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CENTRAL COMMITTEE REPORT

Comrade members of the Praesidium of the Third Congress,
Comrade delegates to the Third Congress,
Comrades representing friendly Parties and Organisations,
Invited friends,

Chapter I

FRELIMO'S HISTORY AND THE HISTORY OF THE STRUGGLE FOR REVOLUTIONARY TRANSFORMATIONS

In submitting its report to the Third Congress, the Central Committee should, in principle, limit its historical analysis to the period between the Second and Third Congresses. We will have to make an exception to this norm. Firstly, because this is the first time that a Congress has been held in our independent motherland, in conditions that allow our entire people to follow its work.

Secondly - and this is the main reason - the dominant feature that has characterised FRELIMO's life from 1968 up to today has been the constant struggle between two lines. This struggle began before the Second Congress; and so, in order to understand the political battle we have gone through, we must analyse the process from its origins.

The historic resistance of our people to foreign domination was begun with the first colonial attempts to conquer and rule the sovereign states that used to exist in our country. The patriotic spirit of our people, and the patriotic line of FRELIMO, are rooted in a tradition of resistance over many centuries. To evoke this dimension is to remember a basic heritage, and one whose sole legitimate heir and continuer has become FRELIMO.

From the First to the Second Congress: from unity to contradictions

FRELIMO was founded on 25 June 1969. Its First Congress was held in exile, in September of the same year, in what was then the Republic of Tanganyika. The essential significance of the First Congress was two-fold:

- The First Congress drew up a correct platform that was able to unite all Mozambican patriots;
- The First Congress fixed the liberation of the country as the central aim of FRELIMO, and determined the strategy and tactics for achieving this end.

The fundamental gain from the First Congress was unity among all Mozambican patriots from the Rovuma to the Maputo. The First Congress defined the basic role played by unity in the process of national liberation; it showed that division was the major cause of the weakness of the historical resistance of our people to colonialism. So the First Congress is the Congress of unity.

In drawing up the correct platform for unity, the First Congress correctly defined the enemy as being Portuguese colonialism; it drew up a programme for struggle by all means, including armed struggle, against foreign domination; it firmly condemned imperialism, the real support for colonialism. It correctly defined who our friends abroad were - anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist forces,

forces for democracy and peace; it expressed the internationalism of our people, our solidarity with the struggle of all peoples against oppression; it gave FRELIMO appropriate structures that allowed us to unleash our national liberation struggle; it adopted democratic centralism, thus ensuring the effective unity of the organisation.

Since they were correct, and corresponded to the deepest longings of our people, the theses from the First Congress quickly won very broad support among the popular masses.

Despite this support from large numbers of people, FRELIMO had to confront the activity of opportunist elements shortly after it had come into existence. The line of division arose around the fundamental question of armed struggle. The opportunists either took up capitulationist positions, and rejected struggle against colonialist military forces, whom they were strategically afraid of; or they took up adventurist positions, and tactically despised the enemy, proposing small, isolated, terrorist actions at which, they stated, the enemy would surrender immediately. In reality, both positions rejected political work, and showed contempt for the organised masses as the principal force for our struggle.

These elements ended by leaving FRELIMO when our organisation defined objective and scientific methods which led to the launching of the armed struggle for national liberation. The exit of these opportunists helped strengthen unity, and created favourable conditions such that, only two years after its foundation, FRELIMO was able to launch the armed struggle.

The armed struggle was the most vivid expression of the correct nature of the First Congress theses. It raised up and made operative the unity that had been won and created the conditions by which, in liberating the land and its people, we increased our forces and created our own zones of control. The launching of the armed struggle, in that it allowed open political work among the masses, and their mobilisation and organisation on a large scale, began to invert the balance of forces with the enemy in our favour.

Internationalist support from progressive African countries and from the socialist countries was the decisive external factor in the launching and later advance of the armed struggle.

At the end of 1965, in the Provinces of Cabo Delgado and Niassa, the enemy was beginning to be expelled from increasingly vast areas which thus ceased to come under the yoke of colonial authority.

In these areas, which stretched over many thousands of square kilometres, colonialism survived only as a repressive military force.

The emergence of these areas, in which the liberation of our country began to take shape, and in which many hundreds of thousands of Mozambicans lived free from foreign rule, demanded from FRELIMO a clear orientation for transforming the aspirations of our people for a free and better life into reality.

The administrative and economic presence of colonialism had disappeared from these areas, but feudal structures remained and with them the anti-democratic authority of the chiefs, the oppression of women and youth, and tribal divisions. On the other hand, there arose new exploiters, elements who began to show that they were intent on replacing the colonialists in the exploitation of the people.

This was the situation in which the October 1966 meeting of the FRELIMO Central Committee took place.

The antecedents of the Second Congress

The October 1966 Central Committee meeting analysed in depth the process of armed struggle for national liberation and its essential content, thus opening

perspectives for prolonged popular warfare. It analysed the main problems arising from the emergence of semi-liberated areas, and laid down an orientation that would allow the creation of a new life in those areas. The Central Committee aimed to consolidate and broaden the unity in our ranks and to lay the basis for a progressive heightening of ideological unity, through common practice among militants; and so the Central Committee put an end to the distinction between military and political combatants. It thus integrated everyone into the practice of the principal struggle, the political struggle, and made everyone participate in the practice of the principal task, armed combat. The Central Committee also stated the need for fighting discrimination against women, and this allowed the process of women's emancipation to be begun.

The correct decisions of the October 1966 Central Committee meeting galvanised the enthusiasm of the fighters and of the masses in general and they took on concrete form in great victories. Our military capacity increased, our fighters deepened their political awareness and acquired superior technical ability. The struggle was extended to new areas and the conditions were created for re-opening the Tete front.

By applying the decisions of the October 1966 meetings, we were able to make a qualitative change in our military strategy and tactics. In Combined attacks, of which Nambude, Naspaki and Namele were the first examples, we assaulted and destroyed enemy military bases, capturing Portuguese soldiers and war material.

Military victories, and the orientation of FRELIMO towards reorganising the production of goods led to a rapid growth in agricultural production and to the creation of a surplus. The appearance of a surplus in production and the pressing need to organise the semi-liberated areas' trade, both internal and foreign, created objective conditions for the emergence of new exploiters.

This phenomenon was particularly acute in Cabo Delgado where the areas under our control were extensive, fertile and densely populated.

The new exploiters were elements who saw in the liberation of our country the possibility of stepping into the shoes of the colonial exploiters.

Within our ranks, people of a capitalist frame of mind openly revealed themselves; and this unleashed a bitter political and ideological struggle inside our organisation. In the first period this took the form of differences of opinion. In reality, these differences masked the fundamental contradiction that we contained: class antagonism.

Differences over the organisation of economic life

The new exploiters were opposed to the collectivisation of production. They were opposed to the establishment of co-operatives, or, more subtly, they gave the name 'co-operative' to fields (machambas) where they exploited the people's labour. They wanted to maintain private property in land.

They were opposed to the creation of shops controlled by FRELIMO, and they wanted to organise their own, modelled on those of the enemy. Exploiters who had wormed their way into our structures in the liberated areas managed to take control of our shops. Funds obtained from trade were systematically diverted to foreign banks, where the exploiters kept their personal accounts.

Differences over military strategy and tactics

The new exploiters were opposed to the perspective of a prolonged popular war. After we had taken Naspaki and Namele, a group led by Lazaro Nkavandame proposed a strategy to the Department of Defence that consisted of concentrating all our

infantry and artillery against the enemy base at Mueda with the aim of taking it. Others argued in favour of the immediate launching of urban operations.

These proposals were rejected in succession by the Provincial Military Command, by the Department of Defence and by the President of FRELIMO. It was clear that to concentrate a large number of our forces for a considerable length of time, whether around Mueda, in the organisation of urban actions, would only result in providing the enemy with the possibility of annihilating us.

The military power at the enemy's disposal was greatly superior to ours. They possessed great mobility due to modern methods of warfare, and in a frontal confrontation enjoyed tactical and strategic superiority. There was no justification for a suicidal attack on Mueda. Our strategy was to destroy the weak bases that surrounded the large ones. In this way, the latter would be weakened, and would become targets that we could attack, as was later shown.

Urban attacks, urban activities, would not change the balance of forces. On the contrary, they would be extremely costly in terms of cadres. Enemy repression had a much firmer grip on the urban areas, and there too the possibilities for the corruption of cadres were much greater.

At the root of the differences between the two lines on military strategy lay the reactionaries' fear (which had already gripped the colonialists) that the masses, as a result of the armed popular struggle and of the political work of our fighters, were gradually becoming aware of the exploitation they suffered, and thus were understanding the profound meaning of liberation. This fear led the new exploiters to attempt a rapid victory at all costs, a victory which, in their view, would allow them to halt the politicisation of the masses, and block the process whereby the struggle was being transformed into a Revolution. To obtain such a victory, the new exploiters did not hesitate to throw our army into suicidal actions.

Following the rejection of the plans for attacking Mueda and for urban struggle, the reactionaries launched a campaign against the Defence Department which was successively accused of being responsible for the enemy attacks and bombardments against the people and the areas we had liberated. The Defence Department was particularly accused of being political, of mobilising the masses, of wasting time with politics. At the height of all this, Nkavandame and his group engaged on a new manoeuvre among the people, inciting them to cease sending food to the bases and transporting war material, arguing that the soldiers were not fighting and that they were responsible for the enemy attacks. The whole thing was a deliberate campaign to isolate our army from the masses, in order more readily to liquidate it as a political force.

The new exploiters hated our fighting forces because within them were concentrated the most resolute elements, those most engaged in serving the people. In them were found, just as are found today, those who were prepared to accept every sacrifice, to overcome every difficulty: they were a powerful force in the transformation of mass consciousness. They were the most consistent and most decisive force in the struggle for the defence of popular interests. It was inside the FPLM (Popular Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique) that there arose the first questionings as to the legitimacy of the actions of the new exploiters. It was elements from the FPLM who spread these questionings among the people. Questionings that had a profound content, and vital consequences: in determining

the final aims of the struggle, in defining the enemy in class terms, and in tracing the strategy and tactics for battle. It was to the fighters that the masses, with full trust, denounced the manoeuvres of the reactionaries, and the exploitation of which they were the victims.

Differences in the definition of the enemy

The new exploiters attempted to impose a definition of the enemy based on the colour of his skin, which would enable them to conceal their own position as exploiters and enemies under the camouflage of colour. They wanted to impose an incorrect definition of the enemy and stated that black exploiters did not exist, that only the white man was an exploiter - while the problem of the population in the liberated areas being subjected to a new exploitation was already being posed. They tried to incite the masses to murder captured white soldiers. They assessed how militant and patriotic you were in accordance with how black your skin was. Genuine militants and patriots were black. Everybody else, regardless of his job and how he carried it out, was regarded as an enemy or a lackey of the enemy. These were class positions designed to confuse the masses over the definition of the enemy, in order to maintain the system of exploitation.

In practice we were shown that those who defended these positions were the same ones who exploited the people, who were opposed to the co-operatives, who diverted money from trade into their own bank accounts.

Differences on structures

Immediately after the first Congress, a reactionary trend, linked to tribalist elements of a feudal mentality, demonstrated its presence and attempted to impose a Council of Elders (Baraza la Wazee) as a FRELIMO organ, and as an organ that would be superior to the Central Committee. This anti-democratic would-be leadership had as its ultimate aim the safeguarding of tribal and feudal structures of leadership and the blocking of the process of change. With the development of the struggle, this trend found its most active defenders in the group of so-called 'chairmen'. This 'chairmen' attempted to recreate the colonial-fascist structures which had been overthrown in the war zones and in the areas under our control. So as to maintain a structure of domination and exploitation, the 'chairmen' alleged that it was necessary to preserve our traditions which had been trampled on by colonialism, and they set about trying to rebuild tribal-feudal structures.

In Niassa, where feudal structures had suffered least from the establishment of colonial administration, feudal chiefs, such as Mataca, M'tarica and Catur, attempted purely and simply to increase the size of their own domains and to rule as uncontested lords. In order to secure real private armies at their disposal, the 'chairmen' distorted the nature, meaning and aims of the militias, recruiting them from lumpen elements faithful to them. In this way, they organised forces of repression against the people. They called these forces the 'FRELIMO Youth League'.

In February 1968, demonstrating frontal opposition to democratic centralism,

and an open denial of national unity, the reactionary forces opposed the visit of Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane to Cabo Delgado, alleging that he had not asked for previous authorisation from the province for his visit. This manifestation of feudal opposition to democratic centralism deeply reflected the opposition to the correct conceptions and to the popular line headed by Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane.

Differences over Women's Emancipation

The new exploiters were openly opposed to our correct policies of women's emancipation. They rejected participation by women in the armed struggle. The campaign against women's emancipation was an expression of the backward mentality of the new exploiters. They slandered, in the lowest and nastiest way, the women who formed part of the Defence Department, and they set themselves up as defenders of moral standards in order to condemn women who participated in the struggle. Finding support in the most reactionary traditions, they made themselves defenders of the most degrading forms of women's oppression: premature marriage, polygamy, bride-price and even child rape.

The reactionaries used their wives to create an organisation called LIFEMO. This organisation, from which genuine militants were excluded, was an obstacle to women's emancipation, and a means of keeping women out of active participation in the struggle.

The Conflict in the field of Education

Confrontation between two lines also arose in the sector of education. From the beginning of its life, FRELIMO had devoted great efforts to launching and extending programmes of education. The development of the struggle and national reconstruction posed problems for our organisation that required the continual heightening of the political, scientific and technical level of the cadres, the fighters and the masses. It was in this perspective that we proceeded to create primary schools and set up the Mozambique Institute as a secondary school in Dar es Salaam.

The setting up of schools raised the question of what sort of education we should give the pupils. The reactionary conception of the new exploiters was opposed to our revolutionary conception of education as a weapon for the advancement of the masses and for the formation of cadres to serve the people. For the reactionaries, education should constitute an instrument of individual advancement, a means of creating a privileged elite destined to lead the masses whom they considered brutish and illiterate.

When we began to impose our revolutionary conception on all our schools, the new exploiters, using the priest Mateus Pinho Gwengere, whom the PIDE had infiltrated into the Mozambique Institute, incited the pupils against FRELIMO's political line. Profiting from weaknesses in our political work, the reactionaries managed to get the students to refuse to go to the military bases and liberated zones during their holidays. They said that the army was not for educated people like them. In reality, they wanted to prevent the students from identifying with the masses. Under their manipulation, the students were thrown into racist attitudes and attacked the white teachers in the Institute who fought for the application of our correct educational policy.

Incited by the reactionaries, the students, both those at the Mozambique Institute and groups who were in the United States and Czechoslovakia, rose in open rebellion against FRELIMO, against the popular line of our education. Taking

advantage of a certain audience which, because they happened to be outside the country, was available to them, these elements launched violent campaigns of defamation and insult against the FPLM, FRELIMO and against revolutionary leaders.

When they realised that neither the campaign outside the country nor the internal reactionary activity was managing to shake the determination of the masses or halt the impetus of the struggle, the reactionaries and their external allies moved to a new phase in their attack against FRELIMO. They launched violent actions against the cadres and responsible figures in FRELIMO who defended revolutionary conceptions, and against FRELIMO buildings. In this way, on 9 May 1968, Comrade Mateus Sansao Muthemba, a member of the FRELIMO Central Committee, was mortally wounded in the reactionary attack against FRELIMO's provisional office.

The Second Congress: The political battle for a correct policy

At the same time a broad campaign developed demanding the immediate holding of the Second Congress, in order to choose a new leadership. The Second Congress was scheduled for the end of 1968 or beginning of 1969. The FRELIMO leadership anticipated the organisation of a wide-ranging debate which would lead to a deepening of political line and to the definition of new structures for the liberated areas.

The reactionaries were aware that the results of the Congress would be unfavourable for them. It was impossible to oppose the Congress: so they then attempted to divert it from its objectives and denature its content. They demanded that the Congress be held immediately, in order to prevent the necessary preparatory work being carried to its conclusion. Since they possessed alliances with external forces, the reactionaries succeeded in imposing on the FRELIMO leadership a date for the Second Congress earlier than that scheduled. Having won this victory, the reactionaries attempted to gain more. They wanted the Second Congress to be held outside the country: this, they said, would be neutral terrain, free from pressures. Supported by the great majority of cadres and by the masses, the leadership successfully fought the political battle for the Congress to be held in the liberated zones of our country. It took place at Matchedje, in Niassa Province.

A third battle took place around the composition of the Congress. The reactionaries attempted to reduce the Congress to a meeting of 'chairmen', elevated as representatives and leaders of the masses, and to exclude from the Congress delegates from the FPLM and militants selected by the masses.

The exclusion of the soldiers who, according to the reactionaries, should only wage war and not take part in politics, sought to prevent from participation in the Congress the sector which constituted the genuine vanguard of FRELIMO and the chief guarantee of popular interests.

FRELIMO's chief task at that time was the armed struggle for national liberation. The fundamental preoccupation of our people was to win the war that had been imposed on them by the colonialists. To prevent those elements who were engaged in this principal task from participating in the Congress, was to devalue its meaning entirely, to empty it of any useful content. Again the masses forced a defeat on the reactionaries, by demanding that the fighters take part in the Congress.

On the eve of the Congress, the reactionaries, in haste and desperation, attempted to sabotage it. They began by launching a campaign of rumours, insinuating that the FPLM had prepared to assassinate the delegates. Under the excuse that their lives were in danger, the group of 'chairmen' refused to take part in the Congress. Since they constituted most of the delegation from Cabo Delgado, where the process of armed struggle and national reconstruction was most developed, the reactionaries hoped that they could prevent the holding of the Congress through this manoeuvre. But having been informed of the manoeuvre, the revolutionary forces organised a new delegation from the Province, chosen democratically and consisting of militant cadres who enjoyed the support of the masses.

The Congress began on 20 July 1968. With the collapse of their attempt to boycott the Congress, there remained for the reactionaries only the possibility of preventing its conclusion, through the physical liquidation of the delegates. The link was now effected between the reactionaries and the colonialists. Thus the colonial army launched an aerial attack on the place where the Congress was taking place. This attack did not achieve its aims, thanks to the security measures that we took.

The work of the Congress went ahead as scheduled on the agenda, and closed successfully on the date anticipated, 25 July 1968. The reactionary forces ended up suffering three decisive defeats. The Congress was held. It was held in Mozambique. And the fighters participated in the Congress.

The triumph of the theses for the national democratic revolution

The participation of 170 delegates and observers, coming from every province in the country, and engaged in the most widely differing sectors of our struggle, and especially the participation of those who, arms in hand, were defeating the colonial army, ensured that the Congress was representative. It also allowed broad democratic debate which led to the deepening of our political line, and to the creation of political conditions whereby the soldiers and the masses could differentiate themselves from the new exploiters.

The Second Congress built the conditions for the correct resolution of the antagonistic contradictions that existed within FRELIMO, between the defenders of the interests of the labouring masses, and those who were only attempting to get rid of Portuguese colonialism in order to replace it with themselves as an exploiting force.

The Second Congress laid down directions for the success of the armed struggle and for the realisation of the aims of the National Democratic Revolution: the end of foreign colonial domination, the destruction of feudal and fascist structures of oppression and the extension of democratic freedoms to the entire country.

The Second Congress was a powerful weapon for the victorious advance of the fighters and the masses who, under FRELIMO's leadership, began the process in the liberated areas of transforming the armed struggle into Popular Revolutionary War.

The Second Congress approved the thesis of Prolonged Popular War. A war that was popular through its content, its methods and its aims. A war of the exploited classes to overthrow the system of exploitation. A war that was founded on the mass mobilisation and participation of wide sectors of the population. A war in which the people constitute the main force, the force that finally defeats the enemy. A war where political and ideological struggle are integrated and fuse together. A prolonged war as a strategy designed to invert the balance of forces in our favour. A war in the course of which we deepen our political line, and learn in an increasingly clear fashion the exploiting and criminal nature of the enemy, and more resolutely demarcate ourselves from him.

At the Second Congress the political thesis of clemency for prisoners of war was approved, a fundamental thesis which illustrated and deepened in practice the correct definition of the enemy. In defining the enemy by his attitude towards the masses, in repudiating a definition of the enemy based on the colour of his skin, the Second Congress furnished our people with a sure criterion for identifying the enemy under all circumstances, for unmasking and combatting the exploiting and criminal nature of the anti-popular forces.

The Second Congress approved the basic thesis on the establishment of Popular Power. In order to consolidate and extend the liberated regions, to promote the social and economic progress of the masses and transform the social bases of society, to create favourable conditions for the victorious development of the revolutionary struggle for liberation, a new type of power was needed. A power that, through its nature, method and aims, would respond to the deep longing for change, and would be a justification for the sacrifice undertaken. A power that would allow the people to live their conquests in their daily lives.

The Second Congress approved the theses on FRELIMO's foreign policy, which situated our struggle as an integral part of the general struggle of the peoples of the world for the building of a society free from the exploitation of man by man. The Congress defined colonialism and the imperialist system as our enemy. It praised the African countries who were supporting our struggle, particularly those that provided us with a safe rearguard, and equally it praised the socialist countries for carrying out their internationalist duty. It reaffirmed FRELIMO's internationalism, and expressed our solidarity with the struggles of other peoples.

The fight for the application of the Second Congress Theses

At the end of its work the Second Congress elected FRELIMO's new leadership. Comrade Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, who led the defence of the revolutionary theses, was re-elected President of FRELIMO. Other revolutionary comrades were also elected. The entry on to the Central Committee of new members, forged and tempered in carrying out our main task, was a decisive strengthening of the revolutionary forces. The presence of these cadres made the preoccupations of the masses and of the struggle dominant within the leadership. Attempts to defeat those who represented the revolutionary line collapsed. That line and its representatives emerged strengthened from the Congress.

However, reactionary elements continued to exist among the leadership. This was the result of a concern on the part of the revolutionary forces not to open, at this point, breaches in the organisation that might facilitate the actions of the enemy.

Rejecting the politics of unity, the reactionaries who were defeated at the Second Congress took up open struggle against the organisation, in alliance with the Portuguese colonialists. Colonialism made use of the reactionaries and

infiltrated agents into our ranks, in order to stir up indiscipline and desertions, and to sow divisions by using tribalism, regionalism, racism and religious differences. The reactionaries organised campaigns for demobilisation and disintegration. They organised networks to welcome and evacuate deserters who went afterwards to the enemy bases as guides for the troops who were massacring our people. Under the cover of religious practices, the reactionaries set up, in collaboration with the PIDE/DGS, networks of espionage and subversion in the liberated areas.

All these activities of the reactionaries were intimately linked to the intensification of colonialist military operations against our zones. The enemy unleashed a vast criminal offensive, while enemy aeroplanes dropped leaflets and the radio broadcast programmes which contrasted the supposed sad fate of the masses and fighters with the life of our leaders, allegedly full of pomp and luxury, travelling around and enjoying themselves.

While the enemy intensified its criminal activities, the reactionaries organised the closure of the Cabo Delgado border. Using groups of bandits and other lumpen characters who comprised the 'chairmen's' so-called 'FRELIMO Youth League', the reactionaries violated Tanzanian sovereignty, and occupied the Tanzanian bank of the Rovuma so that they could block the entry of reinforcements and supplies, particularly of arms, ammunition and medicines, and prevent people leaving Mozambique, including the sick and the wounded.

In cooperation with the TANU Central Committee, the FRELIMO leadership organised a meeting at Mtwara, which the reactionaries were called to take part in. At the meeting the reactionaries, who were refusing to recognise the results of the Second Congress and the election of President Eduardo Mondlane, declared that they were separating Cabo Delgado province from the rest of the country. The colonialists had secretly promised Lazaro Nkavandame and his group that they would concede independence to Cabo Delgado, and guarantee them power, provided they managed to neutralise FRELIMO. The Mtwara meeting showed that no possible platform for unity now existed between the revolutionary forces and the reactionaries. They had come out openly as enemies of the people, enemies of national unity and enemies of freedom.

The open collaboration between the reactionaries and the enemy

As part of a wide-ranging conspiracy, a few days after the Mtwara meeting, on 22 December 1968, on the Tanzanian bank of the Rovuma the reactionaries assassinated Comrade Paulo Samuel Kankhomba, a member of the FPLM General Staff and assistant chief of operations.

On 3 January 1969, the FRELIMO Executive Committee dismissed Lazaro Nkavandame from his post as Cabo Delgado Provincial Secretary. Other reactionary elements were suspended from their posts. On the Executive Committee reactionaries tried to oppose the dismissal of the criminal Nkavandame and the proposal that the Central Committee should expel him. Following the Executive's meeting, the Central Committee was convoked in order to analyse the behaviour of the reactionaries and criminals - both Nkavandame's group, who had completely unmasked themselves through the murder of Comrade Paulo Samuel Kankhomba, and others who continued to exist, camouflaged, in our midst.

Despite difficulties deliberately provoked by the reactionaries, our forces had resisted the shock of the enemy's attacks, launched numerous offensives and

extended the struggle on the Cabo Delgado, Niassa and Tete fronts. The struggle in Tete threatened to ruin the colonialists' plans for containing the war in zones of minor economic importance, and above all it put the Cabora Bassa project in danger.

FRELIMO was strengthened in the crisis provoked by reactionary and colonialist conspiracies. The struggle was extended, national and organisational unity was consolidated around the Second Congress resolutions, and new forces had been won to the cause of the struggle for independence, to the cause of the National Democratic Revolution. Now desperate, the colonialists conceived a new criminal plan to liquidate FRELIMO as a revolutionary force. They planned and organised the assassination of President Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane.

The PIDE were the architects of the plan. Through a network that included reactionaries infiltrated into our ranks, such as Mateus Gwengere, Silverio Nungu and others, a book containing an explosive device reached the hands of President Eduardo Mondlane. The crime took place on 3 February 1969.

Attempts were also prepared against other revolutionary leaders in our organisation. At the same time, to cover up the complicity of Uria Simango in the crime, the reactionaries simulated an attack against him. A booby-trapped book appeared which was supposedly destined for Simango. Soon after Comrade Eduardo Mondlane's funeral, Uria Simango called a meeting of the Executive Committee and manoeuvred so that he was declared interim President.

The Third Central Committee Meeting: victory for the correct line

The elimination of Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane provided the enemy with an alternative figure in the leadership who was extremely favourable to them. If the physical elimination of other revolutionary leaders was achieved, as was planned, this would consolidate the trends favourable to reaction inside FRELIMO: if, however, this physical elimination failed, then the simple presence of Simango as President would progressively demoralise the revolutionaries, and lead them to isolate themselves within the organisation, or even abandon it. Uria Simango, a man devoured with ambition and of great moral and physical cowardice, was a recruit of great importance for the enemy.

The murder of Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane and his replacement by Simango was a victory for the enemy, by which they hoped to ensure that the Second Congress resolutions would not be applied, and that the revolutionary content of the struggle would be neutralised. This was the context in which the Third Meeting of the Central Committee was held on 11 April 1969 at the Nachingwea Centre for Politico-Military Preparation.

After profound study, the Third Meeting of the Central Committee situated the assassination of Mondlane as the result of an antagonism between two political lines within FRELIMO. It analysed these two lines, their content, their contradictions, why they had appeared and their meaning and real implications for the future of the struggle, for the future of our people.

The conclusions of the Third Meeting have great historical significance. They situated the contradictions that we were living through; they set the seal on the theses which led the Popular Democratic Revolution to its conclusion. They clearly identified the class nature of the conflict that set us against reactionaries. They stated exactly the content and the class aims of our struggle. They rejected and condemned the reactionary line, which was leading to the establishment of the new exploiters as the dominant class, instead of the colonialists.

The Third Meeting took measures of purging and reorganisation so as to preserve the triumph of the revolutionary line. So various elements were expelled from the ranks of our organisation, and others were expelled from the Central Committee. A Presidential Council was formed **which**, in its composition, ensured the neutralisation of the reactionary Uria Simango, and guaranteed that the revolutionary directives of the Second Congress and the Third Central Committee Meeting would be applied.

Condemned and rejected by the masses, some of the reactionaries such as Lazaro Nkavandame openly joined the colonialists, and participated with them in the massacre of the people. They left their network intact behind them. But the members of this network were unmasked at the Third Central Committee Meeting. Miguel Murrupa deserted and joined the colonialists. Others, such as Uria Simango, fled and launched slanderous campaigns against our people and their struggle.

Building Military Victory

In the period that followed the Second Congress, and particularly after the assassination of President Mondlane, the colonialists hoped that the activity of their agents in our midst would neutralise FRELIMO's revolutionary capacity. They also hoped that the confirmation of Uria Simango in power would lead to demobilisation amongst the masses and the fighters, and would disorganise FRELIMO - leading to its military and political destruction.

In expelling reactionaries from the ranks of the organisation, the FRELIMO leadership frustrated the enemy's plans. The Third and Fourth Central Committee Meetings, and the massive support from the fighters and the people for the results obtained, destroyed for good any possibility of the colonialists and their agents controlling FRELIMO.

Only military methods now remained open to the enemy to block our struggle. This solution was closely linked to the knowledge that we were preparing an offensive in Tete, an area on which important plans hinged for the imperialist domination of our country. The extension of the Popular War south of the river Zambezi endangered the imperialist plan to use the Cabora Bassa dam to contain the armed struggle and install a million settlers in that region. The enemy reorganised his command, planned a new strategy, built up a powerful war machine and began the process leading up to the Operation Gordian Knot.

The FRELIMO leadership analysed the situation. It stated that our political situation was excellent and that, as a result of the revolutionary line, the support of the broad masses for the patriotic cause was increasing. The leadership verified that our cadres and fighters were determined and that they possessed a high level of political awareness.

In May 1970, the colonialists launched Operation Gordian Knot, concentrating their main effort on Cabo Delgado Province, and throwing the entire gigantic military machine that they had built into the criminal action. Our leadership analysed the enemy's intentions and concluded that the enemy was engaged on a war for the invasion and reconquest of the liberated areas. Since the people were our main force, we carried out a huge campaign of mass mobilisation and organisation,

so that they could take on the battle as it developed and undertake the defence of the popular, patriotic gains. We gave jobs to everyone, we liberated the creative initiative of the people, which gave value to the experiences of the wars of resistance and to the liberation struggle.

so that they could take on the battle as it developed and undertake the defence of the popular, patriotic gains. We gave jobs to everyone, we liberated the creative initiative of the people which drew on the experiences of the wars of resistance and on the liberation struggle, in combining the use of traditional weapons with modern ones. We protected the production that the enemy wanted to destroy. Bombs prevented us from cultivating by day, so we cultivated at night. We increased the number of small fields, thus increasing the number of targets and dispersing them.

Operations went on continuously from May to August. Everywhere, day and night, the enemy was consumed by the immense strength of organised population. The enemy suffered constant losses and its morale disintegrated. Thus, Operation Gordian Knot, the greatest action of Portugal's colonial war, was completely defeated.

While Operation Gordian Knot was still in progress, we concentrated our main effort on extending the struggle south of the river Zambezi in order to envelop the Cabora Bassa complex and penetrate into what was then the province of Manica e Sofala.

FRELIMO transformed Operation Gordian Knot into a great strategic victory. A decisive victory for the balance of forces, a victory which led to the defeat and disintegration of the Portuguese colonial army. After Gordian Knot, the enemy was incapable of launching offensives of any significant size and Portugal's racist and imperialist allies, convinced that defeat was inevitable, began to look for alternatives. After Gordian Knot, our struggle spread out inexorably. Gordian Knot marked the beginning of the end for the colonial army as a fighting force, and profoundly affected its morale. The victory over Gordian Knot created among all our people and fighters the certainty that we would be capable of resisting and liquidating any enemy aggression.

After Gordian Knot the colonial army used its energies on the most abject of crimes: it took the road to the concentration camps and to the most infamous and abominable massacres that will ever remain as a stigma on the enemy army. Defeat and impotence in Gordian Knot led them to Mucumbura, Joao, Chawola, Wiriamu, Inhaminga.

In the suffering that Portuguese soldiers and officers went through, in the sorrow and mutilation caused by Gordian Knot and its aftermath, are found many of the seeds which, when they germinated, triggered the coup d'etat of 25 April 1974 in Portugal.

Victory in production

The defeat inflicted on the Portuguese army in Operation Gordian Knot was possible because favourable conditions had been created by the Third Central Committee Meeting, followed in May 1970 by the Fourth Meeting. These permitted the rapid development of the liberation struggle and its qualitative transformation.

The popular masses became familiar with and adopted our political line and transformed it into an immense material force which revolutionised daily life.

Freed from the sabotage and manoeuvres of the new exploiters, forms of

mutual aid in production and co-operatives for production and trade became dominant, and in many regions were the only social form of economic activity. Increase in production became a constant.

Ideas about production and its role were profoundly changed. It ceased to be seen merely as a necessity for survival. Instead it was seen as the decisive weapon for the transformation of society, for providing the material basis for a better life. It was also taken up as a basic source for the enrichment of ideas and for their transformation. Following the Fourth Central Committee Meeting, the FPLM launched the process of integrating production in the creation of the New Man, and for using natural laws to the benefit of Man and Society.

So the Nachingwea Centre for Politico-Military Training became a centre for transformation, for scientific experiment, for the diffusion of the new science. Experiments in irrigation and in soap-making were born at the Tunduru education centre. Experiments in breeding domestic animals were begun and developed in Cabo Delgado. Orchards and vegetable gardens were spread over the liberated areas. To support the army and our social institutions, collective fields multiplied in the liberated zones. The earliest production co-operatives were developed and mutual aid on individual machambas became widespread. Even the wounded could be useful and were integrated into social production as far as possible.

Chemical warfare and aerial attack did not manage to block our economic development. There were zones where the population heroically cultivated by night to avoid enemy bombardment. Organised into militias, the people defended production and ensured its success. Many colonialist soldiers died miserably and ignominiously while trying to plunder our machambas.

Numerous co-operatives were created in the liberated areas for salt production, fishing and the production of dried fish, for making agricultural and domestic implements and for the manufacture and repair of weapons.

In this way, we achieved a surplus in production. When this was exported, it provided us with the means to acquire numerous articles that we lacked in the liberated zones. At the end of the war, the liberated areas in Cabo Delgado were exporting nearly one and a half thousand tons of various products. Difficulties in transport prevented more from being exported. One million, five hundred thousand kilos of produce means a hundred thousand people, each carrying fifteen kilos of produce on his head; fifteen kilos under bombardment, on a march of eight or ten days. The victory in the battle for production shows us the road that we have to follow today in building the material basis for the transition to socialism.

Creating the New Man

The Second Conference of the Department of Education and Culture, in September 1970, began the process of politicisation and collectivisation of work methods. It led to a more precise definition of our political line in the field of education and culture. It clarified the mission of the teacher and the task of the pupil: who each one serves, and how they should proceed. It provided class criteria for the concept and content of educational programmes; it introduced the methods of dialectical materialism into the study of science; it emphasised the fundamental role of the practice of class struggle, the practice of scientific investigation and the practice of production in the educational process.

The results of this Conference were immediate and essential as regards the training of revolutionary technical cadres. The Conference results took on concrete form in the opening of numerous educational centres in the liberated areas. At the end of the war these were attended by about thirty thousand children. Hundreds of teachers were trained or recycled, and their level of political, scientific and technical knowledge was raised. Literacy campaigns were started in the liberated areas and in our military centres. Many thousands of our fellow-countrymen, who until then had been condemned to illiteracy, benefitted from these. The Secondary School, reorganised into a revolutionary mould, provided our people with politically sound and technically competent cadres. At the end of the war it was catering for close on five hundred pupils from the fifth to the ninth class. More than a hundred young Mozambicans were sent to the socialist countries for courses in middle and higher education. FRELIMO can state with pride that at the height of the war, despite the military difficulties, and despite the shortages in the liberated areas, we trained more Mozambicans than the colonialists did in five hundred years.

The decisions of the second Conference of the Department of Education and Culture, enriched by a number of other meetings where our work was analysed and synthesised, still constitute today the line that directs our education, a line that is an extremely rich instrument for the present battle in education and culture.

Serving the people in the field of health

The first course in training nurses opened in November 1971 in the Americo Boavida Central Hospital. In this session, the FRELIMO leadership defined its approach to health, to building up sanitary services, and to training health personnel. Starting from the principle that in every battle it is people who are the decisive factor, it defined the priority of politics over technique, the priority of the conscious factor over material conditions. We conceived the struggle in the field of health as a mass struggle, a struggle in which it is necessary to win the people to the correct ideas and practices.

The principal task in health is to provide the masses with the indispensable scientific knowledge so that they can understand the fight against the causes of illness. Health workers should be, above all, those who mobilise, organise and orient the people in the practice of hygiene and the prevention of illness. Our hospital should also be a centre that spreads proper ideas about hygiene and health.

The battle for health met with the most fierce and decided opposition from the enemy. They infiltrated agents to disorganise our hospitals. They attacked and bombed our hospitals and killed nurses and patients. Despite this, and guided by our popular and revolutionary line, we built a network of sanitary assistance for the masses, which surpassed the results obtained by the enemy's health services. Hundreds of thousands of people were vaccinated, and learnt habits of hygiene and better dietary habits. Many tens of thousands were treated and saved.

The First Conference of Health Services, which took place in 1973 after the Fifth Central Committee Meeting, gave renewed impetus to our activity, and enriched our line. Today we possess a sound orientation that allows us, as far as health is concerned, to make a reality of the principle that Revolution liberates the people.

The Battle for Information

Our principal strength is the people. And in order for the people to assume their historic responsibilities, in order for them to be able to overcome problems, apply directives, carry out tasks, they must understand the situation. Bringing the fighters and the masses to take upon themselves the requirements for the development of the struggle, the magnificent burden of the struggle and of the country, demanded correct information.

Information is one of our most powerful weapons. It penetrates the areas that our physical forces still have not reached; it mobilises where we still lack organising capacity. We created a number of periodical publications: Voice of the Revolution and Mozambique Revolution, organs of the Central Committee; September 25th, organ of the FPLM; Tearing Down the Darkness, organ of the Department of Education and Culture. After the Fourth, and above all after the Fifth Central Committee Meeting, a number of provincial publications were founded such as February 3rd in Tete, The Heroes in Cabo Delgado, and The Struggle Continues in Niassa.

Benefitting from the facilities put at our disposal by Radio Tanzania, Radio Zambia and Radio Cairo, we broadcast daily programmes in various languages that gave correct information to our people. Our information depended on class-conscious men and women who, organised and dedicated to the revolutionary cause, using only modest means, and overcoming difficulties, unmasked the enemy and mobilised the people. In the zones occupied by the enemy, clandestine groups and networks of patriots, under difficult and heroic conditions, reproduced and distributed articles, programmes and documents from our press and radio. As from the Fourth Central Committee Meeting, the magazine Studies and Directions was launched to raise our theoretical level and guarantee that our major directives were given wide currency.

To combat our information the enemy organised a tremendous machine of false and all-pervasive propaganda. It increased the power of the Radio Clube transmitters, it created the so-called Voice of Mozambique and the network of regional transmitters, it built posts to interfere with our transmitters, it organised hour upon hour of broadcasts every day in languages that it called "native" - and which up till then it had despised. It printed tens of millions of leaflets and used thousands of hours of flying time to distribute them. Aircraft equipped with loudspeakers spread propaganda in thousands of night flights.

Colonialist propaganda failed. Our information triumphed because it corresponded to the truth, because it spread correct ideas, and because it knew how to present both successes and failures. Everyone could draw lessons from our experiences and find ways to strengthen strong points and overcome weak ones.

The International Front

FRELIMO always gave great importance to the international front in the struggle to free our people. The colonial-fascist regime threw a curtain of silence around our country and our struggle. The colonialists benefitted from their diplomatic network, from their means of propaganda, from the complicity and support of imperialist circles and of the great monopoly concerns. They therefore had excellent conditions at their disposal to win support from international opinion for their stance. To beat the enemy in the international sphere, we had to define a correct strategy - to know whose support we should appeal for, who we should combat, and with what aims in mind.

From the beginning FRELIMO could count on the support of almost all African states. Tanzania and, after its independence, Zambia, were a safe rearguard for

our struggle. These brother countries accepted enormous human and material sacrifices in supporting our struggle: and it was this support which, to a large degree, allowed the rapid development of our freedom struggle. Their militant solidarity made these countries targets for colonialist and imperialist hatred. Many Tanzanians and Zambians were killed by the bombing and by the land-mines of the enemy. Our people will never forget the vital support Tanzania and Zambia gave for our victory. Many other African countries, individually or through the Organisation of African Unity, also demonstrated their active solidarity with us in the difficult moments at the beginning of the war.

The socialist countries expressed their revolutionary internationalism in a consistent fashion. Through political, material and diplomatic support, they contributed to the progress of our struggle. Other states as well as democratic forces within capitalist countries and humanitarian organisations also supported our struggle.

On the international front our objective was to block the military, economic and diplomatic support which enabled colonialism to continue and spread its war. Equally, our struggle in this field sought to win increasing support for our battle for liberation. The Third and Fourth Central Committee Meetings, and the resulting development of the liberation war, created extremely favourable conditions for great offensives internationally. Numerous foreign delegations and foreign journalists and film-makers were invited to visit our zones. By explaining the realities that they had found there, they helped ensure that world opinion was correctly informed on the real position of our struggle and its successes.

In June 1970, FRELIMO, MPLA and PAIGC, with the aid of the World Peace Council and the Organisation of Solidarity with the Afro-Asian Peoples, organised an international conference in Rome in support of the struggles of our peoples. This Conference, held in the capital of a NATO member, and with a broad and representative participation, had a profound and lasting mobilising effect on international opinion, particularly in Western Europe. Its impact was increased by the meeting that took place shortly after the Conference between Pope Paul VI and the leaders of FRELIMO, MPLA and PAIGC.

In Africa we established firm relations of fraternal solidarity and mutual aid with Tanzania, Zambia, Guinea, Congo-Brazzaville and the Republic of Somalia. In this period we also extended and consolidated our bilateral relations with a number of other African countries. Fruitful and fraternal relations were established between FRELIMO and the leading Parties of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, the German Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Socialist Republic of Rumania, the Democratic Republic of Korea, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia.

The African countries as a whole, the Organisation of African Unity, the OAU Liberation Committee, the African group at the United Nations all 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 battle. The governments and democratic forces of Sweden, Norway, Finland and Holland also distinguished themselves in this activity.

Of particular importance, because of its political significance, was the activity of Portuguese democratic forces in instilling anti-colonial feelings into the broad masses of Portuguese workers and young people. Desertion and draft-dodging came to affect a quarter of those to be conscripted each year into the Portuguese army. As from 1970, Portugal's democratic forces, in their strategy for anti-fascist struggle, defined the colonial war-machine as the target for their armed activity. In this context Armed Revolutionary Action -ARA - distinguished itself, and later so did the Revolutionary Brigades.

With the international organisations our political and diplomatic battle won a number of successes. It is worth stressing the decision of the United Nations to recognise FRELIMO as the only representative of our people, and give us observer status. The specialist organisations of the UN acted in the same way. In November 1972, the Security Council, through its Resolution 322, unanimously condemned the colonial aggression against our people, and demanded that Portugal begin negotiations on the basis of recognition of our right to self-determination and immediate independence.

International democratic mass organisations such as the Organisation of Solidarity with the Afro-Asian Peoples (OSPAA), the World Peace Council, the Tricontinental, the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), the Pan-African Youth Movement, the International Union of Students (IUS), the Women's International Democratic Federation, the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) and many others, the solidarity committees that were formed in support of our struggle, especially in Italy, Holland, Great Britain, Sweden, Finland, the United States, Canada, and a number of other countries, were powerful weapons for the mobilisation of international opinion and for the organisation of political, moral and material support for our struggle. This led to the growing isolation of the colonial-fascist regime - a significant example of this was the failure of Marcel Caetano's visit to London.

Armed with a correct political line and strategy, FRELIMO knew how to unite the broadest grouping of democratic forces around our people's cause, completely isolating the Portuguese colonialists.

Popular power in the liberated areas

The essential characteristic of the liberated areas was the elimination of structures of domination and oppression and the building of new forms of power that served the interests of the masses. After the complete collapse of colonial-fascist domination in our areas, feudal structures remained as the main form of oppression. There also arose the danger that the class of new exploiters might impose their power. This peril materialised in the form of the chiefs and the 'chairmen'.

The sharpening class struggle between 1968 and 1970 led to the defeat of the chiefs and the 'chairmen'. FRELIMO's structures, and particularly the FPLM, assumed in practice the task of leading and organising economic, social and administrative life in our areas. They mobilised the people to resolve the problems confronting them. Regular mass meetings were held where the different problems were discussed and the correct way of overcoming them was determined. The masses learnt to rely on their own strength, and this liberated their immense creative energies. They learnt to exchange and synthesise experiences, to analyse situations, to become aware of their own interests. In this way, they solved their own problems and directed their own lives. They took up their historic role in practice, and learnt to exercise power.

After we had defeated the colonialist offensive 'Gordian Knot', bodies were created at all levels, under the leadership of political commissars, which supported and provided an orientation for the representatives chosen by the masses to direct administrative, economic and social life in our regions. Thus, popular power became institutionalised. Effectively our zones became areas that were free from the colonialist way of life. Power belonged to and was exercised by the great majority against the tiny handful of reactionaries, and against the decadent values

of feudalism and of the colonial bourgeoisie. This power was the weapon for the liquidation of exploitation of man by man in the liberated areas. The machambas and the abandoned cashew-tree plantations were collectivised. The use of wage labour on private machambas and plantations was ended. Mutual aid in production was widespread and collective machambas developed to support our social institutions and the FPLM. Trade was organised so as to be entirely under the auspices of the FRELIMO Department of Production and Commerce. Our new power also enabled us to proceed with the reform and development of education and the structuring of our health services.

Generalised Offensive on all fronts

The Fifth Central Committee Meeting was held in December 1972, in this context of increasing victories in all fields. The Meeting was preceded by a Conference of the Defence Department in July of the same year. This produced an exhaustive analysis of the situation and studied the conditions for the ideological, political and military development of our fight. The Fifth Meeting examined above all the development of the struggle and its qualitative transformations.

The class content and practice of our war allowed the National Liberation Struggle to develop National Democratic Revolution and to build the foundations for the transition to the phase of Popular Democratic Revolution. In the liberated areas, the colonial state had been eliminated, and the structures of feudal domination had also been destroyed. The political and social liquidation of the class of new exploiters was taken to its conclusion: the dominant social form of production was collective. FRELIMO's structures, which exercised functions of political leadership, increasingly took on state and administrative roles. Politico-military organs composed of militants of labouring origin, guided by a working class scientific political line, formed embryos of a state apparatus and a vanguard Party.

In the regions occupied by the enemy, new forces were continually won to our patriotic and democratic cause: within the petty bourgeoisie itself, which colonialism was desperately trying to win through favour and promotion, there was a strong rejection of foreign domination.

Internationally, colonialism found itself in a very isolated position, while the prestige of our struggle and support for FRELIMO grew. In Portugal, the effects of the war were breaking up the regime and contributing to the development of the anti-fascist resistance.

The Fifth Central Committee Meeting, analysing the new tasks our people were called on to carry out, stated that the burning need was for FRELIMO to deepen its class and ideological content. The Fifth Meeting clearly identified FRELIMO with the interests of the labouring classes, and identified our political line with the scientific ideology of the labouring classes.

The Fifth Meeting decided that we were to unleash a generalised offensive on all fronts. Following the Fifth Meeting there were important organisational offensives at a national level - such as the First National Conference of Culture, the First Health Services Conference, the First Conference of Mozambican Women, and the Third Defence Department Conference. In the provinces, conferences and seminars were held to study and apply the resolutions of the Fifth Meeting and the directives arising from the above-mentioned conferences. Our structures were cleansed and reorganised so as to implement the principles of democratising, collectivising and popularising our political line and methods of work. The ideological offensive was supported through the creation of the first Party Committees which grouped together vanguard elements in each sector. In

January 1974, the Party School began functioning to synthesise our experiences and develop theory, and to study marxism-leninism.

The road to victory

With our victory over operation Gordian Knot, and the extension of the struggle south of the Zambesi, the enemy lost the military initiative definitively. Our operations forced the Portuguese to withdraw their troops from a number of zones. They concentrated them along the Rovuma frontier and on the perimeter of Cabora Bass. With this strategic withdrawal, the enemy hoped at least to be able to cut our supply routes in the Rovuma zone and, in the Cabora Bass region, to protect imperialist economic interests and restore the confidence of Portugal's allies. This action led to the immobilisation of nearly half of the enemy's operational forces, and important areas were left unguarded. Our forces exploited this situation: they extended the struggle throughout Tete province, penetrated Manica e Sofala, and began the process of destroying or capturing the isolated and encircled bases in Cabo Delgado and Niassa.

Perceiving that political and military defeat was inevitable, the colonialists despairingly stepped up the practice of monstrous crimes at all levels. In the areas still untouched by the armed struggle, the colonialists herded more than a million people into concentration camps to stop the masses supporting our struggle. These death camps were called 'aldeamentos' and the humiliation and brutality imposed on those detained there contributed to a process of dehumanisation, the serious effects of which are still being felt.

In the urban areas the colonialists launched manoeuvres to promote, bribe and corrupt the indigenous petty bourgeoisie. Traditional racism was toned down as Mozambicans were recruited for posts of authority within administration, in the banks and in companies. They began to put blacks and mulattos in responsible positions in administration and in the economy, particularly in the war zones. Their salaries went up, and credit facilities were given to this social stratum to improve their living standards and modify their patterns of consumption. In this way, the colonialists tried to promote a layer of Mozambicans who would gradually occupy the intermediate posts in the system and would attribute their success to the existence of colonialism. This layer would eventually serve as the social basis for solutions which would lead to the survival of colonialism and capitalism under new forms. To ensure the subordination of these elements, colonialism reinforced its policy of dehumanisation and cultural alienation and attempted to turn them into dark-skinned Portuguese.

But alongside these manoeuvres, the colonialists launched successive waves of repression in the urban areas. They attacked young people, students and patriotic religious figures, and they increased the use of imprisonment, torture and murder. As a result, there was growing hatred, political struggle spread, and the condition for insurrection became more favourable.

The attempt to bring Mozambicans to repress Mozambicans created an enormous army, 500,000 strong - the OPVDC - which reflected the insoluble contradictions in the colonialist command. In their training, the GE and the GEP were promised 'independence' if they managed to destroy FRELIMO. The enemy was attempting to compromise Mozambicans in the most atrocious and repellent crimes in order to corce them to break with the people.

The colonialists infiltrated professional criminals into the liberated areas. In Tete and in Manica e Sofala, enemy agents, using weapons and wearing uniforms identical to our own, looted foodstuffs, maltreated people, black and white, committed massacres and left supposed FRELIMO leaflets behind so that the masses would identify FRELIMO with the crime.

At the same time, South African and Rhodesian Forces who had been operating alongside the colonial army in Mozambique since 1965, were forced to halt their operations in our country because of the defeats suffered by their ground forces in September 1973 and by their air force in March 1974 during attempted invasions of the liberated areas in Tete. Their withdrawal ended the tendency to towards the internationalisation of the aggression, and prevented an escalation of the imperialist war against our people.

The isolation of the Portuguese colonial regime was further increased by the revelations throughout the world of the enormity of the massacre at Wiriamu, the irrefutable evidence provided by FRELIMO to the UN Human Rights Committee, combined with our successes and with the diplomatic activity of the socialist countries, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and the Afro-Asian and Non-Aligned countries. The closest allies of colonialism publicly dissociated themselves from Portugal - within NATO itself an increasing number of countries were denouncing the colonial-fascist regime.

Portuguese colonial-fascism stood before the world, with its obscurantism, its terrorist practices and its systematic recourse to the most sadistic crimes, filling mankind with horror, as the most decadent and isolated form of the system of exploitation of man by man.

The fall of Colonial-Fascism

1973 and the first three months of 1974 were characterised in the military field by the FPLM's irresistible advance along the two axes of Inhaminga-Beira and Vila Pery-Beira. At the same time we made preparations for launching operations south of the river Lurio in Nampula, in Zambezia Province and, south of the Save, in Gaza and Inhambane. This prospect filled the leading circles of colonial-fascism with panic as they foresaw the imminent collapse of their armed forces.

On 25 April 1974, destroyed by the common struggle of the peoples of the colonies, the fascist regime was overthrown in Portugal.

Our leadership analysed the situation that resulted from the regime's fall. The Executive Committee published a communique. In this we expressed our solidarity, praising the victory of the Portuguese people and stressing that the fall of fascism was not the fall of colonialism. We drew the new regime's attention to the fact that peace could only result from the ending of colonialism and its war of aggression. We issued the slogan of intensification of the politico-military struggle against colonialism to all our forces and to the popular masses.

Portuguese reactionary forces, with the support of imperialism, tried desperately to rescue colonialism, or at least a neo-colonialist alternative. May 1974 saw intense manoeuvring. From the Portuguese state came a flood of ambiguous declarations, all marked by their refusal to concede our right to immediate independence. Financed and organised by leading Portuguese circles, a number of puppet groups were created in Mozambique, all preaching capitulationist solutions, and all opposing FRELIMO. The enemy tried to create a 'legal' FRELIMO, opposed to armed struggle.

While these manoeuvres went ahead, FRELIMO continued and intensified its Popular Revolutionary War. Offensive followed offensive, routing the colonialist troops. Everywhere the popular masses publicly stated their support for FRELIMO, and demanded total and immediate independence. The Portuguese government was forced to make official contact with FRELIMO and to suggest a meeting. This took place in Lusaka on 5 June 1974. A new front in our people's struggle for independence was opened: the front of negotiations.

The negotiating process was difficult and complex. The enemy used three major lines of action:

- the attempt to neutralise our people's principal form of struggle, the Armed Struggle for National Liberation;
- the attempt to disorganise and demobilise our people through the activity of puppet groups;
- the attempt to discredit FRELIMO internationally, presenting us as bellicose and intransigent.

The enemy's manoeuvres were countered by firm and correct action from the FRELIMO leadership:

- the intensification of the popular revolutionary war in Mozambique forced the enemy's military commanders to support our positions as the only way of avoiding total military collapse;
- great mass demonstrations in support of FRELIMO totally isolated the puppet groups and made FRELIMO's political strength obvious;
- the decisions of the OAU summit at Mogadishu, the declarations of the UN Secretary-General, the positions taken up by various international democratic organisations and solidarity of the Portuguese people themselves expressed FRELIMO's diplomatic victory.

These events forced the Portuguese colonial centres to retreat and to surrender. The new Portuguese Government recognised the right of the people of the colonies to complete independence, and returned to negotiating with us. In the course of these talks, the principle of the right to complete independence was clearly and definitively accepted, as were the recognition of FRELIMO as the sole legitimate representative of our people, and the principle of the transfer of power. Finally, agreement was reached on how to implement a cease-fire and restore peace to our country.

At the end of August 1974, the Executive Committee presented a report on the situation to the Sixth Central Committee Meeting which approved the actions undertaken, and mandated a delegation, led by the FRELIMO President, to sign the agreed accords. On September 7, the Agreement on Independence was solemnly signed in Lusaka, and at the same time, the Cease-fire agreement. The whole period of negotiations between FRELIMO and Portugal formed an integral part of our struggle for national independence. Throughout the talks we fought and won the battle against the survival of colonialism under new forms and against neo-colonialism. The two accords signed in Lusaka expressed the politico-military victory of our people, united, organised and led by FRELIMO, over colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism.

Leading circles of Portuguese reactionaries did not resign themselves to this. On the same day that the accords were signed, and later, on 21 October, the settlers and local puppets used their armed forces to attempt new criminal manoeuvres. Immediate and energetic action by our people and the FPLM quickly smashed these provocations.

The triumph of the National Democratic Revolution

With the victory of the popular war of liberation and the investiture of the Transitional Government, conditions were created for FRELIMO to extend its activity to all sectors of society and engage millions of Mozambican men and women actively in the cause of the Revolution. Under the slogan 'Unity, Work, Vigilance', FRELIMO launched a broad campaign of mobilising and organising the masses into the framework of the Dynamising Groups. In all residential areas, in the urban quarters, in the villages, in the fields, in the workplaces, in the factories, in the schools, in the state services, in commercial enterprises, everywhere Dynamising Groups were organised.

A vast mass movement spread over the whole country to study and apply the political line of FRELIMO and to liquidate the vestiges of colonialism, the vices and decadent values of the bourgeoisie. Under FRELIMO's leadership, the masses correctly defined what the enemy was and fought intransigently against racism, tribalism and regionalism, and for national unity and revolutionary change. In this process millions of people were educated in the exercise of their rights and in the exercise of power.

Politically and militarily defeated, the enemy, both inside and outside the country, now stepped up economic sabotage, the destruction and looting of the country's property. At the same time alarmist campaigns of rumour-mongering were launched, the grossest slanders were invented and spread about so as to undermine the confidence of the masses in FRELIMO and in the government, to sow restlessness and to stir up indiscipline and anarchy. In this political battle the Dynamising Groups formed a vast network of popular vigilance against attempts at political and social destabilisation. The Groups played a decisive role on the economic battlefield and in ensuring that the state and productive activity both functioned.

Reaction responded to each popular victory with new forms of subversion. Agents of colonialism and imperialism were infiltrated into the Dynamising Groups, into the state apparatus and into the military and para-military forces. Reaction redoubled its attempts to bribe and corrupt cadres and militants, with the aim of using our structures to destroy Popular Power. But, armed with FRELIMO's political line and with the active participation of the masses, the Dynamising Groups and our structures as a whole embarked on a campaign of purifying their ranks, unmasking, isolating and neutralising agents and infiltrators.

With the defeat of the reactionary offensive, we continued with the liquidation of the system of exploitation; we began to destroy the colonial-capitalist state and we extended the conquests of the revolution. Under FRELIMO's leadership, the Transitional Government organised the transfer of powers and began the process of dismantling feudal and colonial-fascist structures. The Transitional Government destroyed the most degrading aspects of foreign domination and struck powerful blows against criminality, prostitution and alcoholism. It undertook the demobilisation and evacuation of the colonial armed forces, disarmed the colonial bourgeoisie, began to break up reaction, and rewarded sabotage with repression.

In the transitional period, FRELIMO began the job of extending Popular Democratic Power throughout the country, as well as collective methods of work and production. Democratic freedoms, the right of association and the right of free expression made themselves felt in thousands and thousands of meetings up and down the country. The Mozambican people from the Rovuma to the Maputo, under FRELIMO's leadership, proclaimed the independence of their country and won broad democratic freedoms in the framework of the tasks of the National Democratic Revolution.

The Seventh Central Committee Meeting: People's Democracy

On the eve of independence, the Seventh Central Committee Meeting was held in Tofo, Inhamabane. New conditions existed for the revolutionary development of our country. Within days the foreign flag would be lowered for ever and, with National Independence, our country would cease to come under the political domination of imperialism.

In analysing the situation, the Central Committee stated that essentially the tasks of the National Democratic Revolution had been carried out. The structures of fascist and feudal oppression had been destroyed. Democratic liberties had been extended over the whole country. From the Rovuma to the Maputo, power belonged to the people.

The Central Committee concluded that all the conditions had been created for the transition to the stage of Popular Democratic Revolution. The Central Committee set out the nature and aims of the new state that was to be created and approved its constitution. On 25 June 1975, the People's Republic of Mozambique was born, the first workers' and peasants' state in the history of our country.

Chapter 2

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY AND THE INTENSIFICATION OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE

The significance of the Constitution

In proclaiming that Power belongs to the worker-peasant alliance led by FRELIMO, the Constitution of the People's Republic of Mozambique expresses the new relation of forces brought about by victory in the Popular Liberation War. The Constitution lays down the basic principles of People's Democracy.

The Mozambican proletariat, the peasants - particularly those in co-operatives, revolutionary intellectuals, artisans, workers in general, are in the process of gaining a clear awareness of their situation and their historic destiny. They are gradually organising themselves, under the leadership of the working class, to mould society in accordance with the interests of the Mozambican proletariat. As a result of the measures imposed by the Party and the State in the organisation of economic life, in the development of the state-owned and co-operative sectors, in the political and scientific education of the masses, in the affirmation of the cultural values of our people and our class, and in the organisation of the working masses, the conditions are being brought into existence for the development of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

The ultimate aims set out in the Constitution are, essentially, the building of the political, ideological, scientific and material bases for a socialist society. The Constitution lays down that the land and natural resources of our country are state property. It puts a high value on collective forms of production, it defends the interests of the working masses and sets out the leading role of the State in the national economy. The widest democratic freedoms are guaranteed to citizens, extending to the entire country the gains won by our people in the liberated areas. The Constitution establishes the equality of all citizens and rejects any type of discrimination. It recognises the right and duty of all to participate actively in the defence of national sovereignty and our revolutionary conquests.

It gives dignity and protection to labour, as a right and duty of all citizens and as a criterion for the distribution of the social product. It establishes universal suffrage, the right to education and health, and to social security for the family, childhood and old age.

The Constitution attaches particular importance to internationalism, a triumph of our struggle and a constant in FRELIMO's political line. It sets out, as basic lines for the foreign policy of our State, the unity of African peoples and states, our natural alliance with the Socialist countries, solidarity and support for popular liberation struggles, the struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism, and the fight for peace and universal disarmament.

The colonial heritage

When we proclaimed independence, our people were faced with the colonial – fascist state apparatus which expressed the exploitation of the labouring masses by a foreign bourgeois dictatorship.

Economically, our country started with a ruinous situation, the result of colonial looting, and the imbalances generated by capitalism. This situation was aggravated by the subordination of Portuguese colonialism to the racist and imperialist system.

Agriculture was controlled by the big international monopolies and by the settlers. The greater part of agricultural production was channelled towards the colonial metropolis, and to the urban centres where the settlers lived. The peasant was relegated to subsistence production.

Industry was almost exclusively devoted to finishing imported products which were destined to be consumed by the bourgeoisie. The extremely few basic sectors in existence were essentially aimed at furthering the interests of the colonial bourgeoisie and of imperialism. This was the case with the cement industry, which was created to service the construction industry, a sector which merely operated for the benefit of the colonial bourgeoisie and for imperialist projects such as the Cabora Bassa dam.

Foreign trade expressed colonial domination over our country. Our main products were channelled to particular foreign markets at extremely low fixed prices. In particular, the trading relations imposed by the colonial metropolis institutionalised the systematic looting of our raw materials. While forced to hand over raw materials to Portugal at extremely low prices, our country was, at the same time, obliged to import manufactured goods at very high prices. This pillage was the main method by which the colonial-fascist government maintained equilibrium in its trade balance.

Internal trade was controlled by big companies and by white settlers looking for easy profits. Distribution of produce was, for the most part, entrusted to a network of 'cantinas'. Scattered throughout the country, they purchased peasant produce directly and arranged to transport it to the towns and cities through a system using a large number of middle-men. They all profited from the miserable prices paid to the peasant for primary products and from the exorbitant prices demanded of the peasant for manufactured goods. This system of distribution, the only one which colonialism developed for the whole of the country, collapsed when the settlers who controlled most of the 'cantinas' left. This fact partly explains the difficulties we face in distribution.

Under colonial-fascist domination many Mozambican workers were compelled to emigrate to neighbouring countries. This migrant flood was directed to the mines, industries and plantations of South Africa, the plantations and mines of Southern Rhodesia, and the tea plantations of Malawi. Before the beginning of the National Liberation Struggle, the migration was also directed to the copper mines of what was then Northern Rhodesia and the sisal plantations of what was then Tanganyika. At independence then, hundreds of thousands of Mozambican workers were outside the country. Inside the country, economic structures did not exist, capable in the short term of guaranteeing these workers employment and reintegrating them into society.

Our dependence on external factors was made worse by the transport and communications network which had been designed to serve the racist regimes and the colonial war. To finance the war and strengthen its association with big economic

interests, colonialism created all the favourable conditions for increasing imperialist and racist domination in our country, and consequently made Mozambique's dependent situation worse.

As a result of the great internal imbalances, the rural population was drawn towards the only poles of economic development: the area around the capital and the Beira area. This led to the formation of a highly parasitic strata of the population with a growing lumpen and criminal tendency. An enormous reserve army of unemployed and underemployed was thus formed which big capital made use of to keep wages at the lowest level and exploitation at the highest.

From the social point of view, the much publicised 'civilising effect' of colonialism was measured in a rate of illiteracy higher than 90%, in pervasive obscurantism, ignorance and superstition, in the encouragement of prostitution, drug-addiction, criminality and banditry. Our people were kept in sub-human living conditions. Medical care and sanitation were virtually limited to the colonial bourgeoisie.

The intensification of the class struggle

After the colonial forces had been defeated in Operation Gordian Knot, capitalism, now finding itself in crisis, began to fear increasingly for its future in Mozambique. Large-scale imperialist investments ground to a halt. The colonial bourgeoisie speeded up its flight of capital and started the process of economic sabotage. At this point the exodus of the white settlers began, and later this merely intensified: according to the colonial statistics over 6,000 settlers left in 1971, around 12,500 in 1972, and in 1973 more than 22,000 of them abandoned Mozambique.

With the collapse of the fascist regime in Portugal, capitalism, brought to despair by the rapid advance of the Mozambican people, tried every means of maintaining colonial domination over our country, at least of ensuring a neo-colonial solution. Capitalist reaction frantically redoubled its manoeuvres during the so-called Provisional Government. Generalised anarchy was fomented in the factories, with strikes, indiscriminate purges and wage demands. Demagogic wage increases were granted without any relation to the company's production. The aim of these manoeuvres was to confuse the working masses, to distract them from their fundamental demand – independence – and to disrupt and paralyse all economic activity. It was a matter of deepening the crisis generated by capitalism, of creating a chaotic situation so as to hinder or sabotage the taking of power by the people.

These activities, combined with economic sabotage, provoked a sharp decline in production in all sectors of the economy. The roots of the indiscipline, liberalism and corruption, which disorganised the labouring classes and resulted in the fall in production and productivity, can be traced to the capitalist strategy during the collapse of colonial rule.

On all fronts, the struggle of the Mozambican people prevented colonial and capitalist reaction from achieving its immediate aim: to prevent FRELIMO from taking power. During the Transition period, capitalism was forced more than once to review its strategy, and drew up new plans. Panic was whipped up, and the departure of small and medium businessmen, technicians and other qualified workers was encouraged. The big capitalists who planned and firected these moves, hoped through them to safeguard their own interests. By invoking the lack of technological and administrative means which they had created in our country, they hoped to impose on us a policy of supposed moderation and false realism. To defend their interests, both in the companies and in the state apparatus, they used the internal

bourgeoisie, hurriedly formed in the last years of colonialism. Theft and random destruction were rife: livestock, tractors, machinery, heavy vehicles, disappeared over the border or were shipped out from our ports with the collusion of corrupt and reactionary functionaries. When looting became impossible, thanks to the increasing vigilance of the State and of the working masses, the class enemy resorted to destruction. Thousands of cattle were slaughtered and left to rot. Essential consumer goods were bought up and disappeared from the market - to be put on sale later at fantastic prices. The already inadequate trading circuits were systematically sabotaged.

Meanwhile, in accordance with the call to extend FRELIMO structures throughout the country, we formed the 'Dynamising Groups' (GDs). The GDs were our basic weapon in the struggle against all forms of economic sabotage, and against all attempts to confuse, divide, corrupt and subvert the workers. In the transition period, the activity of the GDs restrained the escalation of capitalist manoeuvres and put the reactionaries on the defensive. They kept hundreds of abandoned firms working. They organised the workers to be vigilant, and deepened their awareness of the nature of the enemy, his objectives and methods. In the framework of the GDs the masses took the conscious initiative in the process of the class struggle: they isolated the class enemy, they frustrated his efforts in the main, and forced him to abandon his arrogant stance.

After Independence was proclaimed and the first nationalisations took place, while sabotage was on the increase, imperialism, the colonial bourgeoisie and internal reaction put into operation their plans for destabilising our new Power. Subversion against our Republic was organised. Radio broadcasts were transmitted from abroad and counter-revolutionary leaflets were clandestinely smuggled into the country. Drugs, pornography and religious propaganda of a subversive and obscurantist character were spread about. Rumours and provocations were launched to accelerate the flight of technicians. Press campaigns systematically misrepresented popular revolutionary gains in order to slander and discredit Popular Power. Agents, weapons and explosives were infiltrated, and criminal and terrorist activities occurred. From outside, the illegal racist regime of Southern Rhodesia was once more used as the operational force to attack our country and massacre our people.

Heightened organisation of the popular masses, sharpened vigilance, and our firm and correct political line frustrated each successive manoeuvre of the enemy. They then resorted to a plan for subverting the FPLM. But the reactionary provocation in the capital in December 1975, mounted by imperialism and the colonial bourgeoisie with the support of internal reactionaries, collapsed completely thanks to the firm and prompt action of the FPLM, supported by the people organised in the framework of the Dynamising Groups.

It was particularly from the date of this new defeat that the colonial bourgeoisie, finding itself completely isolated, unmasked and disorganised, and incapable of meeting the advance of the working masses led by FRELIMO, broke up and fled from our country. In January 1976, in one day alone twenty firms in the capital were abandoned. The nomination of Administrative Committees and especially the activities of the GDs ensured that the overwhelming majority of these firms remained in operation, thus avoiding both the increased rate of unemployment and the paralysis of vast sectors of economic activity that the enemy intended to leave behind him.

From 11 to 27 February 1976, the FRELIMO Central Committee met for the first time in our country's capital. The Eighth Central Committee Meeting was held in a period of intensely acute class struggle, the direct consequence of the consolidation of the Power of the worker-peasant alliance and of the revolutionary measures taken by its State, under FRELIMO's leadership. In the context of the sudden fall in production and productivity, abandoned factories, economic sabotage of all descriptions, the aggressive activities of imperialism via its racist detachment led by the criminal Ian Smith and through its internal agents, we had to bring in measures to correspond to the phase of sharpening class struggle.

The Central Committee analysed the development of the National Liberation Struggle between its Fifth and Eighth Meetings, the present stage in the class struggle in Mozambique, and the process of building the Popular Democratic State. It argued that reaction was acting under the most varied guises, but that its aims remained unchanged: to disrupt and paralyse the economy, to deepen the crisis generated by colonial-capitalism, to divide the popular masses and create discontent among them in order to overthrow Popular Power.

Considering that the class battle is fought mainly in the economic field, the Central Committee launched the slogan: 'Generalised political and organisational offensive on the production front'. In determining the need to destroy the structures of the colonial-fascist state and to build a state apparatus of a new type, the Central Committee laid down guidelines for deepening and accelerating the construction of a state apparatus that would reflect the Power of the worker-peasant alliance, in its composition, organisation and methods. At its eighth Meeting, the Central Committee convoked the Third Congress of FRELIMO which was to define strategy and tactics corresponding to the present stage of the class struggle and the building of People's Democracy.

Our Revolutionary Conquests

The proclamation of the People's Republic of Mozambique, the nature of our Constitution, the first nationalisations on 24 July 1975, followed by the nationalisation of rented property on 3 February 1976, decisively shook the structures of capitalism in our country.

The abolition of private property in land was the first basic step in transforming the social relations of production in our country. It dealt a decisive blow to the system of exploitation, feudal as well as capitalist, depriving the exploiters of their control over the principal source of material resources. It eliminated the possibility of speculation on building land. It created conditions for the organisation and development of state-owned companies, livestock co-operatives and collective machambas. It was the beginning of the socialisation of the countryside.

With the recovery of the land, our People took over the fundamental means of production allowing economic development to satisfy our essential needs, to combat hunger, misery and disease, to build a popular, independent and prosperous economy free from exploitation.

The correct and mobilising line of collective work, of co-operatives and communal villages won support from the popular masses. In all Provinces, and with enormous enthusiasm, the People opened numerous collective machambas; peasants created co-operatives and began to build communal villages. This unequivocal position of peasant support for socialisation in the rural areas was demonstrated even before the State had established directing norms for cooperatives and communal villages. The state structures were still not organised to transport

distribute and sell the total surplus produced by our peasantry. Because of this, a part of production was lost. Despite this, the Mozambican peasants were not demobilised. They are throwing themselves into the current agricultural campaign with redoubled energy.

The creation of state-owned agricultural enterprises which now occupy 60,000 hectares of cultivated land, will give a new and greater dimension to the struggle for the socialisation of the countryside. The fraternal support of technical workers from the socialist countries contributes in an important way to the progress of our agriculture.

The nationalisation of private hospitals and clinics and the prohibition of private medicine put an end to the shameful exploitation of our People's suffering and illness, and laid the basis for building a popular health system. Our gains in the field of health opened a new front in the class struggle. To put health at the service of the masses required, on the one hand, the organisation of the masses for the battle for health, and on the other, maximum use of the modest resources of cadres and medical structures which the country has at its disposal. Before the nationalisation health workers and medical structures were destined almost exclusively for the use of the colonial bourgeoisie and were concentrated in the major urban centres. The rural population, and the people in the outlying town zones, the working masses, found themselves practically without medical aid.

The nationalisations allowed us to free our health workers and deploy them according to the country's needs. They created conditions for the most underprivileged sectors to benefit from the Health Services. The nationalisations led to the launching of great campaigns of mass mobilisation and organisation to ensure the success of measures of hygiene and prevention of illness. Millions of people are participating actively in these campaigns, which will radically change the medical situation of the masses.

The nationalisations in the health sector provoked energetic opposition from reactionaries. Foreign doctors and some Mozambican nurses and other professional personnel left the country because other people's sufferings stopped being a goldmine for them, and because they hoped that their departure would create a chaotic situation which would force our People to retreat from our conquests. The action of those reactionary elements who stayed at their posts also contributed to the disintegration of the Health Services. Archaic structures, and the bureaucratic and conservative mentality which they produced, aggravated our severe medical shortages, and made it difficult for us to carry out our health policies.

The correct and mobilising line of FRELIMO won support from most Mozambican health workers. They accepted great sacrifices, working tirelessly to the limits of their endurance. It was their effort that made it possible - with fewer human resources - to meet the enormous increase in the number of people who, every day, appeared at our medical institutions as a result of the trust which the popular masses put in the nationalisations. The commitment of our health workers showed up the reactionary offensive and, as a result, our principles began to triumph in the medical and sanitary services.

The correct actions of FRELIMO and of our state, the patriotic and revolutionary determination of doctors, nurses and other personnel, fraternal assistance from African countries, socialist countries and from democratic forces from the capitalist countries enabled us to overcome our serious shortcomings and to neutralise the effects of sabotage. The reality of this can be seen in the Provinces, particularly where, in the past, there were only health services in a few urban

centres. We successfully undertook the training of a number of paramedical cadres and this is now beginning to show its positive effects.

The nationalisation of the schools and the elimination of the system of private tutors destroyed one of colonialism's most powerful weapons for dominating, alienating and depersonalising our People. The building of a single system of education, at the service of the masses and for the formation of the New Man, could be started. The nationalisations in the education sector laid the basis for an effective democratisation in this area. In this short period, we have tripled the number of pupils at school. Hundreds of thousands of children coming from the most underprivileged sections of the population are going to school. Tens of thousands of adults are attending literacy classes.

In our education we are successfully eliminating obscurantist and superstitious methods and content. We are fighting the elitist methods and content of bourgeois education. We are trying to combine a scientific study with the social practice of production, and to provide a materialist and dialectical basis for the learning of science and the formation of pupils' analytical abilities. We view education in the light of the interests of the country and of the working masses; we have begun training teachers on a large scale.

In this battle we have faced innumerable reactionary manoeuvres, ranging from the launching of campaigns to discredit our education system, to desertion by teachers. There were teachers who abandoned their pupils; others disparaged the content of our educational programmes or refused to apply them; they encouraged liberalism, indiscipline and sexual promiscuity among the pupils.

In the colonial-capitalist period, the cities were designed exclusively for the colonial bourgeoisie. Our People, who built the cities and erected their buildings, were forced to live in sub-human conditions, segregated on the outskirts of the towns. Urban land was in the hands of the bourgeoisie: only they could get loans to build rented properties with which they speculated.

The nationalisation of rented property destroyed capitalist exploitation in housing, led our people to take back the cities they had built, and to eliminate the racist character of the colonial city. It made it possible for the fight to housing to become a reality and for collective life to be organised in the cities through communal 'bairros'.

The nationalisation of the undertaking business abolished the trade in death and the discrimination amongst corpses which is one of the most degrading aspects of capitalism.

The recovery of the land by the People, including building land, and the nationalisation of rented property, together with state control over credit and the construction companies, have enormous importance for the life of our People. The nationalisation of rented property meant that in twelve months, in the city of Maputo alone, ten thousand families were installed in decent accommodation, with rents calculated according to their income and the size of their family unit. Recovery of building land and state control over credit and construction companies will allow us to organise a programme of planned, popular building, and to develop a housing policy which serves the masses.

The abolition of private practice in law destroyed the barter system of capitalist justice, and is the precondition for building a system of Popular Justice throughout the country.

The Mozambican working class is taking up its historic responsibilities in the battle for the recovery and reorganisation of industrial production, carrying out the

slogan of 'Generalised political and organisational offensive on the production front'. Factories suffered particularly from the effects of economic sabotage. Machinery stolen or destroyed, or out of action because a part is missing, lack of spare parts, failure to renew industrial equipment, lack of maintenance - these are some of the aspects of sabotage in industry. It should also be stressed that renewed stocks of raw materials were not bought, that equipment and money were stolen from companies, that the accounts disappeared, and that foreign technicians left. There was also the demobilising and disruptive activity engaged in by capitalist managements before they abandoned their firms, as well as acts of sabotage, indiscipline, division and corruption of the working class undertaken by agents of reaction hidden in the companies.

Authoritarian labour relations remained intact within firms and hindered the creative initiative of the labouring masses. The appointment of Administrative Committees could not in itself solve this problem. It was clearly necessary to change labour relations, to speed up the radical transformation of the relations of production. After the Eight Central Committee Meeting, the working class, under FRELIMO's leadership, began a vigorous offensive with the aim of increasing production and productivity. By tightening up discipline, adopting and perfecting methods of collective work, and devoting more effort to political study, the working class won important victories.

The Production Councils, created by our Power in numerous firms, have begun to take decisive action so that, in the next three years, we can reach and surpass the highest indices of production and productivity hitherto obtained. The entry into operation of the Production Councils, combined with the profound structural changes that will be introduced by future company statutes, will bring about a transformation of the social relations of production, and will help put into practice the leading role of the working class. We congratulate the working class for having halted the fall in production that took place in 1974 and 1975, and for having begun the process of recovery.

The tasks of the Popular Democratic Revolution

As we enter the phase of People's Democracy, we are beginning a long, historical stage. The transformations that we have to forge in our society are profound, the tasks that confront us are many, and the struggle which realise we must go through before we reach the stage of socialism is long and difficult.

Imperialism and its allies in our country - internal reactionaries and the remnants of the colonial-bourgeoisie - stand opposed to the interests of the labouring masses. Victory over reaction and imperialism is the condition for building a socialist society; it requires that the labouring masses be organised to impose their will on the internal exploiters and to defend the country and the Revolution from imperialist aggression.

People's Democracy is the historical phase in which the labouring masses, under the leadership of the working class, strengthen their Power, establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and put into effect the Power of the majority in all spheres of social life. In this phase we deepen and broaden our revolutionary conquests and build a powerful system of defence for the country and for the Revolution, based on the organised Power as its major force.

The struggle to build the New Society demands that the People go forward en bloc, firm and cohesive, in all fields of political, ideological, economic and cultural combat. In the present historical phase, we are consolidating our

ideological and class unity, continually improving the content of our national unity.

Building the foundations of Socialism demands radical transformations in the social relations of production in our country and the development of our economy. People's Democracy is a period when we socialise the means of production, and when we create and develop the two essential forms of socialist property: state property and cooperative property. It is the period when we develop and qualitatively transform our economy, constructing the material basis for a socialist society. Taking agriculture as the base, industry as the dynamic force, and the building up of heavy industry as the decisive factor, we break once and for all with misery and with dependence, and we will build an advanced economy at the service of the People.

In the period of People's Democracy, we proceed towards the final eradication of the vestiges of feudal and colonial-capitalist society, which survive in people's attitudes and behaviour. We fight the battle against the ways in which women and young people are oppressed and exploited and against the decadent values of the bourgeoisie. We raise to a more advanced stage the struggle launched during the revolutionary war for the creation of the New Man, free for all time from ignorance and obscurantism, from superstition and prejudice, aware of the duties of solidarity and cooperation.

Through economic and social development we will create the material conditions to make work the right and duty of all citizens, and to put into practice the principle of 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his work'.

In this phase the Power of the worker-peasant alliance is firmly rooted in society. In the process of sharpening class struggle the working class continually deepens its class consciousness. Working in the factories, within the framework of the Party, this class acquires a high degree of organisation and collective work. Struggling for social control over production itself, the working class verifies that there is an antagonistic contradiction between itself and private ownership of the means of production. And so, gradually, it fulfills the conditions that turn it into the leading force in the process of freeing society from all forms of exploitation. So it is that the working class, shouldering the long tradition of struggle by the Mozambican People, becomes the leading force for the building of a socialist society.

The peasantry is the fundamental ally of the working class, and includes the greater part of the population of our country. Brutally exploited by the colonial system, the peasantry played a decisive role in the armed struggle for national liberation. The majority of fighters, cadres and militants of FRELIMO are of peasant origin. It was the peasants who supported the greatest effort of the Popular Revolutionary War, it was they who were the constant target of the attacks, bombardments, crimes and massacres carried out by the colonialist forces. The production that fed our fighters, the transport of war material, internal security in the liberated areas - these were guaranteed by the organised peasantry. It was the peasantry who, under FRELIMO's revolutionary leadership, defeated the feudal ruling class and the new exploiters in the liberated areas. Their alliance with the working class was forged in the process of national liberation, and is based on the common interest of workers and peasants in the liquidation of all forms of exploitation of man by man. Today the peasantry, principal force of the Revolution, is enthusiastically engaged in the movement for communal villages. The slogan for the setting up of communal villages found a deep and spontaneous echo among the great mass of our country's peasants, which testifies to the continuing revolutionary capacity of our peasantry, and to their will to raise

themselves to collective and technically more advanced forms of production and social organisation. It is worth noting that despite the weaknesses of the State Apparatus and its inability to respond correctly and in time to the rapid growth of communal villages, and despite errors due to bureaucratism, the peasant masses were not demobilised. Through their creative initiative and hard work they consolidated the communal villages and made them into an irreversible conquest of our revolution, the image of the future of our countryside.

In the rural areas we find another great force in the process of growing development and organisation: this is the workforce of the great agricultural enterprises, particularly the state-owned enterprises. A huge task in social development and the raising of class consciousness falls to these agricultural workers in conjunction with the peasantry. All these elements trust in FRELIMO, and are gradually recognising in the communal villages, the state-owned enterprises, collective production and socialisation of the countryside, the way to overcome exploitation, misery, hunger and disease.

The remaining labouring sectors, white-collar employees, functionaries, revolutionary intellectuals, also form part of the social basis of the Revolution. Under colonial-capitalism, the bourgeoisie made every effort to make them assimilate its values, and to serve its interests. But in essence, these elements who live exclusively by their labour, have every interest in building a just society, free from capitalist exploitation. Their active participation in the revolutionary process requires a struggle within themselves to overcome the vices and defects of the bourgeoisie in their mentality and behaviour.

The small proprietors and the artisans are social strata that the proletariat is gradually winning for the construction of the new society. On the one hand, through their professional activities these elements play a useful social role in the production of goods and services, and in trade. National reconstruction needs the active contribution of these elements. On the other hand, the development of the revolutionary process will accord with their interests, freeing them from the threat and oppression they always suffered from big capital. The Party should therefore, carry out constant work among these elements, encouraging them to rationalise their production, particularly through voluntary participation in cooperatives which will enable them to raise their productive capacity.

We are resolutely advancing towards socialism through a constant battle against the vices of the past. The war taught us the value of human life. The war taught us to be humane, to love our fellow men. During the war we fought a hard battle against wrong ideas and we did not shrink from open confrontation in our midst in order to impose a just policy of clemency. We fought against Portuguese colonialism, not against the Portuguese. A captured enemy soldier, isolated from the criminal machine which he had been made part of, ceased to be an enemy. He was a man who, freed from the system, would regain his humanity.

During the war, we never hesitated to struggle against crime, banditry, injustice, corruption, and disrespect for the human person. We are continuing this struggle today, over the entire country, for the building of a society organised and constructed as a whole for the benefit of Mankind. Our enemy is he who oppresses, who brutalises, who exploits, even if we discover him in our own ranks.

In the final analysis, the value and dignity of Humanity was always the permanent object of our struggle. This was the road which led us naturally to Socialism.

It was the war that created us and made us what we are. Our experience also showed us that human longings for social justice, equality, freedom and peace would not be successfully achieved simply through good intentions. Yesterday,

colonialism pointed the guns of its machine of oppression against our legitimate desires for freedom and independence. Today the threat has not disappeared. Those who always exploited us are not resigned to the ending of that exploitation. The parasitic capitalist does not accept with good grace the end of his privileges. Our fight has to be organised and, just as during the armed struggle for national liberation, the oppressed have to organise themselves.

Scientific Socialism is the lantern that guides the labouring classes in the assault on the exploiting and inhuman bastions of capitalism and imperialism. In the defence of these principles we are implacable. To renounce this battle, to allow the birth of a new class out of the sacrifices of our People - a class that will oppress our People again, that will humiliate them, that will have no respect for human life, that will hand over the Country to new bosses - that would represent the most shameful betrayal. It was our own experience that showed us that all those who honestly desire justice, are for socialism.

Foreign Policy

The winning of National Independence by the Mozambican People has extended the frontiers of freedom in Africa right up to the bastion of racism and imperialism in southern Africa. The imperialist strategy of containing the liberation, first north of the Zambezi, and then, north of the Limpopo, has completely collapsed. Portugal's military defeat, followed by the stupendous defeat of imperialism in Indochina, showed the ineffectiveness of military solutions in halting the advance of the popular will to freedom.

Forced to draw lessons from these events, leading imperialist circles attempted to replace their policy of frontal opposition to and struggle against the Liberation Movement with new tactics. These depend on the recruitment of hesitant and capitulationist elements in the liberation movements, in order to use them against the genuine patriots. At the same time, they make purely formal concessions: they soften and disguise the most repressive aspects of the racist regimes, with the aim of sowing the illusion that such regimes are susceptible to evolution and can be made humane. The implementation of the policy of bantustanisation is an example of the new imperialist tactics.

However, when the situation does not allow the necessary margin of time for developing this sort of manoeuvre, they revert to the most characteristic and basic aspect of their criminal nature - open aggression. The attacks against the Democratic Arab Republic of the Sahara, the Democratic Republic of East Timor, the People of Zimbabwe and the People of Namibia, show imperialism's persistence in resorting to wars of aggression.

The building of People's Republics in Mozambique and Angola has sharpened the change in the balance of forces which came about in southern Africa with the fall of Portuguese colonialism. For the first time, in the main region of imperialist and racist domination in Africa, States are emerging that are embarking on the road of Socialist Revolution.

Because of this, from our very first hour, we have been a target for intensified imperialist aggression. This action takes various forms, from campaigns of slander against our State, to attempts at subversion and destabilisation. We are the target of military intimidation involving the building and strengthening of military bases near our coast and the dispatch of naval forces to the Mozambique channel. As in the past, the racist regimes are used as the operational forces of imperialism in undisguised criminal attacks against the independence of Mozambique and Angola.

The invasion of Angola was a particularly acute moment in imperialism's aggression against the sovereignty and independence of African Peoples, against the African Revolution. By force of arms imperialism attempted to impose a puppet regime in Luanda. The MPLA, tempered by thirteen years of liberation war, supported in exemplary fashion by progressive Africa and by the socialist camp, was able to lead the Angolan People to victory. This was a victory for Africa, and a victory for the progressive forces, in their greatest confrontation with the forces of racism and imperialism. The victory of the Angolan People enlarged the zone of Popular Power in southern Africa. The People's Republic of Angola has become the secure rearguard for the struggle of the Namibian People for National independence. Victory over the racist aggressors exploded the myth of the superiority of their armies, and stimulated the liberation struggles of the Peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa.

The Transitional Period saw an increase in our external activity: the President of FRELIMO visited the German Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Socialist Republic of Romania, the People's Republic of the Congo, the People's Republic of China, the Popular Democratic Republic of Korea, the Republic of Burundi, as well as making farewell visits to the two countries that formed our safe 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 of the Organisation of African Unity, honoured us with his fraternal presence in that moment of great historic significance. With him were other distinguished guests, namely Presidents Agostinho Neto of MPLA, Oliver Tambo of the ANC of South Africa, Sam Nujoma of SWAPO, the Secretary-General of UNIP, the Tanzanian Prime Minister, the Portuguese Prime Minister, the Secretary-General of the Portuguese Communist Party and the Secretary-General of the Portuguese Socialist Party.

In its foreign policy the People's Republic of Mozambique rigorously applies the principles of FRELIMO's political line. In this context, the People's Republic of Mozambique gives priority to establishing diplomatic relations with the countries who always placed themselves on our side. During the Transition period FRELIMO agreed to establish diplomatic relations as from the proclamation of Independence with African countries, socialist, Asian and European countries who had always supported us. The People's Republic of Mozambique has established and is developing relations of friendship and cooperation with all countries on the basis of the principles of mutual respect for each others sovereignty and territorial integrity, equality, non-interference in internal affairs, and reciprocity of benefits.

The Party and State visits of Presidents Julius Nyerere and Kenneth Kaunda contributed towards establishing and strengthening relations of friendship, mutual aid and cooperation between our States at a bilateral as well as a multilateral level.

In the context of joint action by our Parties and States in support of the Angolan cause, we point in particular to the meeting held in our country with the Secretary-General of PAIGC, the President of the Republic of Cape Verde, the President of MPLA, the Prime Minister of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and leaders of the MLSTP.

We also emphasise the fraternal visits of the President of FRETILIN, before the independence of the Democratic Republic of East Timor, and of the Secretary-General of the Portuguese Communist Party.

As regards the common strategy of southern African states against racist rule, our country has actively contributed towards unity in action with Tanzania,

Zambia, Botswana and Angola. Two sessions of the Summit Conference of the 'Front-Line' states took place in our territory.

Numerous Party and State delegations have made fraternal visits to our country, with a view to strengthening relations of bilateral cooperation.

We also hosted important international conferences in our country, of which the International Conference in support of the Peoples of the Former Portuguese Colonies, organised by OSPAA and the World Peace Council, and the 26th Session of the OAU Liberation Committee, stand out.

The People's Republic of Mozambique sent a number of Party and State delegations abroad. Of particular importance was the visit to the Soviet Union. This visit provided a solid basis for great development of the fraternal relations of solidarity, mutual aid and cooperation, already forged between our two countries in the difficult time of the Liberation War.

Important Party and State visits were also made to the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, the Republic of Cape Verde, the Republic of Guinea and the People's Republic of Angola. These visits allowed us to deepen the political relations that had already existed for a long time, and are leading to promising economic cooperation.

Meetings were also held with the Heads of State of Nigeria, Congo and Swaziland, in which mutual positions were agreed in relation to questions of bilateral cooperation and on problems of international concern.

By a unanimous decision our State was admitted to the Organisation of African Unity and to the United Nations Organisation, bodies which had always supported our struggle. In this framework the People's Republic of Mozambique has actively cooperated in the resolving of African and international problems. The admission of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, the People's Republic of Mozambique, the Republic of Cape Verde, the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe and the People's Republic of Angola to the Organisation of African Unity has decisively strengthened the progressive forces inside the organisation and has sharpened its anti-imperialist character and its role in the struggle for the complete liberation of Africa. The entry of these states into the United Nations has also strengthened the positions of progressive states in solving international problems.

We have also participated in the activities of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and we were present at the Sri Lanka summit which we consider was an important success in strengthening the front for the anti-imperialist struggle.

Born out of a struggle for liberation, the People's Republic of Mozambique resolutely supports the struggle of other Peoples for national and social liberation. We condemn the aggression against the Democratic Arab Republic of the Sahara and against the Democratic Republic of East Timor. We denounce the fact that the regimes which have cooperated with colonialism should try to deprive Peoples of their victories at the moment when the struggle of the masses overturns the regime of oppression.

The imposition of a fascist regime in Chile, the attempts to annexe Puerto Rico, the refusal to recognise the right of the People of Panama to regain the Canal zone, the retention of the base at Guantanamo against the will of the Cuban People, the division of Cyprus, the occupation of the Chinese Province of Taiwan, are manifestations of the arrogance of imperialism in attempting to impose its will on the People. Our state resolutely rejects these intimidations and supports the just struggle of all peoples for their rights.

The People's Republic of Mozambique supports unconditionally the struggle of the Korean People for the liberation of the southern part of their country, for the consolidation of socialism in the northern part, and for the peaceful reunification of their Motherland. We denounce the manoeuvres tending to stir up further

aggression against the People's Republic of Korea.

We support the just combat of the Arab Peoples against Zionism, for the restoration of the occupied territories. We firmly support the just liberation struggle of the Palestinian People under the direction of the PLO, for their national rights. We denounce the imperialist and Zionist manoeuvres tending to divide the Arab Peoples 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 African states and with the international community in general, demands that South Africa end its illegal occupation of Namibia and its attempts to divide the territory and install puppet regimes.

The People's Republic of Mozambique will know how to carry out its internationalist duty of solidarity with the South African People led by the African National Congress. The ANC of South Africa, which unites and organises the South African masses, has brought them to a correct definition of the enemy, to understand the essence of the oppressive regime, and has thus been capable of determining the correct strategy and tactics for the liberation struggle. Under difficult conditions the ANC is organising the political insurrection of the masses. Popular battles which are seriously shaking the regime will lead to the triumph of the interests of the masses.

In Zimbabwe, the combined effects of the Armed National Liberation Struggle and the sanctions decreed by the international community have reduced the minority rebel regime to weakness and isolation. We are convinced that, under the leadership of the Patriotic Front, and by stepping up the armed struggle, and developing political and diplomatic struggle, the People of Zimbabwe will win their Independence. The intransigence of the rebels shows once more that only popular struggle is able to impose the just solution to the existing antagonism. Our two Peoples are made brothers in the blood shed by racist aggression.

The People's Republic of Mozambique will continue contributing towards a strengthened unity of developing countries, will work to develop the Non-Aligned Movement, with a perspective of consolidating and broadening the anti-imperialist struggle, the struggle for National Independence and for the recovery of the right of all Peoples to their own natural resources.

Our state works for closer relations with the Arab states and for unity between African and Arab states. The People's Republic of Mozambique continues to work resolutely for the strengthening of the Organisation of African Unity, the principal instrument of the African countries in the common struggle for the total liberation of the continent, for the consolidation of their national independence, and for the restoration of the Peoples' rights to their natural resources. In our activity, we shall continually strive to deepen the anti-imperialist content of the Organisation of African Unity.

We shall strengthen neighbourly and friendly relations with nearby states in all ways. We are working to broaden cooperation with Swaziland, Lesotho and Botswana, particularly in the economic field and in transport and communications. With Tanzania and Zambia - and we hope in the near future with Angola - we are establishing mechanisms for cooperation in a number of areas and for a concerted policy of economic development. Our state, with all the other countries of southern Africa, is sure that when South Africa and Zimbabwe are freed from the sinister system of apartheid and colonialism, close cooperation will be possible for harmonious development in this part of the Continent.

The People's Republic of Mozambique will develop relations of friendship, mutual aid and cooperation at all levels with its natural allies, the socialist countries. The People's Republic of Mozambique, in concert with all peace-loving states, will carry out an active policy in defence of Peace, Independence and Progress and,

in international cooperation, for general and universal disarmament.

Of particular importance in the struggle for Peace is our action, together with that of other states with coastlines on the Indian Ocean, for the transformation of that zone into a zone of peace. Within the international community, therefore, and in collaboration with other states in the region, we have decided to launch a diplomatic offensive for the denuclearisation of the Indian Ocean, for the dismantling of foreign bases in the area, and for the removal of all forces of states and organisations alien to the region. We are very pleased with the positive reaction that these ideas are finding in the international community, particularly in the socialist camp.

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CHAPTER III

THE PARTY

Vanguard force and leading force

The need for the Party

The objective of our struggle, the struggle of the Mozambican working classes, is the construction in our country of a society without exploiters and exploited.

To achieve our aims, we must wage an arduous, difficult, complex and prolonged battle against the exploiting classes. This struggle, the class struggle, is a struggle on many fronts, with advances and retreats, victories and defeats. A life-and-death struggle against a class enemy prepared to use any means in its defence.

In order to abolish definitively all forms of exploitation of man by man, the labouring classes must impose their own power in Society.

The workers will only be victorious in this struggle if they are united, organized and conscious of their objectives.

This is the experience of our People. It is also the historical experience of the class struggles and oppressed Peoples of the World.

When FRELIMO was founded, its objective was the overthrow of Portuguese colonialism. All anticolonialists, all who desired an end to the foreign domination of our Motherland were to be found in the Front. With this perspective, both elements of the working classes, striving for the destruction of the fascist-colonial system as a system of exploitation of man by man, and also elements of feudal origin and from our own embryonic bourgeoisie, whose objective was to overthrow colonialism in order to replace it with new forms of oppression and the exploitation of our working people, both of these were participating in FRELIMO. All these elements, emerging from profoundly different social classes, were united with a common objective - the overthrow of Portuguese colonialism.

As the liberation struggle advanced, FRELIMO began to find itself posed with basic problems that demanded immediate concrete solutions. These problems were, essentially, concerned with the kind of power that was to be instituted in the liberated zones, with the character of the army we wished to build, with the social relations of production that were to be established, with questions of women's liberation and the role of Women and Youth in the New Society.

The discussions, and even the practical actions developed within the heart of the Front regarding these key questions made it clear that the Front was far from constituting a homogeneous whole and that contradictory - and even antagonistic - interests existed within it.

The positions adopted by various members of FRELIMO expressed the existence of two lines. To the main contradiction - between the Mozambican People and Portuguese colonialism - was added the increasingly evident contradiction which opposed, at the heart of the Front itself, the exploited and exploiting classes of Mozambique. To the battle of the popular masses against Portuguese colonialism was added their battle against internal reactionaries.

With the defeat of the reactionary line headed by Simango, Nkavandame and Gwengere, revolutionary positions were consolidated within FRELIMO. Popular Power extended throughout and developed in the liberated zones. In July 1972 the meeting of the Defence Department synthesized the class struggle with the ideological struggle that was taking place within our ranks, opened a new debate about the class content of ideology and underlined the necessity for a clear delineation of ideology and practice within the FPLM and FRELIMO. The Fifth Session of the Central Committee carried this debate further, defining more precisely the class content and scientific character of the ideology developed by our struggle.

Thus it was in the course of the class struggle within the Front that the most conscious elements of the Mozambican working classes realized that, in order to win the class battle against foreign and national reactionaries, the working classes needed to be united, organized, conscious of the ultimate aims of their struggle, and armed with scientific ideology.

It was therefore in the course of their own struggle and as a result of an analysis of its evolution that the consciousness grew of the necessity to unite and organise the most consciously dedicated elements of the working classes' cause, to arm them with the scientific ideology of the proletariat and form the Party.

This situation made it possible to begin the long process which led to the creation of the Party. In 1973, Party committees were created within the FPLM. They brought together the most conscious, dedicated and disciplined militants, whose qualities enabled them to propagate our politics alongside all militants and the masses in

general. In January 1974 the Party School began its work, synthesizing and drawing theoretical conclusions from our experiences, and providing a theoretical base for cadres and militants.

The conquest of National Independence, the working classes' accession to power on a national scale, demonstrates even more clearly the necessity for the Party.

The first year of Independence saw the beginning of the creation of foundations for the construction of the Popular Democratic State.

The installation of the new popular democratic order led to a sharpening in the class struggle on a national level and provoked the intensification of imperialist aggression against our Republic.

Therefore it is increasingly necessary to arm those social classes that are striving to continue the revolutionary process, so that they can effectively take command of the process and neutralize all the manoeuvres of the class enemy, leading the Revolution to victory.

The difficult class battles demand that the working class, in close alliance with its fundamental ally, the peasantry, and with the progressive elements of other

labouring classes, should have at its disposal a vanguard party, orientated along the lines of the scientific ideology of the proletariat.

The creation of the Party emerges as necessary to the Republic's development.

In our Country, we began the revolutionary process without a vanguard party at our disposal. On the other hand, the Leadership had a vanguard character, and in practice the FPLM constituted an organized vanguard of the People. This was the means by which we tackled the National Democratic Revolution, in the context of the People's War of Liberation. The new stage in the intensification of class struggle and in the construction of foundations for the ultimate transition to Socialism demands a new instrument: the vanguard party. The Party's creation results from the clear understanding by the militants of FRELIMO and the most conscious elements of the Mozambican working classes that the construction of Socialism is impossible without a revolutionary party which can lead the masses of the workers and peasantry and other labouring sectors through every phase in the class struggle and through every economic, political and ideological battle.

With this in mind, the Central Committee is proposing to the Third Congress the creation of a vanguard Party, a Marxist-Leninist Party. It is also proposing that, considering the significance of our historic traditions of struggle, this Party should be called FRELIMO.

FRELIMO: a revolutionary party, a party of the new type

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

FRELIMO is guided by the synthesis of the revolutionary experience of the Mozambican people with the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism, particularly with regard to its principles, organization and methods of work. By dint of its composition and line it is the highest form of revolutionary organization of the labouring classes of Mozambique.

Our Party is a revolutionary party, whose aim is the destruction of the capitalist system and the construction in our Country of a society without the exploitation of man by man. Our Party must have a revolutionary programme, an advanced theory, a clearly defined strategy and tactics.

In the present phase in the construction of a Popular Democracy, the Party's central objective is the continued consolidation of national independence, the extension and strengthening of the popular democratic order, the consolidation and development of the national economy so as to build the political, ideological, technical and material foundations for Socialism.

The Party symbolises the very highest patriotic traditions and popular conquests achieved by its revolutionary fighters and by our whole People in the course of the struggle for national liberation, the people's war of liberation and the battle against the old and the new exploiters.

The Party elevates national unity, class unity and patriotic values to the very highest status. In it are realized the noblest sentiments and deepest desires of our People. It provides the guarantee for true National Independence.

The Party's historic mission is to lead, organize, orientate and educate the masses, thus transforming the popular mass movement into a powerful instrument for the destruction of capitalism and the construction of Socialism.

Marxism-Leninism: ideological and theoretical basis of our Party

If it is to be a real vanguard force of the labouring classes, our Party must be armed with a revolutionary theory which enables its members to understand exactly the laws of social development and of the Revolution. Without this ideological and theoretical basis, the Party is not in a position to direct and lead the struggle of the labouring masses. This ideological and theoretical basis is Marxism-Leninism, or Scientific Socialism. Marxism-Leninism is the theoretical synthesis of the rich experiences of oppressed classes and Peoples throughout the world, in their age-old struggle against the exploiters for the establishment of the new Power. Applied and developed creatively in the process of our struggle, it is a powerful beacon which lights the way that the labouring classes must follow in the process of constructing the new Society. Scientific Socialism is not a static doctrine; it is a science that is continually enriched by the daily experiences 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 develops in our Country. In this way, what our Party and our People do will continue to contribute to the development and enrichment of the scientific ideology of the proletariat.

In order to direct the class struggle in our Country, the Party must be a highly organized force, and this implies rigorous discipline. This is the lesson of our experience. It was not because we were a military party that we adopted rigorous discipline during the armed struggle. It was the harsh lesson of experience that taught us that only discipline, seriousness, organization, conscientious accomplishment of our tasks, enabled us to avoid pointless sacrifices. We therefore refused to allow liberalism, indiscipline, an easy life in its various manifestations to enter our ranks to undermine our cohesion, our unity of thought and action, our efficiency. War and comfort, Revolution and comfort do not go together. FRELIMO was not simply an armed movement against Portuguese colonialism. FRELIMO was also an armed movement against the vices inherited from colonialism, against individualism and liberalism, against indiscipline and disorganization. It is this experience of FRELIMO, this capital of discipline, organization, stringency in our work, that we must implant and enrich increasingly within the Party.

Accepting these demands entailed and still entails a constant battle against the way of life and of thinking, against the values and tastes of the old society. It entails a battle for the continuous transformation of man and of society, against the ideas of the old society, for the constant victory of new ideas and new popular values.

This is the meaning of the constant battle between the old and the new. It is not a matter of any battle between the old and new generation, old people and new people. A youth who lives the feudal or bourgeois life and ideals of the old society is more outdated than the older man who struggles continually to integrate himself into the new society and to free himself from the burdens and reactionary prejudices inculcated into him.

Socialist man is this new man. He who, although conscious of his limitations, wages a constant internal battle with himself to overcome the reactionary inadequacies and influences which he inherited. He who repeats revolutionary theory while continuing to mould his everyday life along the lines of a reactionary way of life is not a socialist man. The socialist man is he who not only in his thoughts but above all in his behaviour incarnates the principles of the People and the Revolution. This is the man who will make the New Revolution, and who by his dedication, discipline and enthusiasm mobilizes the masses with his example. He is the man who is building Socialism.

Democratic centralism - the fundamental principle for organisation and work in the Party

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

The essence of democratic centralism lies above all in the existence of a single centre which enjoys the confidence of all militants and of the masses in general to lead the Party organizations in their entirety.

Our Party represents the interests of the labouring classes as a whole, and not the private interests of individuals or isolated groups. Therefore the Party has to carry out a gigantic task to bring together all the forces existing within the masses and to orient them in the direction of a single objective, lending unity to disparate actions. The Party can only realize these tasks if its leadership is centralised, if the

Party has at its disposal a structure of leadership capable of directing all its organizations, a centre expressing the will of all, the consciousness and interests of the class.

Our experience of centralism has always valued its democratic aspect highly. During the armed revolutionary struggle, our Leadership, at the level of the Central structures as well as at the level of Province, District, Locality and Cell, was fundamentally characterised by mass participation in the control of everyday life and in the making of important decisions for the Nation and the development of the struggle. Continual meetings of the people took place where the masses organized by FRELIMO discussed problems.

This valuable gain was extended to the whole Country when the transition period began, constituting an important step forward, a decisive stage in the construction of real democracy in our Country.

The experience of democratic centralism, a conquest for the oppressed peoples of all the World in the process of their struggle and organization, therefore also has roots and traditions in FRELIMO.

Democratic centralism is a single, insoluble unit. We must therefore continually combine its two aspects: centralism and democracy.

We must combat all departures from the principles of democratic centralism, both those manifested in the relaxation of discipline, anarchy or lack of forethought, and those which appear in bureaucratic centralization, which sterilizes and impedes any task.

The internal democracy of the Party is based on the principles of democratic centralism. Democracy in our Party must be a democracy in action and not simply nominal. As in the past, militants must not restrict themselves to holding elections and discussing problems; they contribute through their practice to the orientation, application and enrichment of decisions.

The struggle for unity is constant and decisive. It is not an abstract struggle, as the basis for unity to be realized at any one time is intricately linked to the concrete situation and its requirements.

Collective leadership and free discussion within Party structures are the basic principles of internal democracy in a revolutionary party. The intensification of class struggle at the present time, the Party's new tasks, demand a constant fight for unity and internal cohesion.

Study and profound, systematic discussion within the Party provide the basis for the formation of common thinking within the leadership, thinking which will orientate the Party's entire activity effectively because it is adopted wholeheartedly by the whole leadership, all cadres and militants. In the revolutionary process of FRELIMO, the principle of discussing and working out decisions together constitutes an obligatory norm for our work. This is absolutely necessary if militants are to exchange experiences with each other, so as to be able to learn from each other, and so that every militant feels equally responsible for the defence and application of the decisions made, irrespective of the positions he adopted during discussion.

The Party supports and encourages the practice of criticism and self-criticism. In a revolutionary party, individual and collective criticism and self-criticism are constant arms in the detection and correction of mistakes, in learning and overcoming difficulties, eliminating inadequacies and educating and transforming militants. Criticism and self-criticism contribute to the strengthening of the Party, to its constant advance.

The Party will always distinguish between constructive criticism, which makes it stronger and more resolute, and destructive criticism, which divides and weakens. The Party guarantees the freedom of criticism and will discipline anyone who represses or distorts it. The Party will never permit anyone to exploit this freedom to undermine its unity or to attack its discipline.

The revolutionary process implies constant action, as in the past, to cleanse its ranks of elements overtaken by the advance of the struggle who identify themselves through their thought or practice with the aims of the enemy.

FRELIMO, an internationalist Party

FRELIMO is an internationalist Party. During the struggle for national liberation, the Mozambican people came to understand that the colonial domination was but one particular aspect of the imperialist domination of Peoples. The People came to understand the international character of imperialism and the vital necessity for the union and co-ordination of workers of the whole world in the success of the anti-imperialist struggle.

In our Country, internationalism arises as one conquest of our People's tradition of struggle against forms of exploitation and oppression.

As we embarked on the phase of Popular Democratic Revolution, the cause of the Mozambican working classes remains inseparable from the cause of the workers of the whole world. There exists a dialectical relationship between the class struggle

on the national and the international level. Proletarian Internationalism constitutes a permanent principle of the Party's revolutionary nature and a constant factor in its activity.

Making our Country a revolutionary base on which other Peoples and oppressed classes can rely in their struggle signifies the continual strengthening of the world anti-imperialist front.

In applying politics faithful to the principles of Proletarian Internationalism, the Party is the legitimate perpetuator of the internationalist traditions of our Labouring People, forged during the struggle for National Liberation, particularly in the People's Revolutionary War.

At the same time, in leading the Mozambican working classes towards the realization of their historic mission, our Party is not merely carrying out its national duty; the Party is also strengthening the process of liberating all Mankind, thus executing its internationalist duty. The Party, in supporting the People's liberation struggles or the struggle to build the New Society in countries where Popular Power has already been established, is consolidating the victories of the Mozambican working classes, thus executing its national duty.

Our vanguard party addresses particular attention to educating our People in an internationalist spirit, guaranteeing that even in their most difficult moments the masses will know how to be internationalists.

We are part of the great world anti-imperialist front. We are united with the National Liberation Movement. It is this which is fighting in the front line against the most violent and aggressive forms of imperialism: colonialism, racism, apartheid, Zionism and neo-colonialism. The fight of the oppressed Peoples deals mortal blows to our permanent enemy, neutralising and destroying a significant part of the aggressive forces, sharpening the change in the balance of forces in favour of the cause of independence, freedom and progress.

The socialist camp, constituting the free zone of mankind, is the reliable strategic rearguard for oppressed classes and Peoples, the decisive force which, on a world scale, neutralizes imperialism and accelerates the process towards liberation.

With us is the anti-imperialist Democratic Movement which, in difficult conditions within the capitalist countries, is fighting to neutralise the aggression of imperialism, to maintain peace, reduce the power of the monopolies and support the liberation struggle.

The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, of which we are a part, is part of the anti-imperialist front. It is an important force in supporting the liberation struggle, in the fight against imperialist policies of war and domination, an essential force in the recovery of the Peoples' rights over their natural resources.

It is the duty of all revolutionary forces to consolidate and extend the broad anti-imperialist network. FRELIMO will struggle, as in the past, for the cohesion of the World Revolutionary Movement. In particular, it will make every effort to contribute towards the increased broadening of the fighting front against the imperialist and racist system in southern Africa, the permanent and principal enemy of the African peoples.

We resolutely defend the principle of peaceful solution of contradictions between States; we are in favour of the prohibition of the use of force in inter-state relations. We only have recourse to force in the case of aggression directed against us.

We will struggle to consolidate the broadest front in defence of Peace. The forces of Socialism and Revolution express totally the wishes of the vast masses for Peace. To impose Peace on the warmongering circles of imperialism and racialism is a result of mass struggle and a victory for the masses. The facts show that this victory is within our grasp.

On Party members

All criteria for the selection of Party members should take account, above all, of the class nature of the Party and the vanguard role it plays in leading the labouring classes of Mozambique. Members of the Party should possess outstanding political and moral qualities and should be dedicated revolutionary militants. Party members constitute the most advanced and conscious part of the labouring classes, especially of the working class and the peasantry.

These requirements for anyone joining the Party are not obstacles which only special people can overcome. The Party is made up of members of the working class, peasants and other revolutionary workers and intellectuals. What distinguishes them now and will distinguish them in the future is above all their greater class consciousness, their ideological steadfastness and,

consequently, their great revolutionary spirit. Nobody is born with the qualities of a Party member, with the qualities of a revolutionary militant. Any worker is capable of being a Party member, providing he is prepared to serve the People. The task of achieving the qualities of a Party member depends on each of us, on our willingness to make sacrifices, on continually studying and applying our revolutionary ideology, on waging an internal war on vices and false ideas, on accepting the transformation of our ways of thinking.

The Party accepts a worker as a member when he shows in practice that he is joining the Party in order to serve the broad masses more effectively. Membership of the Party is open to all workers of Mozambique who are entirely dedicated to the cause of the Party, the Country, the People and Socialism, and who, living exclusively by their labour, both accept and direct all their ability and energies into the realisation of the Party's Statutes and Programme.

To be a member of FRELIMO is a great honour and a weighty responsibility. The FRELIMO member distinguishes himself as being a dedicated servant of the masses, whom he loves and respects deeply: he is characterised by his loyalty to the Party, his collective spirit, his honesty, modesty and simplicity. The Party member is a tireless fighter against injustice, corruption and ambition. The Party member has a healthy family life and gives a revolutionary upbringing to his children. He fights against polygamy. He is a defender and promoter of the emancipation of women. The Party member is an internationalist militant, showing solidarity with those struggling against colonialism, capitalism, imperialism, neo-colonialism and racism.

FRELIMO is called on to carry out the great complex tasks leading to the revolutionary transformation of our society. This necessarily implies that Party members should be transforming agents in our society. In this context, it is not enough simply to accept the Party's Statutes and Programme. The member of FRELIMO is obliged to work in a Party organisation, thereby actively engaged in the revolution.

The Party member must zealously carry out any task assigned to him, with a strict sense of discipline. The Party member accepts as a duty continual political study to raise his ideological and theoretical level, in order to better understand, apply and spread the principles of Scientific Socialism. The Party member always works in close contact with the masses, always receptive to their problems, desires, criticisms and suggestions, explaining the political line to them, uniting and organising them in order to carry out the tasks which have been decided on. It is a central concern of the FRELIMO member constantly to win new forces for the Party.

The Party member educates the masses above all by his example. He always attempts to be an exemplary worker, leading the struggle to increase production and productivity, and professional knowledge. The Party member sets an example in the defence of the Country and in defending and consolidating the revolutionary gains of our People. He is ready to sacrifice his life to serve the People. He participates actively in the organisation and expansion of the popular militias and helps mobilize popular vigilance.

Such, briefly, are the demands that FRELIMO makes on its members so that our Party may rapidly become a strong, united, disciplined, efficient and combative organisation.

The rights of FRELIMO members clearly demonstrate the high level of internal democracy in the Party. The FRELIMO member has the right to elect and be elected to the executive organs of the Party. He takes part within its structure in discussing all questions of the life of the Party, and has the right to present proposals on these questions. The Party member may ask for clarification on any question from the Party organs at any level, including the Central Committee.

The admission of members to the Party will normally be preceded by a period of one year's candidature. His behaviour during this period will determine

whether the Candidate has the qualities for belonging to the Party. During this period, it will be the candidate's task to get to know more completely the principles, ideology and tasks of the Party, and to demonstrate his practical adaptation to the Party's style of life, demands and internal discipline. The period of candidature is not one of distrust towards the candidate. The fact that a worker is candidate means that the Party recognizes his potential and wishes to admit him to its ranks. The candidate is constantly supported and guided by members of the Party. This system guarantees that only the most conscious and dedicated workers enter the Party.

The admission of members is made by the respective organs of the Party, after an analysis of the life of each candidate proposed by at least two members. The admission by local Party organisations is subject to confirmation by the District Committee, and can only be carried out at least one year after the application for admission.

The Provincial Committee, dispensing with the period of candidature, may admit as members of the Party people who have shown exceptional qualities in political, ideological, economic or military combat or in popular vigilance. During a period of transition, and until further notice to the contrary from the

Central Committee, the period of candidature will be dispensed with and a special admission process established.

One specific question of great importance is related to the admission to the Party of the former members of FRELIMO. Membership of the Party will be granted from the date of their joining the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique - FRELIMO - to all those who belonged to FRELIMO before September 7th, 1974 (Victory Day), and who express their desire to be members until February 3rd, 1978, and have a moral and political record compatible with the Party's line. This criterion for admission allows those who accompanied the evolution of the struggle and remained loyal to the cause of the Revolution to pass automatically into the ranks of the Party.

The policy for cadre training

One question which deserves attention right from the start is the training of cadres. The leading activity of FRELIMO depends, in the final analysis, on the political activity which its militants carry out among the labouring masses. Our Party must concern itself with the political, ideological and cultural training of its members, in as much as it will be through them that we will go on to raise the revolutionary consciousness of the masses, their level of organisation, and their will and ability to build the New Society.

Political work among the masses demands cadres with a great sense of Party discipline, a high level of political consciousness and great organising ability; it demands cadres capable of freeing and setting in motion the immense creative initiative of the masses.

For the Revolution to advance, we need cadres able to understand correctly the problems of the area they live and work in. Cadres who enjoy the trust and respect of the masses. Cadres who can make an impression among the workers both politically and morally, through their irreproachable conduct. With this in view, we shall have to see to the ideological preparation of our militants. Our Party must create conditions for its members to engage in organised collective study of our theoretical and practical experiences and of Marxism-Leninism. Ideological study is collective, constant, organised and obligatory.

We must arm Party members with clear ideas about organisational work among the masses. The Party cadres should have scientific knowledge about ways of planning political work, about principles concerning concrete plans for organising the masses, about ways of preparing and directing meetings, and about how to draft reports. We should educate Party members to increase their capacity for vigilance and for organising popular vigilance. Finally, we must devote special attention to the overall training of Party members.

At the beginning of the Party's life, as a reflection of the current situation of the masses in our country, the Party will have amongst its members a great number who can neither read nor write. This is an important limitation on their political and ideological training. However great the will and dedication of these comrades, they will encounter serious difficulties in learning certain theoretical questions and in studying, applying and spreading certain directives of the Party. Therefore, the Party will take steps to raise the level of literary, scientific and technical knowledge of its members, which is an indispensable condition for furthering their political and ideological training.

In training cadres we shall combine theoretical programmes with practical activity, political education with participation in collective production. In training cadres, a special responsibility falls to the Party School, which already possesses vast experience. Such experience must be constantly synthesized and deepened to meet the demands involved in training a growing number of cadres.

The Party Leadership must see to the publication, within a short time, of a periodical bulletin aimed at raising the political and ideological level of its members, and in which will be raised questions of theory and practice related to our experience and to revolutionary theory in general, as well as more important current national and international problems.

The Party and the People

Without a vanguard Party capable of leading the labouring classes through all stages of the class struggle, there can be no Socialist Revolution. But the Vanguard Party cannot win on its own. It is the organised People, the broad labouring masses, who make the Revolution. The central task of the Party consists precisely of uniting, organising, educating and leading the masses so that they can make the Revolution.

The strength of our Party lies in its close links with the masses, in its ability to organise and lead the masses. FRELIMO will always be rooted in the masses,

continually educating them so that they acquire a revolutionary consciousness, involving them in active struggle against their exploiters.

A fundamental principle of the Party's activity is its constant contact with the People. Each member and each Party committee should give priority to discussing and analysing the policy of FRELIMO together with the People, and to mobilizing the masses in order to carry it out. It is not enough to proclaim the leading role of the Party - this must be won in practice. There is only one way for FRELIMO to affirm its place as the leading force among the masses: continuous, persevering work, defending the interests of the masses and struggling to meet the material, intellectual and cultural needs of the workers, carrying on the struggle for the People's just claims. Only in this way, through living close to the People and applying a programme that corresponds to the vital interests of the workers will the Party represent the highest aspirations of our People: aspirations for a better life, based on prosperity, abundance, security, justice and peace.

The work of FRELIMO among the masses is carried out through the local Party organisations. The level of mass leadership exercised by the Party depends directly on the dynamism, combativity and initiative of its local organisations. They are the point of contact between the Party and the People. The idea the People have of the Party is mainly the result of the work of its local organisations. In its political mass work, the local structures of FRELIMO will actively contribute towards the fusion of the Party's policy with the creative initiative of the masses, and towards the correct and efficient implementation of economic, political and ideological tasks. In this context, FRELIMO gives priority to the creation and functioning of its local organisations.

Ideological education of the masses

Colonial fascism has left deep scars among us in the form of reactionary preconceptions, ideas and values. There are also many examples of obscurantism. Vestiges of feudal ideology survive in our society, especially in superstitions and in discriminatory attitudes towards Women and Youth.

These retrograde aspects are fought through the action of the masses. The socialisation and industrialization of the country, the spreading of education and scientific knowledge, of the study of Scientific Socialism, are powerful contributions towards the liquidation of this inheritance.

The Party must attribute particular importance to ideological struggle in our society. Ideological education will provide the People with the scientific method of analysis so that they can use the laws of nature and society for their own benefit. The ideological education of the masses is an indispensable condition for eliminating superstition, obscurantism, and other forms of idealism from our society; it is a decisive requirement for our People's defence against ideological subversion by forces of reaction; it is essential for the liquidation of the decadent values of the bourgeoisie.

To educate the masses ideologically is to develop their revolutionary consciousness, their determination to struggle, their love of work, their patriotism and their internationalist spirit, strengthening their confidence in the Party and in the ideals of Socialism. The Party will give priority to spreading our class ideology amongst the broad masses. The Party will use all the weapons at its disposal, such as the media, libraries of revolutionary literature and the setting up of study circles, in the gigantic task of educating our People in ideology.

Schools should become centres for spreading the ideology of our class. Legislative and juridical measures will support the fight by the Party and the democratic mass organisations to suppress the decadent values of the bourgeoisie and of feudalism.

Information and propaganda

The work of information and propaganda is basic to the political mobilisation of our People round the great goals of the Party. To inform, educate and mobilise are the central tasks of Information and Propaganda. These complement the political activity of the Party, take its political line to the furthest-flung points of the Country and educate the masses.

Under the leadership of FRELIMO, the work of Information and Propaganda is

organised on a national level. A network of popular correspondents is being set up in the Provinces; People's Papers are spreading over the whole country telling people what is happening in their neighbourhood or locality; the contents of the Press and Radio have been greatly changed.

To make this sector meet the needs of the present stage of building the material basis for Socialism, it is necessary to organise and co-ordinate the structures and organs of Party and State Information, and to train cadres to carry out the interests of the working class and peasantry in the work of Information and Propaganda. It is also necessary to link the activity of Propaganda closely to the political activity of the Party organisations and militants among the masses. In the short term we shall begin publishing the Party organs Voice of FRELIMO and Voice of the Revolution again. The Party will arrange regular meetings for the media with the Party and State structures, to analyse and plan the work of Information and Propaganda. The Party will train cadres for this sector, so as to improve the standards of present journalists and create new ones. In the medium term, a technical college of journalism will be established. The Party will also carry out effective Information and Propaganda work to project our national realities abroad.

Democratic mass organisations

Vanguard elements, especially from the working class and peasantry, are organised in FRELIMO. The popular masses are assembled in democratic mass organisations. These constitute the link between the Party and the People. In them FRELIMO can find an inexhaustible source of revolutionary energy. The mass organisations are the great school where the consciousness of millions and millions of workers, men and women, old and young and 'continuadores' * can develop. They are the recruiting ground and the centre for the continual training

* "continuadores" - lit. the continuers: FRELIMO's term for the children who will 'continue' the Revolution.

and improvement of Party militants. The democratic mass organisations constitute the fundamental means of broadening and consolidating on a national level the wide-ranging popular anti-imperialist front: they are a school of democratic life and organised participation by the People in social life. They enable FRELIMO to feel and to know at every moment the problems, needs, opinions, criticisms and suggestions of the various sections of the population.

After the creation of our Party, the mass organisations which already exist will have to be extended and new ones formed. The Organisation of Mozambican Women will have to continue and intensify its work of mobilizing and organizing Mozambican women, especially working and peasant women, aiming at their emancipation through active, conscious involvement in the many tasks of the Popular Democratic Revolution.

The Party will dynamise the creation of trade unions, capable of playing a decisive role in organising, raising the consciousness of and defending the interests of the workers. The Party will create organisations for Youth and for the 'continuadores', with the great task of ensuring the socialist education of our new generations, who are the main source of future cadres for FRELIMO.

Co-operative organisations will be set up to defend the interests of their members, to consolidate the collective spirit and to involve new forces in the movement for co-operation. The organisation of peasant co-operatives is of particular importance in this area. Organisations will also be founded for journalists, writers, artists and scientists.

The Party will intensify its work in mobilizing and organising residents in villages and communal districts. This work will contribute decisively to organising the life of the masses in collective democratic moulds, and will enable residents to give effective direction to the life in their village or district.

The Party will also found recreational, cultural and sporting associations whose basic aim will be to create conditions for providing entertainment and physical and cultural education for the broad masses, without any discrimination.

Finally, the Party will devote special attention to forming solidarity associations. These will contribute to the development of friendly relations with other Peoples, supporting the world-wide struggle for Peace, against imperialism and exploitation, and educating our People in the spirit of internationalism.

The work of the democratic mass organisations is led politically by the Party and supported by it at all levels. At each level, the leading body of the mass organisation is given its orientation by the corresponding leading organ of the Party. All Party members should participate actively in the work of the democratic mass organisations.

Learn with the masses in order to teach the masses - this is the revolutionary principle according to which every member of FRELIMO should work.

The Party and the State

The Party and the State are two distinct entities. The Party is the highest form of political organisation of the labouring classes. The Popular State which we are building is the main instrument for putting the Party's policy into practice. The Party leads and gives direction to all State activities. The Party is not a substitute for the State.

In practice the leading role of the Party in relation to the State works in the following specific ways:

1. The Party establishes the strategy and tactics to be employed in dismantling the colonial State and in building the Popular Democratic State;
2. The Party takes steps to guarantee that positions of responsibility in the State are occupied by Party cadres, dedicated to the revolutionary cause;
3. The Party uses the State as an instrument with which to carry out its revolutionary policy. In this way, the Party draws up the basic lines of development in all areas of social life and controls their implementation. These lines of orientation are reflected in the laws of the State. The laws of the State express the directives of the Party and ensure that they are carried out in practice;
4. The Party creates conditions for local organisations to be set up in all State structures to carry out its political line;
5. The Party carries out continuous work on a large scale in training vanguard workers and peasants to occupy leading posts in the State apparatus;
6. The Party educates State employees in the spirit of serving the masses. The Party mobilizes all workers in support of the State.

Political work within the State apparatus is very important. In it lies the key to transforming the mentality of State employees, and to implanting the revolutionary ideology of the proletariat at the level of the State apparatus.

Political work within the State apparatus is a priority task for local Party organisations. The main tasks for Party organisations in the State organs are:

1. To educate the public service workers politically so as to involve them consciously in the revolutionary process;
2. To combat bureaucracy, arrogance, abuses of power, indiscipline and corruption;
3. To lay the basis for close collaboration between the workers in the public services and the masses, especially the workers and peasants;
4. To support the State organs in their work.

Building and consolidating the Vanguard Party

In the short term our main task is to build the Party. We must resolutely engage in creating Party organisations in the factories, co-operatives, offices, military and paramilitary bodies, within the state apparatus, in the villages and communities, in all workplaces and residential areas.

As a first stage we must give priority to creating local Party organisations in workplaces with the greatest concentration of workers, and in the military and paramilitary bodies. A plan of priorities must be drawn up and rigorously complied with.

When a Party structure has not been created in any particular workplace or residential area, the Dynamising Group in that place will continue to function. The Party Leadership will organise the implantation of the new structure in collaboration with the Group. It is important to go ahead with the selection and admission of the most conscious workers as members of the Party.

We must create Party organisations everywhere that people work or live, from the Rovuma to the Maputo; we must bring into the ranks of the Party an ever growing number of vanguard workers; we must dynamise the process of training cadres for the Party: such are the central tasks as regards the creation and consolidation of our Party.

(In: People's Power, London, Mozambique, Angola and Guiné
Information Centre, (7/8) 1977, p. 30-43)

Chapter 4

THE PRINCIPAL TASKS OF DEVELOPMENT

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Strategy for development

In the context of the tasks of the Popular Democratic Revolution, the fundamental aim of social and economic development is the building of the scientific and technical base for the transition to Socialism. In carrying out this aim we shall have to engage in a long and difficult battle for the effective conquest of economic power. This will gradually make it possible to raise our people's material, social and cultural living standards.

Our strategy for development rests on agricultural production. The Communal villages are the fundamental lever for liberating the people in the rural areas.

Industry is the dynamising factor for economic development. The construction of heavy industry constitutes the decisive factor for our total independence, enabling us to break from our integration into the imperialist system.

The building of Socialism demands that the economy be centrally planned and directed by the State. Planned management is one of its basic characteristics.

It falls to our State to create structures able to organise, direct and develop the economy, planning and rationally distributing the productive forces throughout the country. It falls to the State to guarantee the full use of human and material resources at regional level, linking centres of production and consumption, and therefore developing the rural areas and the towns in a balanced way. In this context, the State also creates the material conditions to guarantee the right of all citizens to work.

The state-owned sector of production must become dominant and determinant; so the establishment of state-owned firms is a priority objective. These state enterprises are the indispensable instrument for the country's planned, harmonious, secure and independent development. They are the great school where the working class will develop and equip itself for the class struggle.

In the short term, we shall proceed to reorganise the productive units with Management Committees, and to publish laws to regulate their transformation into state enterprises and co-operatives. All the strategic sectors of the economy must be under state control. In certain cases association with entrepreneurs through mixed companies will be the most correct way of overcoming our country's financial and technological shortcomings.

The co-operative sector, the other essential form of collective production, is actively supported by the Party and by the State.

The strategy for economic and social development requires that a financial policy be designed which reflects the popular nature of our struggle. Basically this consists in revolutionising the fiscal system and creating a credit policy to support the growth of sectors decisive for the development and construction of Socialism.

Fiscal policy should be an instrument to ensure State control of the economy. It will channel towards the State a great part of the surplus from production, thus guaranteeing that this will be used in the sectors that have socio-economic priority. The state-owned sector of the economy will tend to be the principal source of state finance.

The State will progressively tax earnings from capital, having in view less taxation on earnings from labour. State fiscal policy towards incomes is aimed at the establishment of rates directly proportional to the levels of income. These principal alterations in fiscal policy will be put into practice, reflecting the new power installed in our country, the power of the worker-peasant alliance. Radical transformation of the fiscal system depends, however, on the transformation of our economic structures.

Regarding credit policy, the process of revolutionising the relevant structures must be begun. Credit policy must be directed towards effective support to the priority sectors of our economy, particularly the state-owned enterprises and co-operatives in agriculture, industry and commerce.

The Bank will be reorganised to allow the State to exercise effective control over the financial sector and to accomplish the aims of our economic and social development strategy.

The recently nationalised insurance sector will apply a policy of insuring against risks involved in production with preferential rates for priority sectors, particularly for forms of collective production.

Social security will operate so as to provide, gradually, effective assistance to all aged and disabled workers, and to guarantee pension rights for all. The system of insuring against accidents at work and while travelling must be reviewed in order to allow more efficient cover of the relevant risks.

The state revenues are the principal means for the constant improvement of the People's living conditions. The finance for more schools, for new hospitals, for more People's Shops, better transport, new jobs and factories, depends directly on the State revenue deriving from taxes. Each citizen has a duty to pay his taxes in full and on time. These are contributions from the entire People to improve the conditions of the People themselves. The Party will mobilise the People to pay their taxes.

Our total development strategy leads to a break with our dependence on imperialism. This choice imposes, as of now, a joint effort with friendly African countries and other progressive developing countries and with the socialist countries. Co-operation with friendly countries and with progressive organisations furnishes our country with the rich experience of the workers of the entire world in the struggle for economic independence and allows us to accelerate the process of building the material base for the transition to socialism.

We want to establish economic relations and relations of co-operation with all countries. Our struggle is taking place within the context of the developing countries' fight for a new international economic order. The recovery and control over natural resources and the establishment of just, equitable economic relations are fundamental aspects of this struggle. We are fighting to create a new type of relationship with all countries, based on reciprocal advantage and on full respect for the sovereignty and independence of each country.

In non-strategic sectors of the economy, private activity will be allowed in so far as it scrupulously fulfils its social objective and participates in national production, within the framework of the aims laid down by the State and in accordance with the interests of the popular masses.

One particular aspect of private activity in Mozambique is that relating to the artisans and petty proprietors. The dependence of the colonial state on big capital led to a disregard for these producers who were isolated, subjected to a merciless credit policy and over-burdened by the need to finance the supporting infrastructures for their activities.

Today this sector faces innumerable difficulties which range from the sabotage in supply of raw materials by big companies, and their high cost, to a lack of

financial capacity. These difficulties can only be resolved correctly by the gradual and voluntary organisation of this sector into co-operatives. Supported by the Party and the State, these will guarantee stability in the lives of their members. They will ensure the distribution and sale of their products and the supply of raw materials under more favourable conditions.

New private capital investment, indigenous or foreign, will be allowed in so far as it plays a role in building our economic base, either by producing foreign exchange through exports, or by helping to satisfy the people's basic needs. New investments must always comply with the obligation to train Mozambican workers and raise their technical and scientific level.

The Popular masses in Economic and Social Development

Throughout the first year of independence, the enemy resorted to provocation and agitation among the labouring masses with the aim of blocking the recovery of the national economy. To this end, he played upon the low level of class consciousness among many workers.

A fundamental task for the Party and the State is to speed up the transformation of labour relations, promoting growing participation and decision-making on the part of the labouring masses in the organisation of their own work. The sharpening of the class struggle and the development of the productive forces demands increasing workers' control over production and a new style of leadership in the productive units and establishes the unity of directing and executive functions.

We should consolidate the working class's organisational offensive in the state-owned sector of the economy (because of its dominant role): this should be through the institutionalisation of Workers' Assemblies. In each state-owned or mixed enterprise, representatives of the workers' association and of the Party structure must form part of the bodies that support the management.

In firms in the private sector, the administration must be obliged to meet regularly with the workers' organisation and with the political structure in order to keep the workers informed on the productive process and on the management's activities.

All social benefits are linked to an increase in production. Social development is strongly conditioned by economic development. We cannot distribute what we do not have. The country's economic and financial situation is difficult and our economic dependence on imperialism remains a reality. So it is important that we set ourselves priorities, with safeguards for our independence in mind, and ensure that these are carried out with austerity. Through the coming years, the extension of social benefits will depend directly on the active participation of the organised People in carrying through these priorities and on increases in production and productivity.

It is essential that we draw inspiration from the rich experience of organising life in the liberated areas. During the war, under more difficult conditions, and with fewer technical cadres and resources, we knew how to define our priorities and how to find ways and means of implementing them. Inspired by the experience of the liberated areas, the Party should direct our structures towards the constant search for popular solutions, organising and mobilising the masses to build and support schools, health centres, nurseries and other social undertakings. An increase in the quality and the quantity of our production is fundamental to freeing us from hunger, want, misery and illness.

Increasing training of workers and peasants in the field of the science and technique of the productive process is a decisive front in the battle for complete

independence. On a par with the development of education, all structures – state or private – should, in a co-ordinated way, launch permanent and successive professional training activities for the nation's workers.

The Party should be the driving force in the creation of habits of thrift and austerity at all levels, so as to increase the Country's capacity for internal accumulation, for the benefit of the whole people.

Development of Agriculture

The isolation and dispersion of the peasantry, and the technological backwardness resulting from colonial oppression have determined that the productive capacity of the peasantry is far from satisfying the basic food needs of the country.

The Revolution demands that we extend the experience of the liberated areas to the entire country. The organisation of peasants into rural communities is essential for the development of collective life in the countryside and for the creation of the necessary conditions for socialised agriculture. Because it generates a common surplus, collective production is the only way of enabling the Mozambican peasant to pass to more advanced methods of work and to introduce mechanised production and the first forms of industrialisation in the rural areas.

The Communal Villages are our chosen strategy for socialisation of the rural areas. It is in these, through collective production, that the workers' ideological battle grows stronger. The villages permit a rapid growth in revolutionary class consciousness and the consequent freeing of the workers' immense creative capacity. The organisation of the people into Communal Villages makes it possible for us to achieve self-sufficiency in food relatively quickly, and also enables us to satisfy health, educational and cultural needs. This is the great immediate aim of each Communal Village. The production of a surplus, in accordance with the national plan, is the objective to be attained, and is the essential factor for the expansion of the Communal Villages.

The future creation of agro-industrial complexes in the Communal Villages will diversify and complement rural activities, and will gradually diminish the differentiation between the countryside and the city. State-owned enterprises and co-operatives are the organisational forms in agriculture which are the basis for the Communal Villages.

The state-owned enterprises are the quickest means of responding to the country's food requirements because of the size of the areas they cover, their rational organisation of human and material resources, and the immediate availability of machinery. They will form centres for research and development on agrarian techniques and science. In the best-structured and most advanced state enterprises, the organised peasants should hold short training courses, themselves becoming agents for the spreading of more advanced methods of production.

Agricultural and livestock co-operatives are also a major form of organising work, fundamental for the socialisation of our agriculture. They allow direct control by the peasants over production, which is a decisive factor for the increasing growth of their social and political awareness and of their scientific and technical knowledge.

The cooperative movement, under the leadership of the Party, constitutes a huge mobilisation of the great masses of peasants for organised, conscious and planned participation in the socialist development of the whole country.

Within the overall strategy for agricultural development, the priority task is the satisfaction of the country's food needs and the production of a surplus to supply the big towns. The worker-peasant alliance also takes concrete form in the second priority defined for the agricultural sector: that of providing the necessary raw

materials for manufacturing industry. Production for industries in such fields as oils, cashews, textiles, meat and vegetable derivatives, fruit juice etc. is an aim of the greatest importance. The Party and the State must also mobilise and direct the country's capacity for agricultural production towards exports. We must, as a matter of urgency, surpass the maximum production achieved to date, particularly as regards cashew, cotton, sugar, tea and copra. Increased exports of agricultural goods, and the resulting revenue, are necessary for developing our industrialisation process.

To attain these three essential objectives, a great effort in agricultural investment is required, in technical training for our cadres, and in the expansion of our infrastructures.

River control, the increase of areas under irrigation, and the building of storage networks are basic tasks for the State and for the organised People. Initial work on the Curumane Dam will start this year: this is the first example of the implementation of this orientation. This dam will contribute to the control of the Incomati River, and, when finished, will provide irrigation for 10,500 hectares.

Crop diversification is essential to guarantee improved quality in the people's diet and the best use of our immense agricultural potential. We must make a deep study of this as a matter of urgency, seeking to use the peasantry's productive capacity throughout the year, and seeking a scientific adaptation of crops to the natural characteristics of our country's various regions.

We must pay attention to the siting of agricultural development projects, giving priority to those which can be placed close to main centres of consumption or distribution, and taking into consideration the balanced development of the country.

To enrich the people's diet, and to overcome the shortages caused by the theft and slaughter of cattle by the colonial bourgeoisie, the Party has an urgent task in mobilising and organising the masses, in the countryside and in the communal bairros in the towns, to rear small animals, particularly rabbits, ducks and chickens. It is the responsibility of the state structures to support this national campaign by training specialised livestock experts quickly and by using every means to spread the basic knowledge necessary for rearing these animals.

Nature Conservation

Our country's plant and animal life is extremely rich, and this wealth is the heritage of the entire people. Every citizen has a duty to protect nature, plant and animal life.

Under colonialism, our animal life was in many cases the object of indiscriminate destruction with the sole aim of procuring enjoyment and easy profits for a handful of capitalists. As for plants, these were never protected and precious species were cheaply squandered.

The policy of the Party and the activity of the State are directed towards ensuring ecological balance, protecting and developing animal and forest reserves, and guaranteeing the survival and restocking of the different plant and animal species. The Party will explain to the masses the ways of protecting our fauna and flora, and will organise them in this activity.

One particular matter related to nature conservation in our country is the 'queimadas' - the burning of the land. The way this is practised today has serious negative effects, destroying animals and plants and destroying the soil. The Party will guide our people in the struggle against this sort of activity by explaining to them the cases in which burning the land can be useful and how it should be done.

The rational use of animal life through hunting is an important contribution to the enrichment of the diet of the Mozambican people. In this respect we are concerned

with implementing the projects currently underway. The organised use of skins, teeth and other products derived from certain animal species, on the other hand, opens for us the possibility of creating new industries and increasing our revenue. The relevant structures must regulate hunting, including hunting for sport and recreational purposes.

Recently we fixed our exclusive fishing limit at 200 miles. This is a measure designed to protect our maritime resources, protecting them from the criminal practices and greedy pillage of foreign monopoly concerns. Our State will urge the international community to use the most severe repressive measures against such practices, as well as against those which result in ocean pollution.

The struggle against pollution also forms part of the battle to protect nature and to protect our health. The State will take measures to regulate economic activities with a view to nature conservation, the elimination of the prejudicial effects of pollution and the defence of the health of Mozambican citizens.

Industrial Development

The development and consolidation of a strong and independent economy demands that we embark on the road of industrialisation of our country. The all-round use of our natural resources, and of our national labour capacity, in process of transformation, will allow us to increase the value of our production and to break with our situation as a country that exclusively exports raw materials. In this way, we will get the full value from our natural riches, transforming them into a source of accumulation for new economic and social investments.

In the short term our target is to increase production from the existing industrial capacity, so as to exceed the maximum levels attained in the past in all sectors that provide the people's basic needs, or are directed at the export market. The conversion of sectors producing for superfluous consumption is a matter of urgency.

Within the general framework of the policy of planned industrialisation, we must place the building up of heavy industry, industry linked to the construction of machinery and to the production of raw materials for other branches of industry. Only by building up heavy industry will our country be able to ensure control of the productive process, free itself from dependence and increase its economic capacity decisively. The conditions are thus created for the constant renewal of the technology in use, and for a continual increase in productivity. Because the process of building heavy industry is lengthy and demands determination and austerity, it is essential that the Part, as of now, draws up the first tasks to be carried out.

We must speed up the work that is already underway on mapping out our natural resources so that we have detailed knowledge of our mineral and energy potential and of the viability of exploiting them. At the same time, we must begin an exhaustive study of the world market and the international division of labour, so that we can determine possible areas of development and their respective priorities.

The increase in value and the expansion of present productive capacity in agriculture, extractive industry, fisheries and manufacturing industry constitute sources for obtaining the financial means that will allow us to achieve this great goal.

As part of the effort required from existing industry, we must prioritise the organisation of the manufacturing sector based on agricultural produce: capacity in this sector is clearly under-used.

We must develop industries that support production, particularly engineering, cement, fuels, fertilisers and the packing industries. Upon them depends the reactivation of other economic sectors, particularly agriculture, and the earning of financial resources through exports.

The industrial sectors which supply basic needs of the people assume an

immediate importance. So, factories producing foodstuffs, clothing, footwear etc. should be organised around the real needs of the working masses, converting production lines that were designed for the luxury consumption of the colonial elites. This should not mean a drop in the quality of the products, nor carelessness in the finish. Increase in the production and in the workers' productivity in these sectors in an immediate task.

The reactivation of timber production and its derivatives requires the creation of structures to bring it rapidly under control and to draw up an inventory, and that we study alternative ways of using it. The project for an industrial timber, paper and pulp complex is now being studied. The economic dimensions of this project and its social implications make it a priority to start building it. This complex is expected to be completed within the next fifteen years, and during its various phases will provide work for many thousands of workers and peasants. When fully operative, it will bring important financial and economic benefits. We are laying particular stress on this project because it synthesises three basic principles of our industrialisation policy. This complex will be built in Manica Province, thus conforming to the need for decentralised national development. The industrial complex will be situated in an area served by various means of easy communication so as to minimise the production costs. Finally the project envisages the integration of the various stages of production into the one factory, so that the fullest use can be made of our raw materials. Furthermore, it will earn revenue for the country and provide jobs for many workers.

Restoring production in manufacturing industry depends on our ability to supply raw materials. Hence it is important, alongside the development of the agricultural sector, to increase production in the other sectors which form the basis for manufacturing, particularly in extractive industry. Expanding our extractive industry is a central question for industrialisation in Mozambique, and this at once demands a great effort in geological investigation, and to increase the exploitation of those resources we already know about. This investigation should give priority to locating and evaluating reserves of ferrous materials and of hydro-carbonates. The deposits at M'kanha and Honde and the gas reserves at Pande need particular attention. Coal mining at Moatize is being increased and it is forecast that by the end of 1979 production there will be nearly four times greater than before independence.

The Party's industrialisation policy demands full knowledge and rational use of our energy resources, whether in solid and liquid fuels, or in hydro-electric energy. For the correct planning of our country's development it is essential that the State keeps control of the decision-making mechanisms in this strategic sector.

At the moment Mozambique possesses more energy capacity than it uses. As well as the study of unused potential, we must give priority, in this field, to making use of the available energy to dynamise the productive units.

In the fishing sector, we must develop the use of our immense off-shore natural resources to enrich the people's diet and to export the surplus, particularly those species of high commercial value. To achieve this, we must support and make the most of small-scale fishing activity, particularly in the cooperatives. The expansion of the state-owned companies' fishing fleets is a priority, as is the restoration and expansion of the network of cold stores. With the cooperation of friendly countries we will supply the entire internal market with fish within three years. Developing the fisheries will lay the basis for the appearance of new industries in canning, oil and flour.

An essential part of the defence of our sovereignty is the organisation of ways to safeguard the riches of our continental platform and territorial waters.

Development of Trade

The satisfaction of the people's needs and the full use of our national productive capacity require an efficient network for commercial distribution.

One of the central and immediate concerns of the Party and of the State is to fill the needs for essential products. Difficulties exist at present in the supply of essential foodstuffs and this means people have to wait for long hours in queues. This is basically due to the crisis in the capitalist distribution circuits, and to the drop in production and productivity. We are already waging an intense struggle to eliminate the causes of the difficulties we are experiencing and to create the conditions to overcome them as quickly as possible. The People's Shops have already established a network of more than seventy fixed selling points, and another one of mobile shops. Shortly we will have set up People's Shops in all districts. Through the increasing number of People's Shops, and particularly through their extension into new districts and localities, we will add to the distribution network for the goods the population needs and ensure state control over the trading circuits.

The creation of new consumers' cooperatives and the perfecting of those that already exist, directly controlled by the popular masses organised by the Party, will be an efficient weapon for fighting against hoarding and speculation in essential commodities, and will make goods available to the people at accessible prices.

Along with mass mobilisation for increased production and productivity, and the organisation of the state apparatus to direct the economy, these initiatives will allow us to overcome the present crisis of supplies.

It is the job of the Party structures to organise the masses into people's committees for the struggle against speculation, hoarding and illegal trade.

The development and planned use of various means of communication and transport - including non-motorised forms - will make a decisive contribution towards solving our distribution problems. The creation of infrastructures to support an efficient transport network merits special attention from the State. We must plan the building of roads and railways and the reorganisation of our coastal trading fleet, bearing in mind that they should complement each other. In this field, the expansion of our maritime transport is important, to make the best use of our situation as a maritime country by building up a strategic fleet for world trade.

Foreign trade still presents an open door to a constant flight of revenue through well-known methods of sabotage which are difficult to control. The creation of state-owned concerns exercising increasingly effective control over this sector will also allow us to put an end to this sabotage.

Planning and controlling our imports is essential for the correct use of our foreign currency reserves. To free our economy from its dependance on imperialism we must continue to modify the commercial circuits we inherited, and develop trade with progressive African countries, anti-imperialist countries and the Socialist countries.

State Machinery for controlling the economy

Given the importance of this state machinery in the country's economic and social development we must give it priority in cadres and resources. The new state structures must correspond to the transformation of the relations of production. Meanwhile, change in methods of work and the transformation of the attitudes of those who work as public functionaries are immediate necessities.

Strengthening the state machinery for controlling the economy must be done with the greatest austerity and with a constant simplification of bureaucratic procedures, aiming at the correct use of resources and cadres. Economic problems must be

considered globally - departmentalism must be energetically fought against. Therefore, according to the level of priority of the particular problem, we must organise interministerial working groups at various levels and avoid solutions through bureaucratic methods.

For effective and coordinated action in each productive sector, the economic Ministries must create management units which should orient the state-owned firms, define the aims and objectives of the private firms in that sector, and supervise the assessment of the results. Through the management units, the economic Ministries will proceed to collect statistical data to be processed centrally.

In our state, a first experience in planning has been held, under extremely difficult conditions in terms of resources and information available. This arose from the need to anticipate the effects of the complete application of sanctions against the British colony of Southern Rhodesia on our economy and development. The Emergency Programme that we drew up enables us to make correct use of the material and financial aid that has been given to us, so as to confront difficulties arising from the application of sanctions. This aid, though it does not cover the economic consequences in full, reflects the international community's appreciation of our decision. The Emergency Programme includes projects in the fields of agriculture, industry, distribution, transport and communications, public works and the building industry. Drawing up this programme was a rich experience which will enable us to detect gaps and inadequacies, improve our use of resources, and understand in practice what priority structures are needed for the establishment of a rational and planned economy.

Within this perspective, the rebuilding of a national statistics centre, backed up by modern methods of gathering information, is an essential factor for beginning the process of planning the economy. This should be the centralised body for the data furnished by the various Ministries, where it will go on to be processed and analysed.

In order to dynamise the planning process, the National Planning Commission will be set up by the end of 1977.

Education and Culture

In the midst of the disintegration of the colonial-capitalist economic system, the People's Republic of Mozambique, in its first year of independence, launched the basis for its future, by developing education, reorganising the health system and improving housing conditions.

In education, it is indispensable that we continue to promote the constant increase in technical and scientific knowledge among the labouring classes, and guarantee their access to the higher levels of education. By imparting our knowledge of the scientific ideology of the proletariat, our educational structures should provide all Mozambicans with a scientific and materialist conception of the world.

The Party must increase its work in mobilising the organised workers to join in the battle for literacy and adult education, complementing the work of the State. Organisation of basic training, through special courses for workers, and through evening classes and correspondence courses, is a priority.

It is Education's task to ensure the political, ideological, scientific and pedagogic training of both teachers and pupils. Education must be intimately and permanently linked to production and to the struggle of the labouring classes. We must intensify the rigour of our political and ideological selection of cadres in the field of education. In particular, we must prohibit entry into the teaching profession or into the University of all those elements who played an active role in the ideological and repressive apparatuses of colonial-fascism.

It is important to consolidate our educational gains, by rooting education within

the labouring masses, and by continually improving its quality, organisation, and political and ideological rigour, in a way that corresponds to the successive phases of our economic development. The expansion of technical education for agriculture and industry is the priority for state investment in education in the short and medium term. This expansion is defined through a close and coordinated action involving the state machinery for controlling the economy.

The University must be situated within the general framework of the great task of building People's Democracy. Closely linked with the labouring masses, it should make a decisive contribution to the training of personnel with rigorous scientific and technical expertise.

On the cultural front, which has been decisive in past successes, the Party must intensify the gathering and preservation of our national heritage. It must unleash a battle against cultural conservatism, and increase national and international cultural exchange, creating conditions in which the revolutionary feelings of the labouring classes can be expressed. Cultural groups of a national character set up by our military forces and by mass democratic organisations are both the synthesis and the dynamising factor of this process.

Sport and Physical Education must be made widely available so that they are regularly practised among workers and peasants, and among youth in general. They are an important factor in the development of health and physical fitness. Concern with spreading sport and physical education to the entire people should be combined with the improvement of their technical quality.

Health

The long tradition of FRELIMO on the health front during the popular liberation war is the principal source of inspiration for the present stage of our development. The principle behind the Party's activity in this field is that of making each citizen a medical agent. This is the only possible way of spreading the advances already achieved to the whole people.

The development of preventive medicine is the main priority for our health structures. This corresponds to the basic needs and capacities of the country. In this sphere we will continue to develop activity around the health and nutritional education of the masses and around cleaner living conditions. At the same time, we will create conditions for the gradual extension to the entire country of a system of mother and child protection so as to reduce the current high rates of infant and mother mortality. In accordance with this priority, we will also develop its necessary integration with curative medicine.

Regarding health and social welfare in the centres of production, particularly in communal villages, the Party will mobilise the masses so that they themselves organise and build health centres, creches, dispensaries and other social centres. The State will support this activity of the masses, both by training technicians, and by guaranteeing the material and technical assistance needed for these structures to function.

In the next three years we will build an industrial unit for pharmaceutical products and increase research into how it can be expanded. As regards traditional medicine, we will carry out a thorough investigation of this, eliminating obscurantist practices and making full use, in a scientific way, of the positive aspects.

We must develop the political, technical and scientific training of health workers, as a basic factor for the gradual improvement of the People's health conditions. The Party will step up activity around the organisation of health workers so that they identify politically and ideologically with the worker-peasant alliance and promote the complete integration of health establishments into the life of the community.

Housing

Housing, an essential need of the People, is conceived of by the Party in its broadest sense. It includes houses, networks of infrastructures such as sewers, schools, medical posts, trade, parks and other social facilities.

With the nationalisation of rented properties, the concept of the house as a productive investment disappeared, a concept that is characteristic of the colonial-capitalist economy. The direct participation of the State in carrying out large-scale house-building projects should take place in a gradual way in accordance with the overall planning of the economy, and as a function of the development of the productive forces. In the State investment in this sector, we will give priority to the infrastructures and to the strengthening of the social facilities.

The participation of the People, relying on their own resources, is a basic precondition if we are to make headway in solving the housing problem. On this front, a priority task for the Party is the dynamisation of coordinated programmes of building by the People themselves, assisted by the State, the formation of house-building cooperatives, and campaigns for the better use of the nationalised properties. The first tasks of the State in this sector are the creation of a specialised housing credit institution and the drawing up of laws on the building of private houses.

The State must promote a policy of building homes, aiming at maximum use of materials that are already found inside the country, as well as the development of traditional techniques. On the other hand, it is essential to proceed with the restructuring of the building companies to achieve a more balanced distribution and use of the available resources throughout the national territory.

The Party's conception of life in the great urban conglomerations requires that the inhabitants be organised. It falls to the Party, through its local residential structures, to dynamise the process whereby individual life is transformed into collective life. The creation of communal bairros allows the establishment of relationships of a new type, cultural and political enrichment for the people who live there, and their organised participation in solving their own problems.

Labour

It is the Party's task to strive systematically to assert the dignity of labour as the motor force for the development of society, and to apply the principle 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his work'.

In the stage of People's Democracy, the scourge of unemployment, inherited from colonialism, will be eliminated with the development of the national economy. This is a gradual process which implies the balanced distribution of the population among the vast productive resources of the country. The main reason for the increase in unemployment in the urban centres is the constant influx of people into the cities, due to rural under-employment, the lack of supportive structures in the countryside and the cultural model brought to our country by colonial-capitalism. Economic sabotage and the crisis of the capitalist system have aggravated the problem. Workers in the building industry have been particularly affected.

In the first year of independence, the State expended great efforts to maintain unproductive personnel and enterprises in costly activity. These burdens of personnel absorbed more than 50% of the General State Budget. Many enterprises still do not produce enough to cover their expenses. Unemployment is also a problem faced by young people.

The development of the standard of living in the rural areas is a key factor in ending the migration to the big towns. The State must, as a priority, launch many schemes to train qualified people to take part in developing the rural areas.

Parallel schemes for industry and services must be organised at the level of all productive units and of the state apparatus so as to raise the political, scientific and technical level of the present workers, and to train the young ones.

We must give special attention to involving young people who have completed their studies in productive activity. To put an end to anarchy in the labour market, a body must be set up to make sure these young people are employed in a planned way, taking into consideration their technical and political qualities, and the priorities for the country's development.

Solving the unemployment problem depends on carrying out economic policies for national development. This is a solution by stages which requires vigorous struggle, launched and led by the Party, against wrong ways of thinking which still survive and are characterised by contempt for manual - and particularly for agricultural - labour.

The nationalisations carried out in the first year of independence were a factor in the decisive break with the bourgeoisie and with capitalism. The enthusiasm of the labouring classes showed that the head-on attack on privilege and bourgeois parasitism marked the beginning of a new stage in the class struggle in our country. It was this enthusiasm and participation which made us soon victorious over the crises which seized the nationalised sectors.

The experiences accumulated after the nationalisations in the educational, health and housing sectors, should be enriched and extended to all points in the country, to all the organised workers. The buildings are the birthright of the People. It is up to the organised People to control them and to participate in their upkeep and improvement.

On the housing front, the Party structures must lead constant activity designed to raise the level of awareness and technical knowledge of the tenants so that bairro (neighbourhood) committees can be formed which develop organised vigilance against saboteurs and ensure the day to day preservation of our housing stock.

It is a fundamental task of all workers, within the framework of the Party and State structures, to continue, with determination and enthusiasm, the consolidation and maximisation of our revolutionary conquests.

Chapter 5

THE ROLE AND TASKS OF THE STATE

The Class Character of the State

With the victory of the labouring masses over colonialism and the completion of the tasks imposed by the National Democratic Revolution, FRELIMO was faced with the question of what strategy and tactics to follow in the stage of the Popular Democratic Revolution.

The State has always been the instrument of power whereby the ruling class ensured that its interests were served. In our Country, the dominance of the colonial-fascist State was characterised by the greatest violence and brutality.

The aim of the colonial-fascist State, linked to the world imperialist system, was to ensure the exploitation of the People of Mozambique and the pillaging of our nation's natural resources. The whole of the State machinery - political, administrative, economic, repressive - all its organs and institutions, served directly to exploit and oppress the broadest strata of our People. For this reason, its destruction is an absolute necessity in building the new society.

In destroying the colonial State and building the Popular State, our inspiration came from the experiences of the liberated zones.

The labouring masses of Mozambique produced their first forms of popular power in the course of the armed struggle for national liberation in the liberated areas.

These were the embryonic form of a People's State, defending the interests of the most exploited and oppressed classes in society. The new organs of Power continue the principles of democracy, with the wide-ranging participation of the masses, militants and combatants in solving the problems of the war, production, commerce, education, health, in fact the whole organisation of collective life in each region.

The People's State was neither distant from the People, nor did it impose itself on them. On the contrary, it went out to meet their immediate needs and their deepest yearnings for freedom and democracy. By this means, under the correct guidance of FRELIMO, democratic life has struck deep roots in the habits and consciousness of the masses.

After the victory, the most immediate task was to extend the structures of People's Power already existing in the liberated zones to cover the Country as a whole.

The complex process of building People's Power on the level of the whole Nation of Mozambique raised new problems for which we were not entirely prepared.

It was not now a question of building up this Power in one zone, however big, or even in a Province. What we were aiming to do was to create structures of People's Power in the whole Country, to rouse the labouring masses from every locality to participate actively in running the State.

The experiences acquired by the Local, District and Provincial Councils in the liberated zones today constitute the basis for designing People's Assemblies at Local, District and Provincial levels.

The principle of the Party's leading role in the State and Society was tested and proven in our revolutionary struggle. It was the Party's militants who, chosen by the People, concretely met the interests of the most exploited strata of Mozambican society from within the organs of Power.

The Unity of Power and Democratic Centralism

In the present stage of building the material basis for Socialism and consolidating its ideological baseis, the State is an instrument wielded by the working class and peasantry in order to impose the will of the majority on a tiny handful of oppressors and reactionaries. It is the instrument of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

To carry out this task successfully and to satisfy the basic needs of the People, expressing the interests of the worker-peasant alliance, the State must be characterised by the unity of its power and must apply Democratic Centralism.

The unity of Power is fundamental to the realisation in practice of the ideological and class unity of the State, under the leadership of the Party. The bourgeois State, as opposed to the proletarian State, gives rise, owing to the internal contradictions of the bourgeoisie, to departmentalism and the separation of legislative, executive and judicial powers.

In accordance with our experience and the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, we reinforce ideological unity with the organic unity characteristic of the Vanguard Party and of the State which embodies the worker-peasant alliance.

This principle corresponds to the fundamental need for unity of action by the organs of state power, in order to smash the resistance of the bourgeoisie, to neutralize imperialism's aggression and to build socialism.

It is for this reason that the executive organ at each level is subordinate to the representative Assemblies of workers, militants and combatants. This is also why the decisions of the organs at a higher level are obligatory for the organs at lower levels.

The functioning and the organisation of our State are based on Democratic Centralism. The principle of Democratic Centralism implies combining centralized state leadership with the democratic activity of the masses and with the development of initiatives by the local organs of state power.

The class struggle and socialist development demand a careful analysis of the complex factors involved, political, economic, social and others. The victory of our struggle against imperialism and internal reaction, and the task of laying the material basis for socialism make it necessary to plan every step with a basis of strong central leadership.

This is the main reason why the State must centralize Power. To achieve the objectives of the Power of the labouring classes, the State must also provide democracy for the workers and peasants, for socialism grows out of the creative activity of the workers. One of the main tasks of the State in the present stage of building People's Democracy is to provide incentives and organisation for the creative initiative of the masses.

The principle of Democratic Centralism also implies knowing how to combine the application of directives from the central organs of Power with the real conditions of the Province, District and Locality.

The Organs of Power

An analysis of the construction of the People's Democratic State shows that the process of creating and implanting new organs of power has produced imbalances between the various national, provincial, district and locality levels.

Organisation of the new Power is very advanced at the national level, with the creation and structuring of the National Ministries and Directorates, and at the Provincial level through initiatives aiming to create Provincial Governments. This process is not so advanced at District and Local levels, where colonial structures are, to a certain extent, still functioning - structures which must be rapidly

eliminated. Communication between the various levels is also poor.

The basic point raised by these and other problems is the need to complete the destruction of the colonial-capitalist state apparatus.

The VIII Session of the Central Committee analysed the organisation of the state apparatus, especially at Provincial, District and Locality levels, and drew up basic guidelines for the complete destruction of colonial structures and the construction of a new state apparatus to express, in its composition, organisation and methods, the Power of the worker-peasant alliance. It is important that we should stimulate the application of these principles and guidelines and especially that we should hasten the creation of the new organs of state power at District and Locality level.

The Assemblies

The Popular Assembly, which is the supreme organ of the State and the legislative organ of the People's Republic of Mozambique, will shortly begin to function, with its provisional composition defined in the Constitution.

We reaffirm the need to wait until after the III Congress of FRELIMO before setting up the People's Assembly.

First, because the Central Committee forms the nucleus of the People's Assembly, by virtue either of its direct participation or of the selection of nominated members, so that it was necessary to await the election of the Central Committee corresponding to the present phase of the Revolution and to the creation of the Party.

Secondly, the III Congress is an opportunity for us to synthesize our experience of organising democratic life across the whole country, which will be an essential factor in the formation and functioning of the People's Assembly as well as of the Provincial, District and Local Assemblies.

The Provincial, District and Local Assemblies will also be set up with their provisional composition defined by the VIII Session of the Central Committee.

The People's Assembly will be called on to decide on the economic programme of the State.

The People's Assembly will define and carry out the new fiscal policy in accordance with the interests of the labouring masses.

The People's Assembly will be called upon to legislate on essential questions of internal and external policy, specifically on the family, property, use and development of land and of our natural resources, the organisation and functioning of state enterprises, cooperatives, mixed enterprises, on the structure of the judiciary and the People's Tribunals, on the organisation of Public Administration. As regards national policy, the Provincial, District and Local Assemblies will be the organs through which the popular masses will participate in solving their immediate problems and in directing and controlling the action of the government at various levels.

Through their elected representatives in the Assemblies, from Local to National level, the People of Mozambique will have a presence at all levels of decision, bringing out in practice the profound democratic nature of People's Power.

Local Organs of Power and Administrative Divisions

At the same time as the Assemblies are set up, the other structures outlined in the resolutions of the VIII Session of the Central Committee must be implemented.

Unless the implementation of the new structures is accomplished simultaneously and equally at both National and Provincial and at District levels and Local level,

the cities will continue to be privileged at the expense of the country. In creating the new state apparatus, due importance must be given to the districts and localities, because these are the base of Power. This demands a great and urgent effort to train cadres.

Another problem demanding our attention is the administrative division of our country, which still, in general, corresponds to the colonial administrative division. The latter was designed to cover very large areas, defined in accordance with the aims and needs of colonization.

The present needs of the country demand that we should work out a new administrative division which will guarantee the participation of the masses in the organs of Power and in the organisation of our life and which will enable us to consolidate our National Defence and carry forward our economic development. The development of the communal villages, eliminating the extreme population dispersion in the country, will be an important factor in redefining administrative divisions at District and Local level.

The Organisation of the Elections

In the process of elaborating revolutionary laws, the People's Assembly will ratify the electoral law, as proposed by the Central Committee. The electoral law will define the criteria, conditions and procedure for the general elections for the People's Assembly, and for the elections for the Provincial, District and Local Assemblies.

The electoral law will establish the broadest and most conscious participation of the popular masses in choosing their representatives in the People's Assembly, the highest organ of the State, and in the Provincial, District and Local Assemblies, which are the highest State organs at each respective level.

In order genuinely and effectively to establish the broadest and most conscious participation of the popular masses in the choice of their representatives, the electoral law will safeguard the class character of the organs of the People's Democratic State and the leading role of the Party at the heart of Society and the State. The point is to define criteria for the election of members to organs of People's Power and not to organs of bourgeois power.

The electoral law will also preserve the patriotic character of our institutions, excluding from the electoral process all those elements who identified themselves with colonialism and with the manoeuvres and conspiracies of imperialism and reaction.

General elections for the People's Assembly will take place by 7th February 1978. Elections for the Provincial, District and Local Assemblies will be staggered.

These elections will mark a climax of great significance in the History of the People of Mozambique.

For the first time in the History of our country, democratic elections to organs of state Power will be organised. For the first time in the History of our Country, millions of Mozambicans, men and women, will be able to exercise the right to elect representatives to the highest organs of the State at all levels, from local to national. For the first time in the History of our Country, tens of thousands of Mozambicans will be elected by the People to participate in the collective leadership of State organs at all levels.

The Organisation of Public Administration

The correct functioning of the state organs of People's Power requires these to be filled with cadres who accept in their everyday practice the content and character of the new Power.

The old kind of bureaucracy is politically, professionally, morally and ideologically incapable of carrying out the tasks set by the construction of People's Democracy. This fact, confirmed in all societies where the labouring classes take Power, acquires special features in our Country, arising out of the foreign nature of the colonial bourgeoisie in the last years of its domination in Mozambique.

After the defeat of colonialism and the acquisition of power by the working masses led by FRELIMO, the overwhelming majority of colonial bourgeois elements established within the state apparatus fled in disarray.

This fact was exploited by the reactionaries in two ways.

They launched campaigns of rumour-mongering and alarmist propaganda about the inevitable collapse that this disarray signified for our Country. The domestic bourgeoisie, modelled as heir and agent of the colonial bourgeoisie and imperialism, threw itself into an assault on positions in the state apparatus left vacant in the flight of the colonial bourgeoisie.

Our policy with regard to Mozambican functionaries is to win them for the correct political line, to reintegrate them into the heart of the broad masses, to transform them into true workers of Public Administration, in the service of the People. The present officials must develop their consciousness, waging an internal battle, freeing themselves from the burden of vices they have borne from the past, firmly rejecting the role which colonialism tried to assign to them. Those officials who show themselves incapable of being real servants of the People, have no place in Public Administration. We cannot allow enemy agents to remain within our state organs.

In order that state workers should be of the People and serve the People, it is essential for us to apply clear class discrimination in recruiting new workers for Public Administration.

New workers for Public Administration must be recruited from among elements of working-class/peasant origin and elements which identify with the working class/peasant alliance, specifically from our youth. It is primarily among workers, cooperativist peasants and the soldiers of the People's Liberation Forces of Mozambique that we shall find cadres for the Public Administration.

Building People's Justice

The Constitution of the People's Republic of Mozambique established a break with the colonialist past and the capitalist system. It defines the bases for an entirely new State, People's Democracy, and outlines fundamental principles for building Socialist Society.

Building a new legal order is a complex process, requiring study. This explains Article 71 of the Constitution which preserves that part of the previous legislation which does not run counter to the Constitution. But in this same article we define the need to modify and revoke in their entirety the legal norms which originated in the colonial period. In this way, the Constitution, in so far as it is programmatic, insists on the necessity of a completely new formulation of the Country's whole legal structure.

This task had begun to be carried out in the phase of Transition. Due to the nature of that phase, the laws laid down in the Transitional period were reformist rather than revolutionary in character. Even so, extremely important legislative measures were taken to ensure FRELIMO's exercise of Power, to frustrate and counter sabotage and other manoeuvres, to set in motion legal machinery aimed at making it possible for the State to control the economy, thereby ensuring the transition to a new economic order. So the demolition of the colonialist legal system began in the Transitional period, only to be speeded up with the declaration of Independence itself - through the Constitution - and the ensuing period.

In certain cases, this demolition has taken the form of legislative innovations introduced step by step. In basic questions, the demolition of the colonial-capitalist legal system has adopted the form of qualitative jumps, destroying to the very foundation important legal structures of colonial bourgeois law. This is the case of the nationalisations carried out in education, health, justice and the ownership of rented property.

The experiences we have reaped show that we should continue to combine both of these methods. We must fight the leftist tendency which maintains that all laws made in the colonial period should be abolished at a blow. Such a decision would lead us into anarchic situations and a crisis of authority which would be used by the enemy and which would be turned against the Power of the working class/peasant alliance itself.

The process of formulating new laws can and must be carried out quickly. To achieve this end, it is essential that the People be constantly proposing the necessary legal transformations to the legislative organs, through Party and State structures. In studying new laws it is especially necessary for the Party to dynamize the constant and active participation of the broad masses in working out suggestions and discussing draft laws.

Corresponding to the new legal system there should also be a new language oriented above all in the direction of simplicity. We must find a simple, popular language facilitating the understanding and publication of the laws among the masses, without prejudicing the necessary technical efficiency. We must find new ways of bringing the laws to the knowledge of the People, so that they can be adopted totally.

We are faced with the necessary task of dismantling the existing judicial structure as part of the destruction of the colonial-capitalist state apparatus in Mozambique. The new judicial system comprises the People's Tribunals, at all levels from the Supreme People's Tribunal to the People's Tribunal of the Locality or Communal Village. The Tribunals will be composed of elements expressing the People's Power.

The creation of new legislation and the codification of procedures for the People's Tribunals must take into account our People's experiences in preventing crime, resolving social conflicts and reeducating reactionaries and criminals.

In this context, the experiences of the liberated zones are fundamental. Revolutionary transformations included the organisation of judicial structures. In the liberated zones, it is the organised People who try criminals. They analyse every case presented to them, discussing and delving deep into the causes. For the People's Tribunals, the merely formal circumstances of the infringement, the discussion of which occupies so much time in bourgeois courts, are secondary. The organised People who judge the crime or other conflict are interested above all else in understanding the causes which determine the defendant's action. When it has established the causes and analysed their implications, the People's Tribunal is then primarily concerned to discover a suitable way to reeducate the trespasser, with a view to reintegrating him into society. Reeducation does not mean isolation. On the contrary, it means the intensification of contact with the life of the People, the customs of the People, the work of the People. The objective of reeducation is to free the trespasser from the influences which led him to commit the crime or unleash the conflict. The combination of political criticism, political study and the involvement in collective production plays a fundamental role in the reeducation process.

The Popular Tribunals in the liberated zones are both the instrument of Power and the school where the People complete their political, ideological and scientific training. Their essential concern is Man, and their principal task is to understand, study and eliminate the causes which lead Man to adopt anti-social forms of

behaviour.

The experiences of our People since taking over the Transitional Government should equally be borne in mind in organising the People's Tribunals. These experiences are very valuable for the study and formulation of legislation which is to govern the new People's Tribunals. They reveal how profoundly incompatible colonial and capitalist legislation is with the traditions, way of life and characteristics of our Society and our People.

The central task of the People's Tribunals is to preserve respect for revolutionary legality, and so they must examine the legality of the actions of State personnel, institutions and organs.

We have sometimes found it necessary to take decisive action against behaviour which violated revolutionary legality and the principles established in the Constitution which enshrine fundamental civil rights.

With the consolidation of the People's Democratic State, we are instituting a superior form of legality, revolutionary legality, in the People's Republic of Mozambique.

The General Path towards building National Defence and Security

National Defence and Security are the maximum expression of class Power. They are aimed at ensuring the interests of the class in Power.

During the war of liberation, the main mission of the People's Liberation Forces of Mozambique was to ensure the victory of patriotic interests.

Today we are a sovereign State, an anti-imperialist State, a State which is building socialism. We are an anti-racist State in a zone dominated by aggressive racist regimes which act as operational spearheads for imperialism.

Today, the main mission of the People's Liberation Forces of Mozambique is to defend our revolutionary gains, to guarantee our national sovereignty and territorial integrity, and our right to build socialism, our internationalist duty. The mission of our armed forces is one of Peace and in this they are supported by the whole of progressive humanity.

The police forces are our main weapon for ensuring public order and peace, for eliminating corruption and halting attempts by reactionaries and marginal elements to subvert social peace and calm.

To guarantee the accomplishment of their mission, the Party must identify its political work within the defence and security forces, constantly educating them in the spirit of the defence of our sovereignty, national unity and territorial integrity, our revolutionary gains, and in the spirit of international solidarity.

The period which our young men spend in the ranks of the defence and security forces should mark deep changes in their lives. They must learn conscious discipline. This point should also be used to eliminate illiteracy and to raise their level of scientific and technical knowledge.

The battle we are fighting is for the defence of the Motherland and for Socialism. Our defence and security forces must first of all be defenders of the patriotic cause and of the cause of Socialism. The cadres may only be chosen from among Party militants and members of the democratic mass organisations, who can be guaranteed to be devoted to the patriotic cause and to the cause of Socialism.

They should come from the ranks of the working class, peasants from the cooperatives, revolutionary intellectuals and from the progressive elements of the other labouring classes.

To build up powerful regular forces takes a long time and requires a great effort on the part of the national economy. On the other hand, it is possible to organise the People immediately to smash the enemy.

Our main strength lies in the broad masses, armed with our ideology, resolutely defending National Independence and their gains. The masses are organised in the People's Militias. The People's Liberation Forces of Mozambique are our main weapon – composed of the People's Army, the People's Navy, the People's Air Force, the National Service of People's Security and the different police forces.

The People's Liberation Forces of Mozambique must raise to the highest possible level their close unity with the popular masses, organising the masses in popular vigilance and participating with the masses in the social activities of production, culture, education, hygiene, health and sport.

In their mission of defence and security, the People's Liberation Forces of Mozambique will apply creatively the watchword: 'Win the class battle!'

Comrades – Men and Women of Mozambique

Today we are going to decide our future. Today we are going to begin a new battle which will demand sacrifices of all of us and which will require our total dedication. Today we are going to begin building our children's future, that future we dreamed of for ourselves, which was denied us by colonialism and for which we fought. We won the battle for National Independence. Let us begin the battle for National Reconstruction.

At this moment we are like somebody who, after long and hard days of walking, stops for a moment to remember the road he has already travelled, recovers his strength and then gets up to continue his journey.

At our First Congress we defined the necessity and tactics for the struggle against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism. At our II Congress we deepened our analysis, strengthened our ranks and resolutely opposed the exploitation of man by man.

We shall be what we build. Nobody will come from outside to create our prosperity for us. Nobody will come to make the Revolution in our stead.

United, organised, armed with our scientific ideology, with FRELIMO, the vanguard Party of our People, to lead us, we shall build the Nation we desire, we shall give our children the future they deserve.

Our Country is rich and generous. It is waiting for our hands, our work, our intelligence and our will-power to draw out of it the resources which will create our well-being.

Why should it worry us that the enemies of the People put obstacles in our path, of our experience tells us that a determined People always achieves the aims it sets itself? Our People is a courageous People aspiring to Progress and Peace. Our People United from the Rovuma to the Maputo, led by FRELIMO, will win the battle we are to begin today.

We shall win!

Socialism will win!

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