Because these individualists are instruments of imperialism at the same time, aren't they, aren't they? Where will they find money? All of you here are poor. All of you, poor. Three years from now we'll see somebody putting up a fifteen-storey building. Where did he get the money? Where did he get the money? Hem? No, it's you out there. You there. There. And us here as well. And us also, up here. I'm saying you, and us as well. If I put up a building, please ask me. Do you hear? Ask "so, Comrade Samora, where did you get the money? In three years? (*Laughter, applause*). Three years of independence. Comrade Samora, so where are the people now? Do the people also have lots of buildings?" Are you listening? (*We are*).

We must fight against the exploiters of the people, and if we can, eliminate them in an embryonic state, kill the chick in the egg, *hem*? (*Interpretation difficulties provoke comments and laughter in the audience*) I'm asking if he's having a hard time interpreting because he wants to be an exploiter! (*Laughter, applause*). Do you hear comrades? (*We hear*).

We believe that it's only in this way that we can make a major contribution to the international revolution. We believe that it's only in this way that we can make our revolutionary contribution to the oppressed peoples, to the peoples who helped us in our moments of difficulty, peoples who never hesitated to declare FRELIMO the legitimate representative of the interests of the people of Mozambique. Do you hear, comrades? (*We hear*). Only thus will we know how to honour our comrades who fell, those who were murdered in prison, those who were massacred by Portuguese soldiers. We must not betray them, because they are our heroes. Do you hear? Do you hear? (*We hear*).

So we must build a strong Mozambique, and prosperous. Do you hear? We must build a free society, a society of good relations amongst us all — we must create a spirit of cameraderie. Brothers aren't enough, no. It's not enough to be brothers. A spirit of cameraderie! Above all, because we have a big task, which is the task of the liberation of Mozambican women. The task of creating a new mentality among the youth, so that they can serve the whole people, so that they can serve the whole world. Do you hear, comrades? (*We hear*).

This is what freedom means. Hem? It's this that freedom means. This is what it means to build a revolutionary society. There is no place in Mozambique for race conflicts. There is no place here. Do you hear, gentlemen? (*We hear*). Do you hear? (*We hear*). Let us build a revolutionary and exemplary society. It's the duty of the Mozambican people, this is.

(*Watchwords*).

*Introduced by Colin Darch and transcribed and translated from the Portuguese by Colin Darch and David Hedges.*