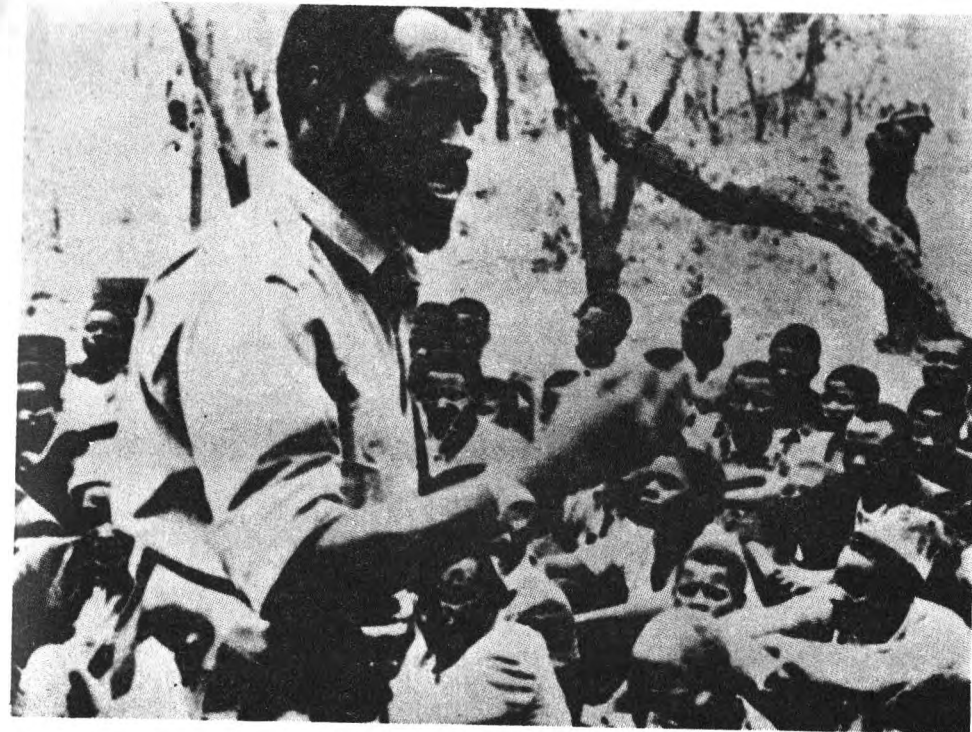




experiences  
and facts

REPORT FROM  
THE CC OF FRELIMO  
TO THE THIRD  
CONGRESS

SAMORA MACHEL



FRELIMO has always considered international work of great importance in the battle for our people's liberation.

The colonial-fascist regime imposed a curtain of silence on our homeland and our struggle. The colonialists, taking advantage of their diplomatic service, the mass media, the complicity and support of big monopoly enterprise and imperialist circles, were in an excellent position to project their views to world public opinion.

A proper strategy had to be defined in order to defeat the enemy in the international arena, to know where we were going to look for support, whom we had to fight, what objectives we had to achieve.

From the beginning of the struggle, FRELIMO had the support of almost all African people. Tanzania and, after its independence, Zambia have been the firm rearguard of our struggle. These sister countries sacrificed a great deal to support our struggle: and it was that support which, to a great extent, permitted the rapid development of our liberation war. Their militant solidarity marked them for colonialist and imperialist hatred. Many Tanzanians and Zambians were killed by enemy bombs and mines. Our people will never forget the basic support Tanzania and Zambia provided for our victory.

Many other African countries, individually or within the framework of the Organization of African Unity, also showed us their active solidarity during the difficult period at the beginning of the war.

The socialist countries consistently expressed their revolutionary internationalism, with political, material and diplomatic support to help our



struggle advance. Other states as well as democratic forces inside the capitalist countries, and humanitarian organizations, also supported our struggle.

The goal of our fight on the international front was to block military, economic and diplomatic aid that allowed colonialism to continue and extend its war. Our battle also sought to increase support for the liberation struggle.

The third and fourth sessions of the Central Committee and the subsequent development of the liberation war created an extremely favorable situation for major offensives on the international level. Numerous delegations and a large number of foreign correspondents and film makers had already been invited to visit our area. By explaining the reality as they saw it, they contributed to providing public opinion with correct information about the reality of our struggle and our successes.

In June, 1970, FRELIMO, the MPLA and PAIGC, with the support of the World Peace Council and the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization (AAPSO), organized an international conference of support for our people's struggle, in Rome. This conference, held in the capital of a NATO member country, with broad participation and representation, had a deep and long-lasting mobilizing effect on international opinion, especially in western Europe. Its effect was even greater because of the meeting that followed between Pope Paul VI and the leaders of FRELIMO, the MPLA and PAIGC.

In Africa, we established firm relations of fraternal solidarity and mutual aid with Tanzania, Zambia, Guinea, the Congo and the Republic

of Somalia. Our bilateral relations with other African countries were also extended and consolidated during this period.

Fruitful and fraternal relations were established between FRELIMO and the ruling parties of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the People's Republic of China, the German Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Federated Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia.

The countries of Africa as a whole, the Organization of African Unity, the OAU Liberation Committee and the African group in the UN progressively developed political, moral, diplomatic and material support for our cause.

The non-aligned countries and the Afro-Asian countries as a whole participated actively in our fight, and the governments and all the democratic forces of Sweden, Norway, Finland and Holland also distinguished themselves.

For its political significance, the action of Portuguese democratic forces in anti-colonial consciousness raising among broad masses of Portuguese workers and youth was particularly important. War resisters and deserters came to represent a fourth of the troops mobilized annually for the colonialist army. From 1970 on, Portuguese democratic forces defined the colonial war machine as the target of armed actions in their antifascist strategy. Within this framework, Armed Revolutionary Action (ARA) and later the Revolutionary Brigades were outstanding.

With the international organizations, the political-diplomatic battle met with success. We must note the United Nations decision to recognize FRELIMO as the sole representative of our people and grant us observer status.

The United Nations specialized agencies took the same position. In November, 1972, the Security Council passed Resolution 322 (1972) unanimously condemning the colonial aggression against our people and demanded that Portugal begin negotiations on the basis of recognizing our right to self-determination and immediate independence. International mass democratic organizations, such as the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, the World Peace Council, Tricontinental, World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), Pan-African Youth Movement (MPJ), Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF), World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) and many others and the solidarity committees established to support our struggle, particularly in Italy, Holland, Great Britain, Sweden, Finland, the United States, Canada and elsewhere, were powerful tools for mobilizing international opinion and organizing political, moral and material support for our struggle. They increasingly isolated the fascist-colonial regime, as became evident with the failure of Marcelo Caetano's visit to London.

Armed with a correct line and strategy, FRELIMO was able to unite the broadest range of democratic forces around our cause, totally isolating the Portuguese colonialists.

**People's democracy and intensification of the class struggle**

## THE MEANING OF THE CONSTITUTION

The Constitution of the People's Republic of Mozambique expresses the new correlation of forces created by the victory of the people's liberation war in proclaiming that power belongs to the worker-peasant alliance led by FRELIMO.

The Constitution defines the basic principles of people's democracy.

The Mozambican proletariat, peasantry — particularly the peasants in cooperatives — revolutionary intellectuals, artisans, and workers in general, are acquiring a clear awareness of their situation and historic destiny. Under the leadership of the working class, they are progressively organizing to shape society in the interests of the Mozambican proletariat. The conditions for developing the dictatorship of the proletariat are being created through measures the Party and state have imposed on productive organization, the development of state and co-operative sectors, political and scientific education of the masses, affirmation of our people's and our class cultural values and the organization of the working masses.

The final objectives set by the Constitution of the People's Republic of Mozambique are essentially to lay the political, ideological, scientific and material bases of socialist society.

The Constitution establishes state ownership of our country's land and natural resources. It supports collective means of production, defends the interests of the working masses and defines the leadership role in the national economy. Citizens are guaranteed the broadest democratic freedoms as an extension to the entire country of our people's conquests in the liberated zones.

The Constitution establishes equality for all citizens and rejects any kind of discrimination. It recognizes the right and duty of all to participate actively in defending national sovereignty and revolutionary conquests. It dignifies and protects work as a right and duty for all citizens and their share in the social product. It establishes universal suffrage and the right to education and health and to family, child and old-age protection.

The Constitution places special emphasis on internationalism, a conquest of our struggle which is part of FRELIMO's political ideology. It sets, as basic guidelines for our state foreign policy, unity of the African people and governments; the natural alliance with the socialist countries; solidary support for the people's liberation struggles; the fight against colonialism, neocolonialism and imperialism; and the battle for peace and general and universal disarmament.

### The colonial heritage

When they proclaimed independence, our people encountered the colonial-fascist state apparatus that expressed the exploiting dictatorship of the foreign bourgeoisie over the working class.

Economically, our country emerged from a ruinous situation caused by colonial plunder and the instability that capitalism generated. This situation was aggravated by Portuguese colonialism's submission to the racist imperialist system.

Agriculture was controlled by the big international monopolies and by the colonialists. The major part of agricultural production was channeled toward the metropolis and the urban centers where the colonists lived. The peasant was relegated to subsistence agriculture.

Industry was almost exclusively devoted to finishing imported products destined for bourgeois consumption. The very few existing basic industries were essentially aimed at developing the interests of the colonial bourgeoisie and imperialism.

The cement industry, for example, was created to serve civilian construction, a sector conceived only to benefit the colonial bourgeoisie and such imperialist projects as Cabora Bassa.

Foreign trade was the expression of colonial control over our country. Our chief products were channeled toward certain foreign markets at extremely low fixed prices. Trade relations imposed by the colonial metropolis institutionalized the systematic rape of our raw materials in particular. While our country was forced to give Portugal the raw materials at very low prices, it had to import finished products at very high prices. This plunder represented the colonial-fascist government's main resource in maintaining the equilibrium of its trade balance.

Domestic trade was controlled by the big companies and by colonists in search of easy profits. Distribution of food products was entrusted to the network of military canteens. Scattered throughout the country, these posts purchased the peasant's crops directly and handled their transportation to the villages and cities through a system of multiple intermediaries. They all gained at the expense of the miserable prices paid to the peasant for basic products and exorbitant prices demanded from the people for manufactured goods. This system of distributing production — the only one colonialism developed throughout our country — was destroyed with the departure of the colonists who controlled most of the posts. This explains in part the distribution difficulties we are now facing.

Under colonial-fascist domination, many Mozambican workers had to move to neighboring countries. This migratory flow went into the mines, industries and plantations of South Africa; the plantations and mines of Southern Rhodesia; and the tea plantations of Malawi. Before the national liberation struggle began, the migration was also directed into the copper mines of what was then Northern Rhodesia and the sisal plantations of former Tanganyika. Thus, at the time independence was declared, hundreds of thousands of Mozambican workers were outside the country, and no international economic structures existed to guarantee them jobs and reintegration into society at short range.

Transportation and communications had been designed to serve the racist regime and the colonial war, thus deepening foreign dependency.



In order to finance the war and strengthen the association with big economic interests, colonialism created all the conditions that favored increased imperialist and racist domination of our country — and, consequently, increased dependency for Mozambique.

As a result of great inequality in the country, the rural population was drawn to the only poles of economic development: the capital area and that around Beira. This created a necessarily parasitic population, with an increasing tendency toward marginalization and crime. Thus an enormous reserve of unemployed and underemployed was formed which big capital used to maintain wages at the lowest possible level and exploitation at the highest level.

From the social point of view, colonialism's much-touted "civilizing action" left more than 90-percent illiteracy, backwardness, general ignorance and superstition. Medical-hygienic care was practically limited to the colonial bourgeoisie.

#### **Intensification of the class struggle**

After the colonial forces were defeated in Operation Nudo Gordiano, capitalism, which was already in crisis, began to have ever-greater fears for its future in Mozambique. The big imperialist investments came to an end. The colonial bourgeoisie stepped up the flight of foreign exchange and began the process of economic sabotage. At that moment the exodus of the colonists began and never stopped: according to colonial statistics, in 1971 more than 6000 colonists left; in 1972, nearly 12 500; in 1973, more than 22 000 abandoned Mozambique.

With the collapse of the fascist regime in Portugal, capitalism, desperate at the Mozambican people's impetuous advance, tried by all means to maintain colonial control over our country or at least guarantee a neocolonial solution.

During the so-called Provisional Government, the maneuvers of the capitalist reaction escalated, encouraging general anarchy in industry, strikes, indiscriminate firings and wage claims. It made demagogic salary increases that had nothing to do with industrial production. These maneuvers were aimed at confusing the working masses, turning them away from their basic goal — independence — and disorganizing and paralyzing all economic activity. An attempt was made to deepen the crisis capitalism had brought about and create a chaotic situation in order to block or sabotage the people's ascent to power.

These actions, combined with economic sabotage, caused a sharp drop in production in all sectors of the economy. It is in capitalism's strategy during the period following the overthrow of colonial domination that we find the roots of the indiscipline, liberalism and corruption that have disorganized the working class and have caused a resulting decline in production and productivity.

The Mozambican people's struggle on all fronts kept colonial-capitalist reaction from achieving its immediate goal: to prevent FRELIMO from seizing power.

During the transition period, capitalism found itself forced once more to reexamine its strategy and draw up new plans. It promoted panic and the departure of small and middle-sized businessmen, technicians

and other skilled workers. The big capitalists who planned and directed those maneuvers still hoped to salvage their interests through a policy of alleged moderation and false realism, because of the technological and administrative shortage they themselves had caused in our country. In order to defend their interests, both in industry and in the state machinery, they used the domestic bourgeoisie, hurriedly trained during colonialism's final years. They intensified robbery and uninhibited destruction: cattle, tractors, machinery and heavy vehicles disappeared across the border or were shipped from our docks with the complicity of reactionary and corrupt officials. When plunder became impossible due to the increasing vigilance of the state and the working masses, the class enemy resorted to destruction. Thousands of head of cattle were killed and left to rot. Essential consumer goods were hoarded and disappeared from the market, to be sold later at exorbitant prices. Trade channels, inadequate in themselves, were systematically sabotaged.

Fulfilling the slogan of extending FRELIMO's structure throughout the country, we meanwhile formed activists' groups. The activists' groups have become our basic weapon in the struggle against all types of economic sabotage and against all attempts to confuse, divide, corrupt and subvert the workers.

In the transition period, the action of the activists' groups undercut the escalation of capitalist maneuvers and put the reactionaries on the defensive; it kept hundreds of abandoned industries in production, organized workers for guard duty and deepened their consciousness concerning the nature of the enemy and its aims and methods. Organized in activists' groups, the masses have undertaken conscious initiatives in the class struggle, isolating the enemy, frustrating his basic aims and forcing him to drop his arrogance. Following the proclamation of independence and the first nationalizations, imperialism, the colonial bourgeoisie and the reaction inside the country stepped up sabotage and put their destabilization plans into operation against the new power. They organized subversion against our republic, made broadcasts from outside the country and secretly sent in counterrevolutionary fliers. They have spread drugs, pornography and religious propaganda of a subversive and obscurantist nature and have launched rumors and provocations to speed the flight of technicians.

Their press campaigns have systematically distorted popular revolutionary conquests in an attempt to slander and discredit popular power. They have sent in agents, weapons and explosives and carried out criminal and terrorist actions. Outside, the illegal racist regime of Southern Rhodesia has again been used as an operational force to attack our country and massacre our people.

The best organization of the popular masses, intensification of vigilance and our firm and correct political position have, time and again, frustrated the enemy's maneuvers. Then the enemy resorted to the plan to subvert the FPLM.

The December, 1975, reactionary provocation in the capital by imperialism and the colonial bourgeoisie with the support of internal reactionaries failed totally, due to the prompt and firm action of the FPLM, supported by the people organized in activists' groups.

It was precisely following this new defeat that the colonial bourgeoisie — completely isolated, exposed and disorganized, incapable of fac-



ing up to the advancing working masses led by FRELIMO — fled our country in disarray. In January, 1975, 20 industries in the capital were abandoned in one day.

The naming of administrative committees and, specifically, the work of the activists' groups have kept the overwhelming majority of those industries producing, thus avoiding an increase in the level of unemployment and the paralysis of broad sectors of economic life, which was what the enemy tried to leave behind.

The FRELIMO Central Committee met in the capital of our country for the first time between February 11 and 27, 1976.

The sharp drop in production and productivity, the abandonment of industries, economic sabotage of all kinds and aggressive imperialist actions through its racist detachment composed of internal agents and headed by the criminal Ian Smith demanded that measures adequate to the phase of sharpening class struggle be taken.

Between the fifth and eighth sessions, the Central Committee analyzed the development of the national liberation struggle, the current stage of class struggle in Mozambique and the process of building the democratic popular state. It affirmed that the reaction acted in the most diverse forms but that its objectives remained unchanged: to disorganize and paralyze the economy, deepen the crisis that colonialism had generated, divide the masses and create dissatisfaction among them in order to overthrow people's power.

Affirming that the class struggle is developing chiefly in the economic field, the Central Committee launched the slogan "Generalized political and organizational offensive on the production front." Deciding on the need to destroy the colonial-fascist state structures and build a new kind of state apparatus, the Central Committee set guidelines for deepening and accelerating the construction of the state apparatus, which, in its composition, organization and methods, reflects the power of the worker-peasant alliance.

At its eighth session the Central Committee convoked the Third Congress of FRELIMO to define the strategy and tactics pertinent to the present phase of the class struggle and of people's democratic construction.

### **Our revolutionary conquests**

The proclamation of the People's Republic of Mozambique, the nature of our Constitution and the first nationalizations that took place on July 24, 1975, followed by the nationalization of housing on February 3, 1976, decisively affected the structures of capitalism in our country.

Eliminating private ownership of land was the first basic step in transforming the social relations of production in our country. It decisively affected the system of exploitation, which was as feudal as it was capitalist, by depriving the exploiters of control over the chief source of material gain. It eliminated the possibility of land speculation for construction. It created conditions for organizing and developing state enterprises, agricultural cooperatives and collective *machambas* or plantations. It was the beginning of the socialization of agricultural production.

With recovery of the land, our people conquered the basic means of production that makes possible economic development to satisfy our basic needs; to fight hunger, lack of clothing, poverty and disease; and to build a popular, independent, prosperous economy free of exploitation.

The just and mobilizing line of collective work, of cooperatives and communal villages, took hold among the broad masses. In all provinces, the people enthusiastically opened many collective *machambas*; the peasants created cooperatives and began to build communal villages. This unequivocal position of peasant support for socialization of the rural areas became evident even before the state defined the guidelines for cooperatives and communal villages. State structures were still not organized to store, transport and market all the surplus grown by our peasants. So part of the production was lost. In spite of this, Mozambican peasants have not demobilized. With redoubled energy they are committed to the current agricultural campaign.

The creation of agricultural state enterprises, already covering 60 000 hectares of arable land, will provide the struggle for socialization of the countryside with a new and broader dimension.

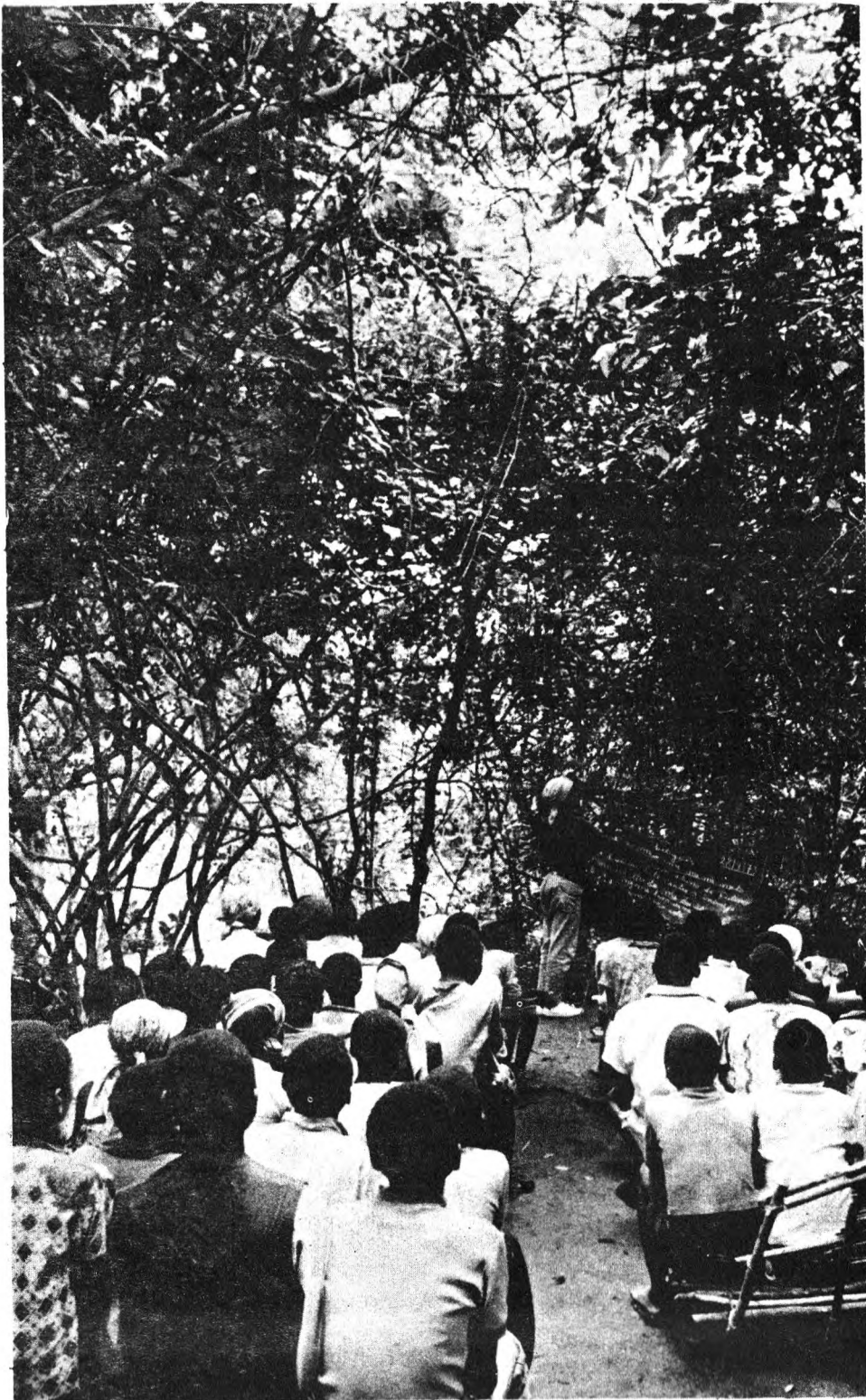
The fraternal support of technicians from the socialist countries was an important contribution to our agricultural progress. Nationalization of private hospitals and clinics and the ban on private medicine ended the ignoble exploitation of our people's suffering and disease and created conditions for the construction of a people's health system.

Our achievements in the field of health opened a new front in the class struggle. In order to guarantee mass health, the people had to be organized for this battle on the one hand, while, on the other hand, the modest resources the country had in terms of cadres and hygienic structures had to be used to the maximum.

Before nationalization health cadres and hygienic structures were devoted almost exclusively to the colonial bourgeoisie and were concentrated in the main urban centers. The rural population and the suburban zones, the great working masses, were practically without attention.

Nationalization has allowed for freeing health cadres and using them according to the country's needs, creating conditions for the most disadvantaged sectors to benefit from these services. This has also led to launching major campaigns for mass mobilization and organization to make hygienic and disease-preventive measures bear fruit. Thousands of people are actively participating in these campaigns that will radically change the hygienic condition of the masses.

Deep changes in the field of health have provoked active opposition from the reaction. Foreign doctors and some Mozambican doctors, nurses and technicians left our country because someone else's suffering had ceased to be a gold mine and because, with their departure, they hoped to create chaos that would force our people to go back on their gains. The action of those reactionary groups that had remained at their posts also contributed to the disintegration of medical services. Archaic structures and the bureaucratic and conservative mentality they generated accentuated the great deficiencies in service and hindered the realization of our public health policy.



FRELIMO's correct mobilizing position won over the majority of Mozambican health workers. They accepted great sacrifices, working tirelessly up to the limit of their strength. Their effort was what made it possible to attend — with reduced human resources — the enormous increase in the number of people who came to our hospitals every day because of mass confidence in nationalization. Their integration was what exposed the reactionary offensive and began to make our principles in medical-hygienic services triumph.

The just action of FRELIMO and our state; the patriotic and revolutionary determination of doctors, nurses and technical personnel; and the fraternal aid of African and socialist countries and of democratic forces in the capitalist countries allowed us to overcome the serious deficiencies and neutralize sabotage. This reality is particularly visible in the provinces, where, in the past, health services existed only in certain urban centers. We also successfully began to train a number of cadres as doctors, and the positive results of this are now beginning to be felt.

Nationalization of the schools and elimination of the system of private teachers wiped out one of the most powerful tools colonialism had in dominating, alienating and "depersonalizing" our people. It was possible to begin building a single educational system at the service of the masses and of forming the new man.

Nationalization in the educational field has created the bases for an effective democratization of education. In this brief period we have tripled the number of students. Hundreds of thousands of children from the poorest levels are attending school. Tens of thousands of adults are becoming literate.

We are successfully wiping out obscurantist and superstitious methods in our education. We are fighting the elitist methods and content of bourgeois education. We are trying to combine scientific study with the social practice of production, to provide a materialist and dialectical base for learning science and for training students capable of analysis; we see education within the perspectives and in the light of the country's interests and those of the working masses; we are beginning large-scale training of teachers.

We confronted innumerable reactionary maneuvers in this battle, from the launching of campaigns to discredit our education to the desertion of teachers. Some of them abandoned their students; others distorted or refused to apply the content of the programs; they encouraged liberalism, indiscipline and sexual promiscuity among the students.

During the colonial-capitalist period, the cities were the exclusive province of the colonial bourgeoisie. Our people, who built the cities, constructed the buildings, were forced to live in subhuman conditions, segregated on the outskirts of the cities. Urban land was in the hands of the bourgeoisie, and they alone benefited from real estate credit, with which they built rental units for speculation.

Nationalization of these buildings meant that the people occupied the cities they had built and eliminated the racism characteristic of the colonial city. It created conditions for making the right to housing a reality and for organizing collective urban life in communal neighborhoods.

Nationalization of rental housing allowed for the location of 10 000 families in decent housing in the city of Maputo in just a year at rentals determined by family size and income.

The reclamation of land for building and state control over credit and construction enterprises permitted the organization of guided popular construction and the development of a housing policy that serves the masses.

Nationalization of funeral parlors wiped out the commercialism and discrimination that went on even in death, one of capitalism's most degrading aspects.

Abolition of private legal practice eliminated the negotiation of capitalist justice, a requirement for the construction of popular justice throughout the country.

The Mozambican working class assumes its historical responsibilities in the battle to reorganize and recycle industrial production, fulfilling the slogan, "Generalized political and organizational offensive on the production front."

Factories, in particular, have suffered the effects of economic sabotage. Machinery stolen and destroyed or paralyzed for want of spare parts, failure to replace industrial equipment and lack of maintenance are some facets of industrial sabotage. Failure to restore raw materials, diversion of social funds and industrial equipment, disappearance of accounting books, departure of foreign technicians, etc. are also worth noting. There is also the demobilizing and disorganizing action of the capitalist managers before they abandoned industry, as well as sabotage, indiscipline, division and corruption of the working class carried out by undercover agents of the reaction in industry.

The authoritarian work relations that impeded the creative initiative of the working masses remained intact in industry. The naming of administrative commissions alone could not solve this problem. Thus the need to change work relations and speed up the radical transformation of the relations of production became clear.

Following the Central Committee's eighth meeting, the working class, led by FRELIMO, began a vigorous offensive designed to increase production and productivity. Strengthening discipline, adopting and perfecting collective work methods and intensifying political study, the working class won important victories.

In many industries, state-created Councils of Production took decisive action so that, in the next three years, we will be able to reach and surpass the highest indices of production reached up to now. The work of the Councils of Production, combined with the deep structural changes that will be introduced in future industrial laws, will bring about a transformation in the social relations of production that will contribute to establishing the leadership role of the working class.

We congratulate the working class for having blocked the attempts to interrupt production in 1974 and 1975 and for initiating the process of national recuperation.

### **The tasks of the democratic-popular revolution**

In moving to the stage of popular democracy, we begin a long historical period. The transformations we must stamp on our society are

deep ones; the tasks we must face are many; the struggle we have agreed to pursue until the stage of socialism is reached is a hard and long one.

Against the realization of the working masses' interests stand imperialism and its allies in our country the internal reaction and the remains of the colonial bourgeoisie. The victory over the reaction and imperialism, a condition for the construction of the socialist society, demands that the working masses organize to impose their will on the internal exploiters and to defend the country and the revolution from imperialist aggression.

Popular democracy is the historical phase in which the working masses, under the leadership of the working class, strengthen their power, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and make majority power a reality in all areas of social life.

This is the phase in which we deepen and broaden our revolutionary conquests and build a powerful system to defend the homeland and the revolution, based on the organized people as the chief strength.

The struggle to build the new society demands that the people advance as a whole, firm and united, in all fields of political, ideological, economic and cultural battle.

In the present historical phase, we consolidate our ideological and class unity, continuously elevating the content of our national unity.

Construction of the bases for socialism demands that we make radical transformations in the social relations of production in our country and that we develop our economy.





Popular democracy is the phase in which we socialize the means of production, creating and developing the two essential forms of socialist ownership: state ownership and cooperative ownership. It is the phase in which we qualitatively develop and transform our economy, constructing the material base for the socialist society. Considering agriculture as the base, industry as the propelling factor and the construction of heavy industry as a decisive element, we will definitively break with poverty and dependency and build an advanced economy at the service of the people.

In the phase of popular democracy, we proceed to put a definitive end to the remains of feudal and colonial-capitalist society that still exist in the thinking and behavior of certain people. We continue the battle against forms of oppression and exploitation of women and youth and against the decadent values of the bourgeoisie. We move to a higher level in the battle begun during the revolutionary armed struggle for the creation of the new man, forever free of ignorance, obscurantism, superstition and prejudice and conscious of the duties of solidarity and cooperation.

Through economic and social development we will create the conditions for work to be a right and duty for all citizens and to make a reality of the principle, "from each according to his ability and to each according to his work."

The power of the worker-peasant alliance will consolidate its roots in society during this phase. As the class struggle sharpens, the proletariat continuously deepens its class consciousness. Working in the factory and guided by the Party, this class acquires a high level of organization and work collectivity. Struggling for social control of production, the working class embodies the antagonistic contradiction that places it in opposition to private ownership of the means of production. Gradually it acquires the characteristics that make it the leadership force in the process of freeing society from all forms of exploitation.

Thus, the working class takes up the long tradition of the Mozambican people's struggle and becomes the leading force in the building of socialist society.

The peasantry is the basic ally of the working class and the major part of our country's population. Brutally exploited by the colonial system, the peasantry has played a decisive role in the national liberation armed struggle, for the majority of fighters, cadres and members of FRELIMO are of peasant origin, bore the main brunt of the revolutionary people's war and were the chief target of the colonial forces' attacks, bombings, crimes and massacres. The production that fed the fighters, the transportation of war supplies and internal security in the liberated areas were guaranteed by the organized peasants. Under FRELIMO's revolutionary leadership, they were the ones that overthrew the old feudal class and the new exploiters in the liberated zones. Their alliance with the working class has been forged in the course of national liberation and is based on the common interest of workers and peasants in wiping out all forms of man's exploitation of man. Today the peasantry, the revolution's main strength, is enthusiastically involved in the communal village movement. The deep and profound response to the slogan to create communal villages among the great peasant mass in our country is testimony to its revolutionary capacity and its will to raise itself

to new collective and technically advanced forms of social organization and production.

It must be noted that, in spite of the deficiencies of the state apparatus and its inability to respond rapidly and adequately to the impetuous development of communal villages and in spite of bureaucratic errors, the peasant masses have not demobilized, and their creative initiative and hard work have consolidated the communal villages and made them an irreversible achievement of our revolution and a symbol for the future of our countryside.

In the rural areas we also found the workers in the big agricultural enterprises, particularly the state enterprises, to be a great force in the on-going process of development and organization. These agricultural workers have a great task of social development and consciousness-raising to perform among the peasantry.

All these groups believed in FRELIMO, and, in the communal villages and state enterprises, they progressively recognize collective production and socialization of the countryside as the way to conquer exploitation, poverty and disease.

Other revolutionary workers, employees, officials and intellectuals are also a part of the social base of the revolution.

During colonial-capitalism, the bourgeoisie did everything it could to make them assimilate its values, to serve its interests, but, in essence, these elements, that live basically from their work, have the greatest interest in the construction of a just society, free of capitalist exploitation. Their active participation in the revolutionary process implies an internal battle to overcome the vices and weaknesses of the bourgeoisie, in their thinking and actions.

The small businessmen and artisans are social sectors that the proletariat progressively wins over to the construction of the new society.

On the one hand, in carrying out their professional activities, these groups play a socially useful role in providing services, in the production of goods and in their marketing. National reconstruction needs the active contribution of these groups. On the other hand, the development of the revolutionary process is in harmony with their interests, freeing them from the threats and oppression to which they have always been subjected by big capital. For this reason the Party must work constantly with these groups, encouraging them to rationalize their production, specifically through voluntary participation in cooperatives that permit them to raise their productive capacity.

We are moving firmly toward socialism in a constant battle against the vices of the past. The war taught us the value of human life; it taught us to be human, to love man. During the war we waged a fierce battle against incorrect ideas, and we have no opposition in our ranks to applying the just policy of clemency. We fought against Portuguese colonialism, not against the Portuguese. A captured enemy soldier, isolated from the criminal machine of which he was a member, ceased being an enemy. He was a man who, liberated from the system, acquired his human condition. Nor did we ever hesitate to struggle against crime, banditry, injustice, corruption and lack of respect for individuals.

We continue that battle today throughout the country, working toward the construction of an integrally developed society organized for the benefit of mankind.

Anyone who oppresses, brutalizes or exploits is our enemy, even if we find him in our ranks.

Man's value and dignity was really always the objective of our battle. That was the path that led us naturally to socialism.

The war was what created us and made us what we are.

Our experience also shows us that human aspirations for social justice, equality, liberty and peace have not been won with good intentions alone. Yesterday colonialism pointed the guns of its oppressive machinery at our legitimate desires for liberty and independence. Today the threat has not disappeared. Those who have always exploited us refuse to accept the end of their exploitation; the capitalists do not accept the end of their privileges, and so our fight must be organized, just as the national armed liberation struggle was.

Scientific socialism is the beam that guides the working classes in their assault on the bulwarks of exploiting and inhuman capitalism and imperialism.

In defending these principles we are completely implacable. To renounce this battle, to permit the birth of a new class that oppresses, humiliates, fails to respect human life and hands over the country to new bosses, after the sacrifices our people have made, would represent the most shameful betrayal.

Our own experience taught us that all those who honestly seek justice are for socialism.

### Foreign policy

The winning of national independence by the Mozambican people extended the boundaries of liberty in Africa up to the imperialist and racist bulwark in southern Africa. The imperialist strategy of blocking the liberation struggle, first to the north of Zimbabwe and then to the north of the Limpopo, has completely desintegrated. The Portuguese military defeat, followed by the clamorous defeat of imperialism in Indochina, showed us how ineffective military solutions are in holding back the people's impetuous will for freedom.

Forced to draw lessons from these events, imperialist ruling circles sought to use new tactics to replace their policy of frontal battle and opposition to the liberation movement. These tactics are based on recruiting vacillating and capitulationist elements from the liberation movements in order to pit them against the real patriots. Thus they make purely formal concessions, and stimulate and cover up the most repressive manifestations of the racist regimes in an effort to create the illusion that those regimes are susceptible to evolution, that they can be humanized. The emergence of the policy of bantustans is an example of the new imperialist tactic.

But, when the situation does not allow for the period of time needed to develop this type of maneuver, they resort to the most characteristic and essential aspect of their criminal nature: open aggression. The attacks against the Democratic Arab Republic of the Sahara, the Democratic Republic of East Timor and the people of Zimbabwe and Namibia show us the imperialists' persistence in resorting to aggressive war.

The establishment of people's republics in Mozambique and Angola deepened the change in the correlation of forces that existed in Africa

with the fall of Portuguese colonialism. For the first time, states in the chief area of imperialist domination and racism in Africa have emerged as part of the socialist revolution.

For that reason, we have been a target of imperialism's aggressive action since the beginning. This action takes various forms, from campaigns to discredit our state to attempts at subversion and destabilization. We are also targets of military intimidation, through the installation and reinforcement of military bases along our coast and the dispatch of naval forces to the Mozambique Canal. As in the past, the racist regimes are used as imperialism's operative detachments for criminal, open attacks against the independence of Mozambique and Angola.

The invasion of Angola represents a particularly acute period of imperialist aggression against the independence and sovereignty of the African people, against the African revolution. Imperialism tried to impose a puppet regime in Luanda by force of arms. The MPLA, tempered by 13 years of liberation war, supported in exemplary fashion by progressive Africa and the socialist camp, was able to lead the Angolan people to victory. This was the victory of the progressive forces and of Africa in a major confrontation with the forces of racism and imperialism. The Angolan people's victory broadened the zone of people's power in southern Africa. The People's Republic of Angola became the secure rearguard for the Namibian people's struggle for national independence. Victory over the racist aggressors destroyed the myth of superiority of their armies and stimulated the liberation battle of the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa.

Our action abroad was stepped up during the transition period. The President of FRELIMO visited the German Democratic Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania, the People's Republic of the Congo, the People's Republic of China, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Burundi as well as the countries that represented the firm rearguard during the liberation struggle, Tanzania and Zambia.

At the proclamation of Mozambique's independence, the President of the Democratic Republic of Somalia, then President pro tem of the OAU, encouraged and honored us with his fraternal presence on this occasion of great historical significance. Other distinguished guests were also present, such as Presidents Agostinho Neto, of the MPLA; Oliver Tambo, of the ANC of South Africa; and Sam Nujoma, of SWAPO; the General Secretary of UNIP; the Prime Minister of Tanzania; the Prime Minister of Portugal; and the General Secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party.

The People's Republic of Mozambique rigorously applies the principles of FRELIMO's position in its foreign policy.

Within this framework, the People's Republic of Mozambique gives priority to the establishment of diplomatic relations with the countries that have always been at our side. During the transition FRELIMO agreed to establish diplomatic relations, as soon as it proclaimed independence, with the African countries and the European and Asian socialist countries that have always supported us. The People's Republic of Mozambique has now established and developed relations of friendship and cooperation with all countries, on the basis of principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, equality, noninterference in internal affairs and reciprocity of benefits.

The party and state visits made by the Presidents of Tanzania and Zambia, Julius Nyerere and Kenneth Kaunda, respectively, contributed to the establishment and reinforcement of relations both bilaterally and multilaterally.

Within the framework of the joint action of our parties and states in support of the Angolan cause, we note the meeting held in our homeland with the General Secretary of PAIGC and President of the Republic of Cape Verde, Aristides Pereira; the President of the MPLA, Agostinho Neto; the Prime Minister of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau; and top leaders of the MLSTP, as well as the fraternal visits of the President of FRETILIN before the independence of East Timor and of the General Secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party, Alvaro Cunhal.

In line with the common strategy of southern African states against racist domination, our country has made an active contribution to unity of action with Tanzania, Zambia, Botswana and Angola. We have held two summit conference sessions of "front line countries" in our territory.

Numerous party and state delegations have made fraternal visits to our country to strengthen bilateral relations of cooperation.

We have also held important international conferences in our country, notably the International Conference of Support for the People of the Former Portuguese Colonies, organized by AAPSO and the World Peace Council, and the 26th session of the OAU Liberation Committee.

The People's Republic of Mozambique has sent abroad numerous party and state delegations. One of these paid an important visit to the USSR, during which solid bases were established for the broad development of fraternal relations of solidarity, mutual aid and cooperation, which had already been forged between the two parties during the difficult period of the liberation war.

Important visits have also been made to the Republic of Guinea and the People's Republic of Angola, which have fostered deepening political relations that have already existed for a long time and that can, in turn, lead to a promising economic cooperation.

Meetings have also been held with the heads of state of Nigeria, the Congo and Swaziland, in which agreement was reached on matters of bilateral cooperation and other international questions.

Our state was unanimously accepted into the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations, both of which have always supported our struggle; at the same time, the People's Republic of Mozambique has given active cooperation to the solution of African and international problems, as a sovereign state.

The entrance of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, the People's Republic of Mozambique, the Republic of Cape Verde, the Democratic Republic of São Tomé and Príncipe and the People's Republic of Angola into the Organization of African Unity decisively strengthened progressive forces in that organization and emphasized its anti-imperialist character and its role in the struggle for the total liberation of Africa. The entrance of these states into the United Nations also strengthened the position of the progressive states in solving international problems.

We also participate in the activities of the non-aligned movement and attended the summit meeting held in Sri Lanka, which we consider to



be an important achievement in strengthening the anti-imperialist struggle.

The People's Republic of Mozambique, which itself emerged from the independence struggle, firmly supports the people's national and social liberation struggle; it condemns the aggression against the Democratic Arab Republic of the Sahara and the Democratic Republic of East Timor; it denounces the fact that the regimes that cooperate with colonialism are engaged in imperialist and Zionist maneuvers to divide the Arab countries and isolate the Palestinian liberation movement.

Our state supports the just liberation struggle of the people of Namibia, led by SWAPO, and, together with all the other African countries and the international community in general, demands that South Africa end its illegal occupation of Namibia and its attempts to divide the territory and impose puppet regimes.

The People's Republic of Mozambique will fulfill its internationalist duty of solidarity with the South African people, led by the African National Congress. The ANC of South Africa, which unifies and organizes the South African masses, has led them to a correct definition of the enemy and to determining the essence of the enemy, which has enabled them to establish correct strategy and tactics in the liberation battle. Under difficult conditions, the ANC is organizing mass political insurrection. People's battles that seriously affect the regime will lead to the triumph of mass interests.

In Zimbabwe, the combination of the effects of the national armed liberation struggle with the sanctions imposed by the international community have led to weakening and isolating the minority regime. We are convinced that, under the leadership of the Patriotic Front and with the intensification of armed struggle and extension of the political and diplomatic struggle, the people of Zimbabwe will win independence. The intransigence of the rebels once again teaches us that only people's war is capable of imposing a just solution to the existing antagonism. We are brothers through the blood we have shed fighting racist aggression.

The People's Republic of Mozambique will continue its contribution to strengthening the unity of the developing countries and the upsurge of the non-aligned movement, with the perspective of consolidating and extending the anti-imperialist battle, the battle for national independence and the people's right to their natural resources.

Our state promotes closer relations with the Arab states and between the African and Arab states.

The People's Republic of Mozambique continues to act resolutely to strengthen the Organization of African Unity, the African countries' instrument in the common struggle for the total liberation of the continent, consolidation of national independence and recovery of the people's right to their natural resources. In our action, we will systematically push for deeper anti-imperialist content on the part of the Organization of African Unity.

We will strengthen in every way possible friendly and neighborly relations with border states. With Swaziland, Lesotho and Botswana we are moving toward broader collaboration, especially in the field of the economy, in transportation and in communications.



With Tanzania and Zambia — as we hope to do in the near future with Angola — we have already established the mechanisms for cooperation in many areas and have agreed on a policy of economic development.

Like all the countries of southern Africa, our state is certain that, when South Africa and Zimbabwe liberate themselves from the sinister system of apartheid and colonialism, it will be possible to have close cooperation for harmonious development in this part of the continent.

The People's Republic of Mozambique will develop relations of friendship, mutual aid and cooperation with its natural allies, the socialist countries, at all levels.

Along with all other peace-loving countries, the People's Republic of Mozambique will pursue an active policy in defense of peace, independence, progress and cooperation among nations for general and universal disarmament.

On the level of the struggle for peace, our joint action with other states bordering on the Indian Ocean to make our zone a peace zone is noteworthy. Within the international community and in collaboration with other states in the area, on this matter we are determined to launch a diplomatic offensive to denuclearize the Indian Ocean, disarm foreign bases and evacuate all forces belonging to states and organizations outside the region. We are pleased at the positive reaction there has been to these ideas in the socialist camp.

### **The party, vanguard force and leadership force**

#### **The need for the party**

The objective of our struggle, the struggle of the Mozambican working class, is to build a society without exploiters or exploited in our country.

In order to achieve our objectives, we must wage a difficult, arduous, complex and prolonged struggle. This struggle has been carried out on various fronts, with advances and retreats, with achievements and failures: a life and death struggle against the class enemy, capable of anything.

To finally wipe out all forms of man's exploitation of man, the working class must impose its power on society.

The workers will only come out of this struggle victorious if they are unified, organized and aware of their objectives.

This is our people's experience. It is also the historical experience in the class struggle of other oppressed peoples of the world.

When FRELIMO was founded, its aim was to overthrow Portuguese colonialism. There was room in the Front for all anticolonialists and for all those who sought an end to foreign domination of our homeland. Within that perspective, there were elements from the working class, committed to the destruction of the colonial-fascist system as a system of man's exploitation of man, as well as sectors with a feudal origin and those from the embryonic bourgeoisie whose objective was to overthrow colonialism in order to replace it with new forms of oppression and exploitation of our working people. All those elements, from pro-

foundly different classes, were united around one common objective: to overthrow Portuguese colonialism.

With the advance of the liberation struggle, basic questions began to face FRELIMO that demanded correct and immediate solutions. Those problems were essentially related to the nature of the power to be established in the liberated zones, the nature of the army we sought to create, the type of social relations of production to establish, questions of women's emancipation and the role of women and youth in our society.

The discussions and even practical actions that evolved within the Front around these questions showed that it was far from building a homogeneous whole and that there were contradictory and even antagonistic interests within its ranks.

The positions taken by various members of FRELIMO expressed the existence of two currents. To the main contradiction — between the Mozambican people and Portuguese colonialism — was added (and expressed with increasing clarity) the contradiction within the Front itself between the exploiting classes and the exploited classes in Mozambique. The battle of the masses against Portuguese colonialism became a battle against the internal reactionaries as well.

With the defeat of the reactionary current headed by Simango, Nkavandame and Gwengere, revolutionary positions were consolidated within FRELIMO. People's power became generalized and developed in the liberated zones. In July, 1972, the meeting of the Defense Department synthesized the class struggle and the ideological struggle that had been developing within our ranks, opened a new debate on class content and ideology and pointed out the need to establish a clear ideological and action demarcation within the ranks of the FPLM and FRELIMO. The fifth session of the Central Committee deepened this debate and more precisely defined the class content and scientific nature of the ideology developed through our struggle.

Therefore, during that struggle and as a result of the analysis of its evolution, there emerged the need to unite and organize the most aware and dedicated elements for the cause of the working class, arm them with the scientific ideology of the proletariat and form the Party.

In 1973, Party Committees were created within the FPLM composed of the most aware, the most dedicated, the most disciplined members, who were therefore capable of being propagating elements for our policy along with militants and the masses in general. In January, 1974, the Party School began its work to synthesize and theorize our experiences and to give cadres and militants a theoretical base.

During the first year of independence the bases for the establishment of the People's Democratic State were laid.

Implementation of the new democratic popular order led to a sharpening of the class struggle on a national level and caused an intensification of imperialist aggression against our republic.

It becomes increasingly necessary to arm the social classes pledged to continue the revolutionary process, so they can effectively assume leadership of the process, neutralize all enemy maneuvers and carry the revolution to victory.

The incontinent advance of the revolution demands that the working class, in close alliance with the peasantry and progressive elements, form a vanguard party guided by the proletariat's scientific ideology.

Creation of the Party emerges as a necessity for the revolution's development.

We began the revolutionary process in our country without having a vanguard party. Nevertheless, the leadership had a vanguard quality; the FPLM, in practice, constituted an organized vanguard of the people. This is how we became a part of the national democratic revolution, within the context of the people's liberation war. The new stage of intensified class struggle and building bases in order to then move to socialism demands a new instrument: the vanguard Party. The creation of the Party emerges from the clear understanding on the part of FRELIMO militants and the most aware elements within the Mozambican working class that it is impossible to build socialism without a revolutionary party that knows how to lead the working masses and peasants and other working groups through all phases of the class struggle, through all economic, political and ideological battles.

Within this perspective, the Central Committee proposes to the Third Congress that a vanguard Marxist-Leninist Party be created. It also proposes that, in view of the significance of our historical traditions of struggle, the Party be called FRELIMO.

### **FRELIMO, a new kind of revolutionary party**

The party we propose to create is the vanguard Party of the worker-peasant alliance. Under the leadership of the working class, FRELIMO assembles in a voluntary and militant alliance the workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals and other working people, forged and tempered in the struggle against man's exploitation of man, by the victory of the people's interests.

FRELIMO is guided by the synthesis of the Mozambican people's revolutionary experiences and the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism, especially with respect to its fundamentals, organization and work methods. Because of its composition and position, it is the highest form of revolutionary organization of the Mozambican working class.

Our Party is a revolutionary party, and its objective is the destruction of the capitalist system and construction in our country of a society without exploited or exploiters.

Our Party must have a revolutionary program, an advanced theory and clearly defined strategy and tactics.

In the present stage of the construction of people's democracy, the Party's central aim is the consolidation of national independence, extending and fortifying the people's democratic order and consolidating and developing the national economy in order to build the political, ideological, technical and material bases of socialism.

The Party embodies the highest patriotic traditions and popular gains won by the revolutionary fighters and by all our people in the course

of the liberation struggle and the battle against old and new exploiters.

The Party raises national unity and patriotic values to the highest level. In it, the most noble sentiments and the deepest aspirations of our people are reflected. It is the guarantee of real national independence.

The Party's historic mission is to lead, organize, guide and educate the masses, thus transforming the mass movement into the powerful instrument that destroys capitalism and builds socialism.

### **Marxism-Leninism, ideological and theoretical base of our Party**

To be a real vanguard detachment of the working class, the Party must be equipped with a revolutionary theory that permits its members to have an exact knowledge of the laws of social development, the laws of the revolution. Without that ideological and theoretical base, the Party is not prepared to lead the struggle of the working masses, to guide them. That ideological and theoretical base is Marxism-Leninism, or scientific socialism. Marxism-Leninism is the theoretical synthesis of the rich experiences of the oppressed classes and peoples of the entire world in their age-long struggle against exploiters and to establish a new power. Creatively applied and developed in the course of our struggle, it is a powerful beam that lights the road the people follow in the process of building the new society. Scientific socialism is not a static doctrine; it is a science that is systematically enriched with the daily experience of mass struggle. The Party will always apply the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism, taking into account the concrete conditions in which the class struggle in our country develops. Thus, our Party and our people's action will continue to contribute to the development and enrichment of the scientific ideology of the proletariat.

In order to lead the class struggle in our country, the Party must be a highly organized force. When we adopted rigorous discipline during the armed struggle, we did not do so because we were a military party. The harsh lessons of experience taught us that only discipline, seriousness, organization and conscientiousness in fulfilling our tasks would allow us to avoid useless sacrifice. Thus we prevented liberalism, the easy life and its various manifestations from being introduced in our ranks and undermining cohesion, our unity of thinking and acting and our effectiveness. War and comfort, revolution and comfort, don't go together. FRELIMO was not only an armed movement against Portuguese colonialism. FRELIMO was also an armed movement against the vices inherited from colonialism, individualism, liberalism, lack of discipline and disorganization. It is this experience of FRELIMO's, this capital of discipline, organization and rigorous work, that we must establish and nourish within the Party constantly.

To demand all this implied and still implies a permanent battle against the old society's way of living and thinking, against all its values and pleasures. It implies a battle for the permanent transformation of

man and society, of the ideas of the old society, and the permanent conquest of new ideas and new popular values.

This is the sense of the permanent battle between the new and the old. It is not a battle between the old and the new generation, between old people and youth. A youth who lives a feudal or bourgeois life and holds the ideas of the old society is more antiquated than an older person who struggles constantly to integrate himself into the new society and free himself from the weight of the reactionary prejudices with which he has been inculcated.

Socialist man is a new man. He is that man who, aware of his limitations, wages a permanent internal battle with himself to overcome the reactionary weaknesses and influences he inherited. Socialist man is not the man who repeats revolutionary theory but who, in his everyday living, continues to be oriented by a reactionary way of life. He is the man who, not only in his thinking but also and above all in his behavior, assimilates the principles of the people and the revolution and, through his devotion, discipline and enthusiasm, mobilizes the masses by his example. He is the man who builds socialism.

#### **Democratic centralism, basic principle of organization and work within the Party**

FRELIMO adopts democratic centralism as the basic principle for organization and work within its ranks.

The essence of democratic centralism lies, first of all, in the fact that a single center enjoys the confidence of militants and the masses in general and directs all party bodies.

Our Party represents the interests of the broad working class, not the private interests of individuals or isolated groups. For this reason the Party has to carry out its work on an enormous scale in order to bring all existing mass forces together and guide them toward a single objective, providing dispersed actions with unity. The Party can only carry out those tasks if the leadership is centralized, if the Party has a leadership structure capable of directing all its bodies and if it has a center that expresses the will of all, the consciousness and interests of all.

Our experience with centralism always respected its democratic aspect. During the revolutionary armed struggle, our leadership in the central, provincial, district, local and base structures was chiefly characterized by the participation of the masses in the direction of their life and in making important decisions for the nation and developing the struggle. Constant popular meetings were held in which the masses, organized by FRELIMO, discussed problems.

That valuable gain was extended to the entire country beginning with the transition period and represents an important achievement, a decisive stage in the construction of real democracy in our country.

The experience of democratic centralism acquired by the oppressed people throughout the world in the course of struggle and organization also has roots and traditions in FRELIMO.

Democratic centralism is a single, indissoluble whole. Thus, we must constantly combine its two aspects: centralism and democracy.

We must fight all deviations from the principle of democratic centralism, both those that become evident through the relaxation of discipline and anarchy or improvisation and those that are translated into bureaucratic centralization that blocks any task and makes it sterile.

Party internal democracy is based on the principle of democratic centralism and must be a democracy of action and not words alone. The members must not limit themselves to holding elections and discussing problems, as in the past; through practice, they contribute to the orientation, application and enrichment of decisions.

The struggle for unity is a permanent and decisive battle. It is not an abstract struggle, because the basis for unity is profoundly linked to the concrete situation and the demands of each moment.

Collective leadership and free discussion within party structure are basic principles of internal democracy in a revolutionary party. The current sharpening of the class struggle and the Party's new tasks demand a permanent battle for unity and internal cohesion.

Deep and systematic study and discussion within the Party are the bases for establishing common leadership thinking, thinking which effectively guides all party actions and must be deeply assimilated by the entire leadership, cadres and militants. In the revolutionary process of FRELIMO the principle of discussing and making joint decisions is an obligatory work standard. This is completely necessary so that members exchange experiences with one another, so they can learn from one another and so that each member feels equally responsible for defending and applying the decisions made, independently of the position he took during the discussion.

The Party supports and stimulates the practice of criticism and self-criticism. In a revolutionary party, individual and collective criticism and self-criticism are permanent weapons for detecting and correcting errors, learning to overcome difficulties, eliminating weaknesses and educating and transforming the members. Criticism and self-criticism contribute to strengthening the Party in its permanent advance.

The Party distinguishes between constructive criticism, which adds to strength and determination, and destructive criticism, which divides and weakens. It guarantees freedom of criticism and demands that anyone who suppresses or twists it be held responsible. It will never allow anyone to use that freedom to undermine its unity or affect its discipline.

As in the past, the revolutionary process implies a permanent process of purifying the ranks of those elements whose thinking has remained behind in the impetuously advancing struggle and whose practice and thinking have been identified with the enemy's objectives.

### **FRELIMO, internationalist party**

FRELIMO is an internationalist party. During the national liberation struggle, the Mozambican people were able to understand that colonial domination was only one specific aspect of imperialist domination of the people. The people were able to understand imperialism's international nature and the vital need for unifying and coordinating the efforts of workers throughout the world for the success of the anti-imperialist struggle.

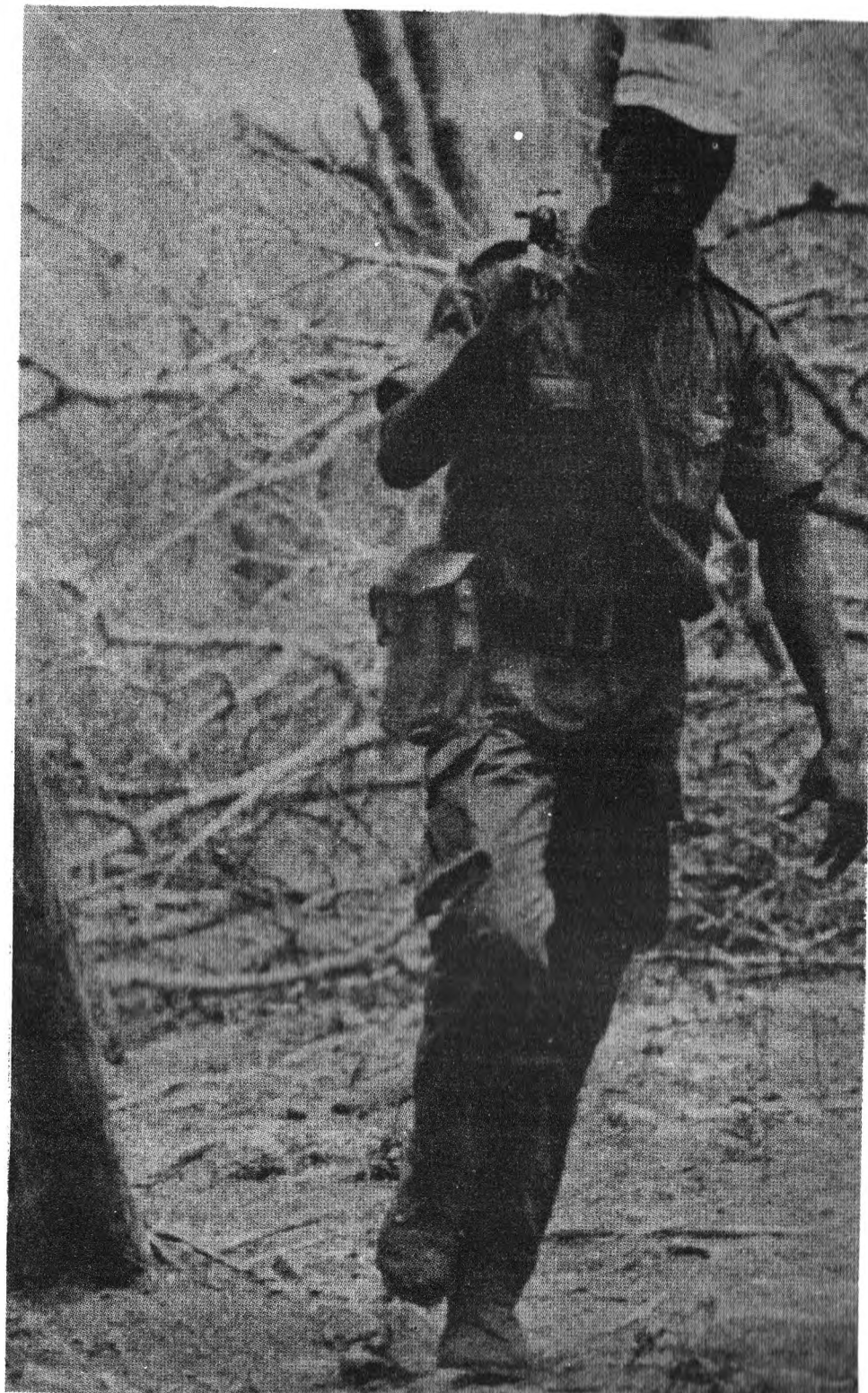
The internationalist spirit emerged in the country as an achievement in our people's tradition of struggle against forms of exploitation and oppression.

The cause of the Mozambican workers remains inseparable from the cause of the workers of the entire world during the democratic-popular phase of the revolution. There is a dialectic relationship between the class struggle on national and international levels. Proletarian internationalism represents a constant principle of the Party's revolutionary condition and a constant in its action.

We will make our country a secure revolutionary base for the struggle of other oppressed people and classes, and we will systematically strengthen the anti-imperialist world front.

By applying a policy of loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism, the Party is the legitimate heir of the internationalist traditions of our working people, forged during the national liberation struggle and particularly during the revolutionary people's war.

At the same time, in leading the Mozambican working class to fulfill its historical mission, our Party is not only meeting its national duty; the Party is also strengthening the process of the liberation of all hu-





manity, thus carrying out its internationalist duty. In supporting the people's liberation struggle or the struggle for the construction of the new society in countries where people's power has already been established, the Party consolidates the victories of the Mozambican working class and thus fulfills its national duty.

Our vanguard Party devotes particular attention to our people's education in the internationalist spirit, guaranteeing that, even in the most difficult moments, the masses will be internationalist.

We are part of the great anti-imperialist world front. We are united with the national liberation movement. That is the movement that fights in the front line against imperialism's most violent and aggressive forms: colonialism, racism, apartheid, Zionism and neocolonialism. The battle of the oppressed peoples has struck mortal blows against our permanent enemy and has neutralized and destroyed an important section of the aggressive forces, deepening the change in the correlation of forces in favor of the cause of independence, freedom and progress.

The socialist camp, which represents humanity's liberated zone, is the secure strategic rearguard for the oppressed peoples and classes, the decisive force that neutralizes imperialism on a world scale and accelerates the liberation process.

With us is the anti-imperialist democratic movement, that is fighting under difficult conditions in the capitalist countries to neutralize imperialism's aggressiveness, preserve peace, reduce monopoly power and support the liberation struggle.

The movement of the non-aligned countries, to which we belong, is a part of the anti-imperialist front. It is an important force in supporting the liberation struggle, in the battle against the imperialist policy of war and domination, an essential force in recuperating the people's right to their natural resources.

It is the duty of all revolutionary forces to consolidate the extensive anti-imperialist network.

As in the past, FRELIMO will struggle for the cohesion of the world revolutionary movement. It will contribute particularly with all its strength to extending the battle front against the imperialist and racist system in southern Africa, chief and permanent enemy of the African people.

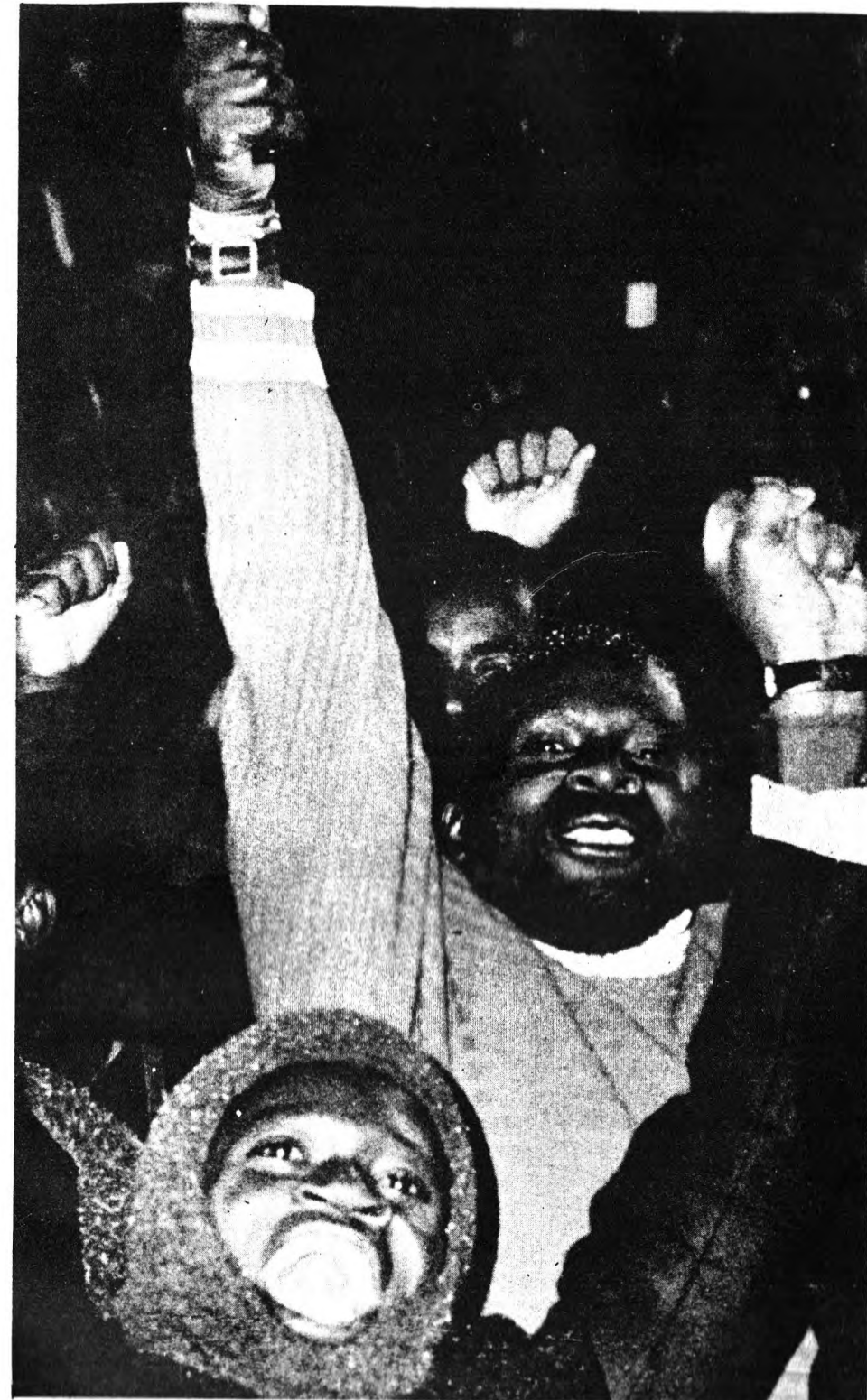
We resolutely defend the principle of the peaceful solution of contradictions between states; we are for prohibiting the use of force in international relations. Only in the case of aggression will we resort to force.

We struggle to consolidate the broadest front in defense of peace. The forces of socialism and revolution fully express the broad masses' urge for peace. Peace will be forced on the warmongering imperialist and racist apparatus by the struggle of the masses and will be a victory for them. Events show that this victory is within our reach.

## **THE ROLE AND TASKS OF THE STATE; THE CLASS NATURE OF THE STATE**

### **The role and tasks of the state; the class nature of the state**

The working masses' victory over colonialism posed for FRELIMO the question of the strategy and tactics to follow in the stage of democratic-popular revolution.



The state has always been the power tool of the ruling class, guaranteeing that its interests are carried out. In our country, the domination of the colonial-fascist state was characterized by the greatest violence and aggressiveness.

Linked to the world imperialist system, the colonial-fascist state's objective was to guarantee exploitation of the Mozambican people and the rape of their national wealth. The entire political, administrative, economic and repressive machinery, all bodies and institutions, were devoted to exploitation and oppression of the masses of our people. Therefore, its destruction is imperative for the construction of the new society.

Our experiences in the liberated zones inspire us to destroy the colonial state and build the people's state.

The first ways for the Mozambican working masses to exercise power appeared in the course of the armed national liberation struggle in the liberated zones.

These were an embryonic form of the popular state, defender of the interests of the most exploited and oppressed classes of society. The new power bodies contained the principles of democracy, of broad mass participation by militants and fighters in solving war, production, trade, education and health problems — in short, organizing collective life in each zone.

The popular state is not separated from the people, nor is it imposed on them. On the contrary, it seeks to meet their immediate needs and their deepest aspirations for liberty and democracy. It is this practice which, under the correct guidance of FRELIMO, makes democratic life so deeply acceptable in the habits and consciousness of the masses.

Following victory, the immediate task posed was that of extending to the entire country the structures of people's power that existed in the liberated zones.

Because of its complexity, the construction of people's power throughout the Mozambican nation faced many problems we were not totally prepared to solve.

It was no longer a matter of establishing power in one zone, even a broad one, or in one province. It was a question of creating people's power structures throughout the country, taking the working masses from their localities to participate actively in directing the state.

The experiences that the local, district and provincial councils acquired in the liberated zones today constitute the base for establishing the local, district and provincial people's assemblies.

The principle that the Party is the leadership force of the state and of society was proven in our revolutionary struggle. Party militants are those designated by the people to act in the power bodies, on behalf of the interests of the most exploited sectors of Mozambican society.

### **Unity of power and democratic centralism**

During the current stage of building the material base for socialism and consolidating its ideological base, the state is a tool of the working class and the peasantry for imposing majority will on an infinite number of oppressors and reactionaries. It is the tool of the dictatorship of the proletariat.





To carry out this task successfully and satisfy the basic needs of the people, expressing the interests of the worker-peasant alliance, the state must be characterized by unity of power, and democratic centralism must be practiced.

Unity of power is basic to bringing about state ideological and class unity under the Party's leadership. Contrary to the proletarian state, the bourgeois state, due to the internal contradictions within the bourgeoisie, promotes the separation of departments and of the legislative, executive and judicial powers.

According to our experience and the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, we strengthen ideological unity with organic unity, characteristics of the vanguard party and the state of the worker-peasant alliance.

This principle corresponds to the basic need for unity of action among the bodies of state power to crush the bourgeois resistance, neutralize imperialism's attacks and build socialism.

In this sense the executive bodies of each area are subordinate to the representative assemblies of workers, militants and fighters. It is also within this framework that the decisions of the higher bodies are binding on the lower bodies.

The operation and organization of our state is based on democratic centralism. This principle implies the combination of centralized state leadership with mass democratic activity and the development of initiative by the local bodies of state power.

The class struggle and socialist development demand a very careful analysis of complex political, economic, social and other factors. The victory of the struggle against imperialism and the internal reaction and for the laying of the material bases of socialism makes it necessary to plan the steps to be taken at each stage on the basis of strong central leadership.

This is the chief reason why the state must centralize power. To achieve the objectives of working class power, the state must also put into practice democracy for the benefit of the workers and peasants, since socialism emerges from the creative activity of the workers. One of the state's main tasks in the current stage of the construction of popular democracy is to stimulate and organize mass creative initiative.

The principle of democratic centralism also implies knowing how to combine the application of guidelines from the central power bodies with the real conditions in the province, district and locality.

#### **Power bodies**

Analysis of the process of building the state of popular democracy shows us that an imbalance has been evident in the creation and establishment of new power bodies at the different levels: national, provincial, district and local.

The organization of the new power is advanced at the national level with the creation and structuring of national ministries and directive bodies and, at the provincial level, with actions that make possible the



creation of provincial governments. The advance is not the same at the district and local levels, where, to a certain extent, colonial structures whose total destruction must be accelerated remain in operation. There are also deficiencies in coordination among the various levels.

The basic question in these and other matters is the absolute necessity to complete the destruction of the colonial-capitalist state apparatus.

The eighth session of the Central Committee analyzed the organization of the state apparatus, particularly at the provincial, district and local levels, and set basic guidelines for completely destroying colonial structures, for building a new state apparatus which, in composition, organization and method, expresses the power of the worker-peasant alliance. It is important to activate the application of those principles and guidelines and, particularly, to speed up the creation of the new state power-bodies at the district and local level.

### **The assemblies**

The People's Assembly, supreme state body and the highest legislative entity of the People's Republic of Mozambique, will soon begin operating with its provisional composition as defined by the Constitution. We believe it necessary to await the culmination of the Third Congress of FRELIMO to establish the People's Assembly.

In the first place, since the Central Committee is the nucleus of the formation of the People's Assembly, whether through its direct participation or through the selection of designated members, it was important to await the election of the Central Committee for the present stage of the revolution and the creation of the Party.

In the second place, the Third Congress permits us to synthesize the experiences of organizing democratic life throughout the country, a factor of essential importance in the establishment and operation of the People's Assembly as well as the provincial, district and local assemblies, whose provisional composition was defined by the seventh session of the Central Committee.

The People's Assembly will be called upon to determine state economic programs; it will define and apply the new fiscal policy according to the interests of the working masses.

The People's Assembly will be called upon to pass legislation on essential matters relating to foreign and domestic policy, particularly on the family; property; the use and exploitation of land and national resources; the organization and operation of state enterprises, cooperatives and mixed enterprises; the judicial structure and operation of the People's Courts; and the organization of public works. In the area of national policy, the provincial, district and local assemblies will be the bodies through which the popular masses will participate in the resolution, orientation and control of government actions at various levels.

In the assemblies, from local up to national, the Mozambican people, through their elected representatives, will be present at all levels of decision-making, putting into practice the deep democratic aspect of people's power.