



Tempo

# CHARTING A SOCIALIST COURSE -

Briefcase with FRELIMO  
document is handed  
to President Machel

by William Minter

On January 18, at Madjedje in Mozambique's Niassa Province near the border with Tanzania, a small briefcase began a journey through the ten provinces and 110 districts of Mozambique, passed from hand to hand, to arrive in Maputo for the opening of the Third Congress of FRELIMO on February 3. It contained the documents of FRELIMO's Second Congress, held at Madjedje in 1968; its journey symbolized the involvement of all of Mozambique in the Congress about to take place, the first since Mozambique's independence in June 1975.

The Second Congress had taken place in the midst of struggle over many unresolved issues. Four years of war had disillusioned some who had expected a quick victory over the Portuguese. At the same time the victories won—the liberated areas established—had posed basic questions about the organization of a new society. Should there be collective organization of agricultural production? Should leadership be based on traditional structures of authority, or should new democratic structures be organized? Should the oppression of women be challenged, even when based on traditional practices?

The answers chosen by the Second Congress began to turn the national independence struggle into a revolution. It was this decision, commitment to transforming the basic nature of Mozambican society, that made it possible for FRELIMO to lead Mozambique to victory against Portuguese colonial-

ism. The people, especially those in the liberated areas, saw the war as their own. They accepted sacrifices that made it possible to survive Portuguese counterinsurgency campaigns, spread the war and transform life in the areas already under FRELIMO control.

## New Stage of Struggle

Winning the war against Portuguese colonialism was not the end of the struggle for the Mozambican people. Delegates gathered in Maputo for the

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**"Working in the factories, organized by the party, the working class acquires a high degree of organization and collectivization of work. Struggling for the social control of their own production, the working class sees the antagonistic contradiction which opposes it to private possession of the means of production."**

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Third Congress heard reports and debates which stressed that Mozambique's problems had not ended with the coming of independence.

The new state has inherited fundamental problems from Portuguese colonialism, including a poor economy, with the majority of the people involved in subsistence farming that barely gives them enough to eat. The economy had been designed to produce goods, wealth and comfort for the few—now it has to be totally reorganized.

There are other problems too. For years the Portuguese had kept education and skill to themselves. When they left, after independence, unable to adjust to ending their lives as colonial-

ists, they took with them not only whatever physical wealth they could carry, but also much of the country's pool of skill and knowledge. Production fell sharply with the mass exodus. Now workers are struggling to run factories with little technical training.

To add to its difficulties Mozambique is bounded on two sides by actively hostile regimes—Rhodesia and South Africa. It is still heavily dependent economically on South Africa, and vulnerable to Pretoria's maneuvers. In addition it is under continuous attack from Rhodesia.

In the face of these extremely difficult conditions, FRELIMO sought to clarify its longtime commitment to the construction of a socialist state in Mozambique. Seven theses, examining the conditions that exist in the country, and outlining the ideas and principles that FRELIMO proposed should carry the country forward to socialism, were presented to the population for discussion some months before the Congress.

Mozambicans participated very actively in debate on the theses. Meetings and study groups in town, village and countryside gave people the opportunity of participating very directly in shaping the future of their society.

At first, according to Mozambique press reports, many people said "Congress will solve our problems." As discussion evolved, people came to understand that the Congress could not solve the problems. Its task was to set the strategy and the division of tasks for the people to organize to solve the problems.

Over 200 delegates (40% working class (*classe operaria*), 27% peasants and 33% workers in other sectors, such as health and education) came to Maputo to clarify the tasks ahead. In an exciting session that lasted more than

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*William Minter was in Mozambique in 1975 and 1976.*

# FRELIMO THIRD PARTY CONGRESS

Eduardo Mondlane (foreground)  
with FRELIMO leaders  
at Second Congress



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nine hours, they heard President Machel present the Central Committee report, which outlined FRELIMO's objective of building a society based on the principles of scientific socialism.

The report traced the history of the struggle led by FRELIMO, the meaning of the decisions of the Second Congress, the difficulties, lessons and victories of the war, of the transitional government, of the period since independence. It focused on the class struggle in independent Mozambique and the necessity of a clear class option for the workers and peasants if any embryonic petit-bourgeoisie anxious to replace the colonialists in the posts of privilege was to be prevented from gaining control.

## Creating A Party

President Machel told the delegates "the struggle we have taken on is arduous and long." Socialism would not be built easily. The people, he warned, would find their interests opposed by imperialism and its allies, internal reactionaries and the remnants of the colonial bourgeoisie. The working masses would have to organize themselves to "impose their will over the internal exploiters" and to defend their revolution. Again and again the importance of "a people organized" was stressed—as was the importance of the alliance between workers and peasants.

As had been discussed in the Congress theses, the report spoke of transforming FRELIMO into a vanguard Marxist-Leninist political party. Building on the tradition of struggle during the war, and on the organization of "dynamizing groups" in the last two years, FRELIMO is to limit its membership to those with the greatest class consciousness, ideological firmness and revolutionary spirit. It will also intensify the study of revolutionary theory as a guide to action in the difficult process

of creating the bases for building a socialist society. The systematic organization of the party will build on the structures already existing in the People's Forces, in the "liberated areas" and in the "dynamizing groups" in neighborhood and workplace.

Alongside the party organization, there will be mass organizations open to

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## Permanent Political Committee Of FRELIMO's Central Committee

Samora Moises Machel  
Marcelino dos Santos  
Joaquim Alberto Chissano  
Alberto Joaquim Chipande  
Armando Emilio Guebuza  
Jorge Rebelo  
Mariano Matsinha  
Sebastiao Joao Marcos Mabote  
Jacinto Soares Veloso  
Mario da Graca Machungo

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all Mozambicans: the Organization of Mozambican Women, organizations of workers and of peasants, especially those in communal villages or cooperatives, and other organizations.

To ensure the establishment of popular democracy President Machel announced that general elections to establish a Peoples' Assembly will be held in February 1978. The Assembly will be the highest legislative body of the state.

## Economic Planning

The Report on Economic and Social Guidelines was presented by Mozambique's Economics and Planning Minister Marcelino dos Santos. It laid out

Mozambique's economic plans for the next four years. 1980 has been set as the target year for regaining the levels of production which existed prior to the last years of the war and the crisis provoked by the exodus of technicians. Immediate priority was given to agricultural production aimed at the increased production of basic foodstuffs. Expanding industrial processing of agricultural goods and production of cloth, clothing and footwear for the people, is also an urgent priority.

The development of heavy industry was given long range emphasis as a "decisive phase in economic development which will create the conditions for real equality and liberate us from economic dependency . . ."

State enterprises, both farms and factories, are to play a central role. Stress was laid on the need for increased productivity and also the organization of more effective means of workers' control and participation in decision-making. Communal villages and cooperatives are to remain the primary focus of organization of the masses of the peasants, in the rural sector.

## Mass Participation

FRELIMO is well aware that carrying out such plans is above all dependent on an active and mobilized people, who feel confident about FRELIMO leadership. Such a spirit obviously exists in Mozambique at the moment. In Mocimboa da Praia, in northern Cabo Delgado province, the population demonstrated their symbolic solidarity with FRELIMO and the Party Congress in a typically practical way—on the second day of the Congress 11,000 people cleared more than 1600 acres for planting bananas, pineapple and coconut trees.

# FROM THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE REPORT

## ON THE WORKER-PEASANT ALLIANCE

It is at this stage that the power of the worker-peasant alliance consolidates its roots in society. In the process of sharpening the class struggle, the workers continually deepen their class consciousness. Working in the factories, organized by the party, this class acquires a high degree of organization and collectivization of work. Struggling for the social control of their own production, the working class sees the antagonistic contradiction which opposes it to private possession of the means of production. Thus it gradually acquires the conditions which make it the leading body in the process of liberation of society from all forms of exploitation. It is thus that the working class, assuming the long tradition of struggle of the Mozambican people, becomes the leading force in the construction of the socialist society.

The peasantry is the fundamental ally of the working class; they form the majority of our population. Brutally exploited by the colonial system, they played a decisive role in the armed national liberation struggle. The majority of the fighters, cadres and militants of FRELIMO are of peasant origin. It was the peasants who bore the greatest weight of the People's Revolutionary War, who were the permanent target of attacks, bombardments, crimes and massacres carried out by the colonialist forces. The production that fed the fighters, the transport of war materiel, the internal security of the liberated zones were guaranteed by the organized peasants. It was the peasants who, under the revolutionary leadership of FRELIMO, overthrew the feudal class and the new exploiters in the liberated zones. Their alliance with the working class was forged in the process of national liberation and bases itself on the common interest of workers and peasants in the liquidation of all forms of exploitation. Today, the peasantry, the principal force of the revolution, is involving itself enthusiastically in the communal village movement. . . .

It should be noted that in spite of the inadequacies of the state apparatus and its incapacity to respond in time and correctly to the impetuous development of the communal villages, in spite of errors due to bureaucratic mentality, the peasant masses did not demobilize. Rather by their creative initiative and by arduous work they consolidated and made the communal villages an irreversible conquest of our revolution and the future image of our countryside.

According to recent visitors, in spite of the problems facing them, the people of Mozambique display strong support for FRELIMO, and a genuine sense of progress being made. The people can already point to government actions in nationalization and reorganization of health, education, housing and land usage that have meant concrete improvements for the average worker or peasant. Perhaps most important of all men and women have the experience of having participated in countless meetings where national and local problems were discussed, where decisions were taken about what needs to be done and where commitments were made to shoulder responsibility for the work

involved.

As the Congress drew to a close, a new expanded Central Committee of 67 members and a nine person permanent political committee were elected to lead the party until the next Congress. Elected to the permanent political committee were veterans of the long years of struggle, all having demonstrated their ability to work with the people.

One of FRELIMO's continuing strengths has been its ability to involve the people very profoundly in every aspect of the process of social transformation. As the Congress worked to outline the strategy for the task ahead—the building of a socialist state—President Machel underscored

## ON BUILDING A PARTY

It was in the course of that struggle of classes in the midst of the front that the most conscious elements of the Mozambican working classes understood that in order to win the class battle against foreign and domestic reactionaries, the working classes had to be united, organized, conscious of the ultimate objectives of their struggle, and armed with its scientific ideology. . . .

This situation made it possible to begin the long process leading to the creation of the party. In 1973, the People's Forces party committees were created. They grouped the most conscious, most dedicated, most disciplined militants, capable of being elements who could propagate our policy with the militants and the masses in general. In January of 1974 the party school began its work, to synthesize and theorize our experiences, to furnish a theoretical base to the cadres and militants.

The conquest of national independence, taking of political power at the national level by the working classes, made the need for a party stand out even more clearly.

The creation of the party emerges as a necessity of the development of the revolution. . . .

Without a vanguard party that knows how to lead the working classes through all the phases of class struggle, there can be no socialist revolution. But the vanguard party does not win by itself.

It is the people, organized, who make the revolution, it is the broad working masses. The central task of the party consists precisely in uniting, organizing, educating and leading the masses so that they may make the revolution.

The force of our party lies in its intimate unity with the masses, in its capacity for organization and leadership of the masses. FRELIMO will always live rooted in the masses, educating them continuously in acquiring a revolutionary consciousness, engaging them in active struggle against exploiters. . . .

It is not enough to proclaim the leading role of the party, it is necessary to win it in practice. There is only one way for FRELIMO to affirm itself with the masses as a leading force: continuous and persevering work in defending the interests of the masses, and struggle for meeting the material, intellectual and cultural needs of the workers, struggle for the just demands of the people.

the central importance of maintaining the commitment to mass participation, of ensuring that the actions taken represent the interests of the mass of the people:

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