

**PROGRAMME AND STATUTES OF FUMO/PCDR**  
[Mozambican United Front/Democratic Convergence and National  
Reconstruction Party]

**PREAMBLE**

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The failure is evident, of those regimes which based themselves on conservative ideologies, founded on hierarchized visions of society, on recourse to unjust mechanisms of competition, on denial, to some social classes, of the minimum conditions compatible with the dignity of the human person. Even more evident, in this period of history, is the collapse of the regimes based on collectivist ideologies and models which violated the most elementary human rights. In our opinion, it is in the political area of the centre that one should search for the adequate set of values for a correct political action.

**Fundamental Principles**

It is our firm conviction that the defence of the inalienable rights and of the interests of citizens can only be possible through the democratic organization of society and of the State. However, the mere guarantee of individual rights, no matter how important this may be, is not sufficient. The struggle for the unrestricted reign of such values as equality of opportunities, solidarity and social justice is also very important.

We do not believe in a merely formal conception of democracy, understood in a sense and with a content that are exclusively political.

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Democracy is a reality which has content at all levels, going from the political to the cultural, through the economic and the social.

.....

We, consequently, firmly reject authoritarian conceptions, and advocate a society in which pluralism of ideas is seen as an element indispensable to the guarantee of fundamental rights; this pluralism shall have concrete content only if the major decisions affecting all citizens are not unilaterally imposed, but born of dialogue among all and of a consensus as to the major national problems.

## Organization of Political Power

..... In this regard, we believe that the State machinery should be structured in full observance of the principle of division of powers, so as to avoid the abuses which result from their excessive concentration in one entity .....

.....  
Lastly, a State in which the fundamental role of political parties in the formation of consensus and in the expression of the popular will are recognized and stimulated.

We advocate respect for traditional authority: *régulos, cabos, indunas*, etc.

## Economic Democracy

As already mentioned, our perspective is that of the construction of an integral democracy, one in which all citizens are guaranteed the exercise of their political rights and, simultaneously, enjoyment of the indispensable economic, social and cultural goods.

In our opinion, this can only be possible through the establishment of a genuine economic democracy built on two essential premises: the defence of the ordering principles of a market economy and of free enterprise.

## International Relations

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The [new world] climate should ... be capitalized towards the continuation of progressive, controlled and verifiable disarmament, in such manner as to remove the obstacles to world peace.

... thus, the fundamental role of international organizations, especially the UN and the OAU, as fundamental elements for the resolution of conflicts and for the development of international cooperation, should be strengthened.

... the energies of the international community should be directed primarily to the development of the underprivileged countries and peoples .....

It is unacceptable to maintain an international economic order such as the existing one, characterized by growing indebtedness of the poorest countries, depreciation of the terms of [commercial] exchange, the ever-increasing burden of debt servicing in the economies of those countries, with the enormous social and political costs that result from these.

It is evident that only a strengthening of solidarity between North and South, between rich and poor countries, and with a generalized awareness of the links of interdependence which bind all subjects of the international community can one find just and realistic solutions, which are becoming ever more indispensable to the economic recuperation and restructuring of developing countries.

In the area of foreign policy there is another problem to which we must give full attention. Our country, for well-known historical and cultural reasons has special links to the other brother countries who in Africa and Brazil also speak Portuguese, as well as with Portugal. For us it is fundamental to maintain and strengthen these privileged relations and to assume, without any complexes, our common history.

To that end we propose the formation of a ... structure to include all Portuguese-language countries, with a rotational presidency.

Since our aim is for a model which is not only political but fundamentally cultural, it should also be open to ... other Portuguese-language communities which, for various reasons, do not have the status of States, ... eg. East Timor, Macau and Goa.

## CHAPTER I

[titles of articles under this chapter]

### 1.1 ONE COUNTRY FOR ALL

FUMIO believes in and advocates a society made up of people of different races, coexisting and working harmoniously for a better and prosperous country.

### 1.2 POLITICAL DEMOCRACY, THE SOLUTION TO [OUR] PROBLEMS

### 1.3 DEFENCE OF FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS, FREEDOMS AND GUARANTEES

### 1.4 FREEDOM, PEACE AND PROGRESS

### 1.5 POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL DEMOCRACY

### 1.6 EQUALITY FOR ALL UNDER THE LAW

### 1.7 A UNITED AND HAPPY FAMILY

### 1.8 AN EFFICIENT SOCIAL SECURITY [SYSTEM]

### 1.9 SPECIAL ATTENTION TO YOUTH AND THE ELDERLY

### 1.10 COEXISTENCE OF THE PUBLIC, PRIVATE, COOPERATIVE AND SELF-MANAGING SECTORS

- 1.11 MINIMUM STATE INTERVENTION
- 1.12 PRIMACY OF THE INDIVIDUAL OVER THE STATE
- 1.13 DEBUREAUCRATIZATION OF THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
- 1.14 A PARTY OF FREE PEOPLE FOR A NEUTRAL STATE
- 1.15 A POLICY OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE
- 1.16 POLITICAL ACTION - PEDAGOGICAL INSTRUMENT FOR THE CITIZEN
- 1.17 NO TO COLLECTIVISM AND ECONOMIC LIBERALISM
- 1.18 NO TO A POLICY OF NATIONALIZATIONS
- 1.19 SOLIDARITY OF THE OPPRESSED PEOPLES AGAINST REPRESSION
- 1.20 A COMMUNITY OF THE PORTUGUESE LANGUAGE
- 1.21 DOUBLE NATIONALITY [mentions Portuguese-Mozambican]
- 1.22 NON-PARTISAN ARMY SERVING DEMOCRACY AND THE COUNTRY

## CHAPTER II

### TRANSITION TO POLITICAL DEMOCRACY

1. FUMO was the first movement of political opposition to the communist regime, after Mozambique gained independence.

In fact, most of the founders of FUMO participated in the formation of Frelimo, whose political activity was considered democratic until the death of its first president, Eduardo Mondlane.

With the independence of Mozambique, Frelimo acceded to power, with a Marxist-Leninist orientation, a philosophy which the country still follows today.

2. .... With the treacherous killing of its principal mentor, Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, Frelimo not only replaced the promised political democracy, based on respect for the fundamental freedoms of the citizens and on multi-partyism, with marxist-leninist-inspired scientific socialism under the guidance of the single party, but it also betrayed many of [its] principal members, such as Domingos Arouca, who felt obliged to leave the movement.

3. Thus emerged FUMO in 1976, nicknamed "the Mondlanist wing of Frelimo", under the leadership of Domingos Arouca, exemplar of coherence, indefatigable fighter for freedom and political democracy.

4. .... Political democracy also implies respect for the fundamental rights of minorities...

.....  
- The creation of conditions conducive to the participation of citizens in the management of public interests as well as the autonomy of regional and local autarchies.

FUMO/PCDRN proposes a reaffirmation of the principles of the democratic State based on the rule of Law and the urgency of reforming the State structure .....

### CHAPTER III

Fundamental rights of individuals .....

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#### ORGANIZATION OF THE POLITICAL POWERS

a) Universal, direct and secret suffrage is the only democratic mechanism for the selection of the leadership organs of a country...

b) ... The courts shall be independent of the political power.....

c) The Constitutional Court shall examine the constitutionality of legal norms and administrative acts.

d) Local organization, parishes and municipalities and administrative regions to be created shall be fundamental for the decentralization of the State. The organs of [these] autarquic units shall be elected by universal, secret and direct suffrage.

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### CHAPTER IV

#### SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECT

1. Mozambique is an extensive country, devastated by war, and, consequently, hunger, disease and misery are the evils decimating its people.

FUMO/PCDRN, regardless of its ambitious proposal for the economy of an evolved and modern country, like those of the most industrialized countries of the world, takes cognizance of the level of profound misery and destruction in which the Mozambican populace live. For this reason, it is urgent to prepare an emergency economic plan which [will make the best use of] the few natural resources still remaining and the financial means with which friendly countries will aid the country. FUMO/PCDRN thus proposes the following national objectives:

- Elimination of the social, economic and cultural backwardness perpetuated by communism, in such a way as to bring the people's cultural level to par with [the requirements of] a free and democratic system ....

- Attainment of a progress which makes for economic independence.

In order to realize these general objectives, priority-action programmes, aimed at solving the most pressing problems of the Mozambican people, should be politically defined. It is only too evident that these should be oriented towards the following:

- elimination of hunger and malnutrition.
- elimination of disease and creation of hygienic habits.
- literacy for the Mozambican people.
- production of essential goods (clothing, housing, utensils).
- production for the creation of internal accumulation resources (basic industry and increase of exports).

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Financial means in newly independent countries, like Mozambique, are dependent on a change in the structure of foreign trade and of the nature of relations with foreign countries.

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Investments have to be directed, as a matter of priority, to export sectors (power, agriculture, industry and fisheries), to those which make for the substitution of imported goods with local products (widely used utensils, building materials).

It is thus important, side-by-side with the above-enumerated national objectives, to prepare an estimate of available national resources which have remained unexploited due to a lack of detailed programmes .....

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#### 1. Natural resources

Agriculture and Forestries

Extraction of Minerals .....

Game and Animal husbandry .....

Fisheries .....

Energy .....

#### 2. Technical resources

Port and Railway facilities .....

Agro-based Industry .....

Diverse Industry .....

External Technology .....

### 3. COORDINATION OF RESOURCES FOR DEVELOPMENT

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It is precisely in the area of cooperation agreements that a new phenomenon has emerged: in developing countries, one observes that the attainment of political independence is accompanied with accentuated economic dependence. And to minimize the negative effects of this

phenomenon, one of the fundamental problems will consist in striking the necessary balance between agriculture and industry.....

.....

FUMO/PCDRN presents a realistic economic project, [for] a country destroyed by war and, for this reason, needs a practical economic process and, on the other hand, knowing the characteristics of the Mozambican people, who aspire to a comfortable and rich life, PCDRN presents an ambitious project, which shall transform Mozambique from being an underdeveloped country to a modern and highly industrialized country.

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## PLAN

FUMO/PCDRN realizes that, in the definition of strategic options and in considering major projects, a PLAN is necessary. We do not mean a rigid plan, with quantitative sectoral goals, as in the past. ....

THE MARKET - ... A democratic conception of planning cannot be opposed to the market as a privileged network for the processing of information indispensable to the taking of decentralized decisions. ...

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY - ..... FUMO/PCDRN wishes to institute a truly democratic society in Mozambique, one in which ideas of freedom and equality become reality. The objective of a genuine social policy should be the total liberation of man, to whom the State must provide equal opportunities for promotion, in accordance with manifest ... abilities ...

WOMEN - ..... For there to be full equality among all citizens, there cannot be discriminatory treatment between men and women, and [there shall be] equal opportunities in choice of profession, salaries and promotion. .... There shall be no ante-natal or post-natal losses of salary entitlements; in fact there shall be an increment in maternity-leave allowances.

YOUTH - .....

THE FAMILY - .....

SOCIAL SECURITY - .....

EDUCATION AND CULTURE - ..... 1. Pre-school education;  
2. Basic general education;  
3. Middle-level professional training;  
4. Higher-level professional specialization  
courses, parallel existence of universities:  
- Permanent education;  
- Special education.

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH - .....

TEACHER-TRAINING CENTRES

PRIVATE EDUCATION - .....

HEALTH: Develop National Health Service - .....

### INTERNATIONAL POLICY

FUMO/PCDRN advocates a foreign policy [based on] national independence, solidarity and cooperation with all peoples and will spare no effort in its ... defence of the principles of internationalism .....

..... a policy of non-alignment... .. non-interference in the internal affairs of other States... .. balanced diversification of international relations... .. adherence to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the United Nations Charter... .. international disarmament... .. collaboration with all progressive forces in the world fighting against inhuman capitalism, communism, colonialism and all forms of imperialism.

..... regional organizations.....

A FUMO/PCDRN government will establish diplomatic relations with all countries .....

Special attention will be given to relations with Portuguese-speaking countries.

FUMO/PCDRN believes that the problem of relations between the State and the Churches is of special significance, due to the importance of religious confessions in our country. Thus, this will be regulated, in accordance with the dual objective of mutual respect and total independence. .... FUMO/PCDRN reiterates its absolute respect for religious freedom and affirms the principle of absolute separation between the State and the Churches.