

**Chissano Opens Frelimo Party Conference 19 Jul**  
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[Speech by President Joaquim Chissano at the opening  
of the Second Frelimo Party National Conference in  
Maputo on 19 July—live] p. 6-10, 21/7/88

[Text] Comrade members of the Political Bureau, members  
of the Central Committee, militants, delegates, and guests:

Today, we begin the proceedings of the Second Frelimo Party  
National Conference which will lead us to the Fifth Congress.  
This is a decisive part of the preparation for the meeting of  
the supreme organ of our party. Welcome, comrades.

I salute you for having been chosen to take part in this  
conference at which we will discuss issues of major impor-  
tance to our lives and the future of our people. Through you,  
I would like to salute warmly all Frelimo Party militants; all  
those who, on the various battlefronts, have assumed the  
ideals of freedom and justice for which we have always  
fought. With their example they have mobilized the people  
for the tasks outlined by the party and government.

Through you, the representatives of the people, I wish to  
salute all Mozambicans from Rovuma River to Maputo  
River. A special salutation goes to the soldiers, noncommis-  
sioned officers, and officers of the Mozambique Armed  
Forces-FPLM, who, in the front line, have been victoriously  
facing the external aggression against our country and have

been inflicting heavy defeats on armed banditry. [applause] Allow me to include in this salutation the Zimbabwe, Tanzania, and Malawi combatants who, in our country and alongside FPLM, are fighting to end aggression and destabilization in southern Africa. [applause]

In the difficult task of defending Mozambique's freedom and sovereignty there have been many who died so that the fatherland may exist. Our thoughts are with them and their bereaved families. Their sacrifice will never be forgotten. Our flag will continue to fly nationwide because they fought the enemy. They gave their lives to build a victory that we will certainly achieve. Let us observe a minute of silence in their memory. [pause]

Long live the unforgettable memory of President Saïora Moises Machel! [audience chants: "Long live!"] The struggle continues! [audience chants: "Continues!"] The struggle continues! [audience chants: "Continues!"] Independence or death: [audience chants: "We shall win!"]

Comrades, this is the second national party conference. The first was held in March 1982. Its main goals were to draft themes to be discussed by the Fourth Congress, and to launch a party and mass movement in support of the congress, as well as to study proposals for alterations in the Frelimo Party statutes and program. Once Rhodesian aggression had been defeated and Zimbabwe had won independence, the first national conference was held because it had become imperative to coordinate our efforts in national reconstruction, as well as to revitalize party life. The conference, therefore, dealt with the role of the party in the leadership of the state and society and with the work carried out by cadres and party cells members. Among other issues, the conference evaluated enemy action at that specific phase, agreeing to embark on a campaign to strengthen ideological unity among militants.

The first national party conference was a success and ensured an in-depth analysis, which was the hallmark of the Fourth Congress. The revision of national life was not achieved only during the few days of that historic gathering, but rather was the result of many months of work and debates held in a serious, resolute, and patriotic fashion. The Fourth Congress, which was held in April 1983, was a forum where we frankly discussed the major national issues. It is necessary to preserve and encourage this spirit, so that all the problems we are facing today can be discussed in an equally open, frank, and in-depth fashion during our Fifth Congress.

Comrades, the People's Republic of Mozambique has been the target of large-scale aggression, marked by systematic acts of terrorism against the people. This aggression has resulted in the displacement and misery of millions of Mozambicans. It has aggravated the scourge of famine and has caused moral and material losses with far-reaching consequences for our future.

Physical destruction in our country has almost paralyzed our economy and has put us in a position of dependency on international aid. The main instrument of aggression is armed banditry, the spearhead of racist, warmongering, and terrorist forces from abroad which wage this undeclared war against us. As a result, our country has found itself in an extremely difficult situation, forcing it to take far-reaching measures aimed at creating conditions for winning the war and rehabilitating the national economy.

As we hold this conference, we have been implementing the Economic Rehabilitation Program [PRE] for 18 months. Moreover, far-reaching measures are being taken to reorganize the Mozambique Armed Forces.

In the diplomatic field, our country has been engaged in a continuous offensive to gain greater international support in the fight against our enemies. Although this is not the appropriate time to make an evaluation, I would only like to point out that PRE is already having positive results, particularly with regard to the restoration of production levels in several vital sectors, as well as an improvement in the supply of consumer goods to the market. Basically, we could say that we have halted the downward trend that had affected our economy since 1981, and have begun the process of rehabilitation. These positive results encourage us to follow this path.

It was the Fourth Frelimo Party Congress that adopted the guidelines under which the Mozambican Government introduced PRE, in the relief that we could not wait for the war to end to begin national reconstruction, including the rehabilitation of what armed banditry has been destroying criminally. The Fourth Congress guidelines have been proven right and are being used as a rudder by our party and government. The crux of the matter is the path leading to peace and economic rehabilitation.

We are aware that economic rehabilitation will not be achieved without heavy social burdens. It is encouraging to note that our people understand that, with the war situation and the economy at its lowest level, it is not possible to achieve anything without hardships. By and large, Mozambican workers have once again shown a high level of political and patriotic awareness, viewing the current difficulties as a necessary investment in the building of a better future. We believe that at the end of this march we will realize that ours were not futile hardships.

The process of reorganizing the Mozambique Armed Forces is also yielding positive results, with the greater operational capability of our forces in the field. Lately, as a direct result of this progress, there have been improvements in the country's overall military situation. It is of utmost importance that we continue with these efforts aimed at further organizing our armed forces, gradually solving the logistical problems they are experiencing, and at transforming them in an even more efficient combat force, an essential condition for the success of the war waged against us.

Both in the military and economic fields, we have only taken the first steps toward our major goals—military victory and the total rehabilitation of our national economy. The achievements so far show that we must continue on the path we have chosen. By resolutely removing obstacles, preventing deviations, and quickly correcting those that take place, we ought to transform the watchword, hard work and self-sufficiency, into concrete achievements in terms of construction, reconstruction, production, and defense in all sectors. We must admit that there is a lot that we can accomplish, but which we have not accomplished.

It is in the field of agriculture where there are enormous opportunities to achieve our goals. Likewise, in the construction sector we could fulfill our goals. We should find out what is preventing us from moving forward, and eradicate from our midst the spirit of dependency that has gained roots. We must find the working methods that will encourage dedication in order to put an end to famine, nakedness, and the lack of housing through our own production and construction.

Education, which is geared to provide us with technical and scientific knowledge, and a greater ability to understand social phenomena, has a special place in the process of development and leadership of society. It is only with knowledge that we may strengthen our independence and ensure the fulfillment of our interests. This is an important topic of discussion.

We must develop education with the natural resources at our disposal. With technical and scientific knowledge we will be able to solve most of our problems without depending largely on external assistance. However, in order to achieve this it is necessary that we adopt a new attitude toward the goals of our mission. We ought to widen our horizons with regard to the development needs and satisfaction of our immediate requirements. We must reap the fruit that can be reaped today, while creating conditions for a better harvest in the next season. We must realize that the party and its militants are responsible for the adoption of this attitude in our society, so that hard work, production, and productivity are not viewed as the mere fulfillment of orders emanating from the state or party, but rather as individual needs aimed at achieving goals in the interests of both the individual and the nation.

The diplomatic successes achieved so far show that we are following the right path. There is a growing international awareness of the real situation in our region and the positions adopted by the People's Republic of Mozambique. Today, there is an increasingly accepted view that the war in Mozambique is essentially a war of regional destabilization waged from abroad. The attempt to place southern Africa's destabilization in the context of the East-West conflict, and present it as an alleged defense of Western interests, has failed. As a result of this greater understanding, there has been an increase in support for Mozambique in a number of international circles. Moreover, the struggle against apartheid has been stepped up.

The successes achieved in the economic, military, and diplomatic sectors have created more favorable conditions for overcoming the problems facing our country. Although we are still in a very difficult situation, it is with confidence that we look at the future.

Comrades, the second special session of the Frelimo Party Central Committee was held in March this year. It made an in-depth evaluation of national life, dealing with the role of party in building our country, national unity, the war, PRE, the social sector, and Mozambique's international relations. It was at this session that we decided to hold the second party national conference.

In preparing this major gathering of party militants, cadres, and leaders, debates on the national life were held in workplaces, districts, provinces, and cities. Men and women, war veterans, workers and peasants, civil servants, and defense and security cadres took part in those debates. The rich debates that took place amounted to an accurate x-ray of our political, economic, social, military, and cultural life. At seminars people discussed the nature of the party, relations between the party and state, style and methods of party life, exercise of democracy, grass roots organization, ideological work and mobilization, party cells, cadres policy, technical and scientific development, PRE, health, education, culture, and international relations.

The similarity of problems raised in districts as far afield as Palma and Boane, or in far apart provinces like Niassa and Gaza, shows that our people are united by the same cement. No districts raised problems that were characteristic only of its region. No province raised problems that solely affected it. Therefore, the seminars were yet further proof of the maturity of our national awareness. The contributions made at these meetings were derived from the experience accumulated throughout Frelimo's 26 years of existence and 13 years of national independence.

The level of aggression against us, the shortcomings that we have been facing, and even the errors that we have made throughout this process call for profound reflection on the eve of the Fifth Frelimo Party Congress. With no intention whatsoever of restricting a free and broad debate of problems, I will give a brief account of the major far-reaching issue we face today, and which ought to be the concern of the participants in this conference.

The first major theme that has been submitted to us deals with the nature of the party and the building of socialism in the People's Republic of Mozambique. Within this vast theme, the question of criteria for party membership is of particular importance. During the debates held throughout the preparation of this conference, we noted there was a tendency to preserve the essence of the party and its line and studied ways to ensure that the Frelimo Party strictly reflects the current phase of the patriotic struggle. The conference should discuss these issues in a broad manner because they have direct implications for the party statutes and program.

Another issue that concerns the militants is the leadership of the party over the state and society. Many comrades expressed the view that the party has been reduced to mobilizing workers to implement the programs prepared by the state, whose infrastructure, in turn, does not implement correctly the decisions emanating from the party organs. This is a sensitive issue with which we must deal.

Another area of concern is the issue of party style and work methods employed. According to a number of speeches, we are moving away from the popular style and methods, which used to be a characteristic during the armed struggle of national liberation. It has been stated that our party often adopts a formal style and bureaucratic methods, which served to distance it from the people. This is the right venue for us to work together to seek solutions to these problems.

There is a feeling that in the past few years there has been a decline in the campaign for the ideological education of militants and the people in general, and that a greater aggressiveness is necessary in the propaganda and counterpropaganda fields, as well as in the utilization of mass media in the ideological education of the people.

We ought to reflect in particular on the party activities in view of religion, within a framework of preserving national unity.

Regarding the exercise of democracy in our country, views have been expressed that the actions and working methods at party organs and people's assemblies are not efficient enough to permit the broad participation of citizens, as desired by all of us.

It was also said that public debate of national problems serves to strengthen national unity.

Another theme proposed for debate concerns grass-roots organizations and their relation to exercising democracy. There is a feeling that the role those organizations play ought to be reviewed and adapted to demands by the current situation.

Proposals were made to widen the movement by creating professional or cultural organizations, which would permit a greater participation and organization of citizens and the latter's integration into the system.

Party cells from all over the country reportedly operate deficiently and members are not fully involved in party activities. We believe this is not a question of more or less guidelines, nor merely a functional question. It is the approach to party work as such, and it is within this context that we should evaluate this issue.

The future of our party and nation lies on the cadres we have created and trained politically, ideologically, scientifically, and technically to perpetuate the ideals for

which we have always fought. The results of cadre training are still meager after 13 years of independence and despite efforts that have been made.

We must profoundly reflect on the problems of selection, training, allocation, and integration and support, supervise, evaluate, and reorganize our cadres. An appropriate evaluation of problems related to cadre training abroad should be conducted. The same applies to training university-level cadres.

National unity, our main weapon in the struggle against colonialism, has been a constant theme in our debates. We have noted that racism, tribalism, and regionalism, far from having been eradicated in our society, are once again evident. We ought to study concrete ways of resuming the fight against racism, tribalism, and regionalism, thereby strengthening national unity.

The war being waged against our country, which caused so many human and material losses, is our main concern. It is (?appropriate) that we debate the causes of war and ways of ending it. We ought to study ways of continuing and improving the process of reorganizing the Mozambican Armed Forces. We ought to deal with the need to organize and equip the people for self-defense so that the Armed Forces can participate in offensive operations.

Special attention should be given to all aspects related to the recruitment to compulsory military service, military health, and treatment provided to soldiers.

A particularly important aspect to the war's successful outcome is that we effectively guarantee a close relation between defense and economic requirements. We should also discuss the country's economic and social situation. We have already mentioned some of the successes attained by PRE. However, I would like to suggest that on the one hand we make a profound evaluation of the general effects of PRE, and on the other hand we discuss ways of strengthening and widening those successes. We should also discuss appropriate ways for the private sector to be involved in the country's general strategy for social and economic development.

The views expressed at seminars on scientific and technological development showed the cadres concern for our country's future, as well as the need for popular access to the scientific and cultural sectors. Three major themes have been proposed for debate at this conference: Options on National Scientific and Technological Development; Policy of Technological and Scientific Cooperation; and Enhancement and Organization of National Experts and Cadres.

Participants debating these themes expressed the need for the country's development plans to always reflect the concern for correcting the socioeconomic development imbalances between the south and north of the country, which were inherited from colonialism and tend to continue because of war's effects and other factors.

There is consensus in the health and education fields on the need to protect people's access to these basic services. Different proposals have been presented on the best way of achieving this in our current situation. Here we must study the correct ways to improve these services and to extend them to the people.

Finally, I would like to suggest that we turn to the issue of international relations. Our practice must be analyzed with care. Our options must be based on concrete objectives. They must protect our interests and open the way for greater harmony among nations for the sake of the liberty and progress of the peoples.

Substantive changes at the international level are now taking place, notably with regard to relations between the superpowers and even with regard to external policies [as heard]. These changes have clearly been felt throughout the world, particularly in areas beset by regional conflicts, such as southern Africa. It is important that we recognize this evolution and that we assess the extent to which this evolution is reflected in our own foreign policy.

Comrades: These are some of the major issues raised at debates held throughout the country. Each conference participant has received a note detailing the most important issues succinctly mentioned here. It is this conference's goal to analyze the main issues and the great national issues that characterize Mozambique's general situation within the framework of our preparations for the party's fifth congress.

I hereby call on all of you, comrades, to actively participate in the ensuing discussions so that we can strengthen our common thinking and prepare for the Frelimo Party's Fifth Congress. We must debate all these issues in depth with an independent spirit, without preconceptions, fears, or taboos. We must do our very best to advance proposals that may contribute to our party's lines of action and, if necessary, guidelines for our work over the next 5 or 6 years. We must point out errors, deficiencies, and illegal procedures. We must also propose what we believe to be correct and feasible. The struggle! [applause]