

# Is Mozambique Our Socialist Hope or Will Russian's Hijack it

## THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION IN MOZAMBIQUE AND THE STRUGGLE TO TURN FRELIMO INTO A MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY

The Mozambiquan Revolution is at the moment at the crossroads. A Revolution that drastically altered the situation in Southern Africa after 14 long years of peoples war, it is also the one that gives the greatest hope of moving in a socialist direction. But the issue is not as simple as that. There are also other pressures upon Mozambique to turn it in the other direction, not least that of the Soviet Union.

The author of this article who had spent sometime in Mozambique and who is sympathetic to the aims and objectives of the Mozambiquan Revolution examines some of the problems that FRELIMO has to face in its self-proclaimed march towards socialism. He discusses here the particular problem of FRELIMO converting itself into a vanguard Marxist-Leninist Party based on self-reliance and the mass line so that it can carry the national democratic revolution onto its socialist phase. This is a problem that is peculiar to some Third World countries where the national struggle has been led by a multi-class national party, but whose leading elements embrace Marxist-Leninist ideology as the correct road forward for the revolution.

He shows also how FRELIMO must choose between the two roads defined by the Chinese and Russian type revolutions, the one based on the mass line and self-reliance, and the other on the productice forces theory. This is a crucial choice for FRELIMO to make and already in the FRELIMO Cabinet there is a fierce controversy on the road forward. On this choice will depend whether Mozambique will become the socialist hope of Africa, or go down the drain like Cuba.

The armed struggle for the national liberation of Mozambique was victoriously concluded fifteen months ago. Since the signing of the Lusaka Accords on September 7, 1974, the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) has been consolidating the people's state power in the country. As was the case during the national liberation struggle, the obstacles that FRELIMO must surmount in order the progress towards socialism is logistically tremendous. The social and economic backwardness of Mozambique and the potential political opposition within the country present FRELIMO with a Herculean task. The struggle to establish the people's national democratic dictatorship and the subsequent advance towards socialism will be a dialectical process, suffering various reports and articles written by FRELIMO sympathisers tended to describe the struggle as a unilear process. FRELIMO did not develop from an externally-based grouping of intellectuals and militants into a mass-based liberation front without experiencing disruption; numerous purges were executed within FRELIMO to maintain organisational and ideological correctness. FRELIMO did not methodically eliminate the Portuguese colonialists in the course of the liberation struggle; the liberation forces withdrew and achieved breakthroughs. Since the last shot was fired against the colonial forces, FRELIMO has not easily established popular political control within Mozambique; opposition elements have constantly emerged, even within FRELIMO'S own ranks. Therefore, those FRELIMO supporters who profess that, with an effective socialist programme, the people of Mozambique will methodically progress in the struggle to develop are neglecting the fundamental role of dialectics in the process. *It is the analytical approach of revisionism, not Marxism, that asserts that incremental progression leads to qualitative change or revolution.* FRELIMO has generally realised that socialism can only be established as elsewhere, through persistent struggle and revolution. From this realisation is derived FRELIMO's clarion call: A LUTA CONTINUA.

FRELIMO has for the past decade demonstrated that the people of Africa can be mobilised to fight a people's war. Through successfully promoting a mass line among the people, it can be asserted that FRELIMO has achieved the best prospects for socialism in Africa. Although Mozambique does not have the resources of a Nigeria or an Algeria, the country has politically -motivated human resources that are the most basic requirement for the achievement of socialism. The supposedly backward peasantry of Mozambique again exploded the myth of peasant passivity by bearing the brunt of the revolutionary struggle. Through the correct guidance of FRELIMO, the mobilised masses of Mozambique came to realise the opportunity to collectively eliminate the oppression and poverty that had plagued Mozambique for several centuries. The people of Mozambique became conscious of the fact that, by liberating themselves from the national oppression of Portuguese colonialism the constraints would be removed from African direction of economic and political development. The rural masses came to see that, by overturning the dominance of "feudalistic" tribal chiefs, the large landowners, and other collaborators with the ruling order, collective development for a majority of the population would become possible. Also, the establishment of mass organisations under FRELIMO's leadership and the introduction of democracy in Mozambique have been indications of the revolutionary potential of the people of

Mozambique and the relatively propitious prospects for socialism in the country.

The triumph of the national liberation struggle in Mozambique has brought to the fore the question of prospects for socialism in the country. Many observers have expressed scepticism that a backward, Third World country such as Mozambique could have the potential to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and to build a socialist economy. There appears to many to be a definite lack of a politically conscious proletariat and an economic base suitable for the achievement of a socialist Mozambique. However, many of these observers and their colleagues have made similar comments as to the prospects for socialism in other Third World countries, such as China. Many also doubted the capability of the people of Mozambique to liberate themselves from colonial oppression. Basically, in Mozambique there is a situation that could lead to the contradiction of assumptions that the people are incapable of achieving socialism. Throughout a major portion of the country, the population remains mobilised, and FRELIMO is now attempting to extend and deepen the politicisation of the masses. This process of raising political consciousness will continue to engender the development of FRELIMO as a Marxist-Leninist organisation. It is vital that this cyclical process of political development should be continued and directed by a leadership that is dedicated to establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat and the poor peasantry. Especially during the course of the struggle since 1970, FRELIMO has forged a Marxist-Leninist ideology and leadership. Through constant work with the masses, FRELIMO has come to recognise the class nature of their struggle and the need to rely upon mass initiative to achieve success. The various crises that FRELIMO has overcome have demonstrated the need for organisation along Marxist-Leninist lines. However, only with the development of sufficiently conscious cadres and leadership and a proper mode of operation can FRELIMO be prepared to maintain the dictatorship of the the proletariat and to lead in the construction of a socialist Mozambique. The various elements involved in an evaluation of the prospects for socialism will be analysed further in here.

## SELF RELIANCE

The thirteen year history of the struggle, led by FRELIMO, for the liberation of Mozambique presents an excellent indication as to the progress of the people of Mozambique and their vanguard organisation towards self-reliant, socialist development. In developing a policy of self-reliance, FRELIMO has acquired the ability to deal with various sources of international support. From 1962 to 1969, while under the leadership of President Eduardo Mondlane, FRELIMO, maintained its existence through a wide range of contacts with foreign governments and organisations. After 1969, support from FRELIMO from various church groups and Western governments withered away partly because of the death of Mondlane who was widely respected and because FRELIMO became committed to a more socialist line. By the 1970 Congress, FRELIMO had developed into a self-reliant organisation through the conduct of people's war. Its increasing Marxist-Leninist orientation led FRELIMO to look more exclusively for aid from Eastern European states and Russia, as well as from the People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Eventually by 1973, as Samora Machel and indigenous gained ascendancy in Frelimo, the self-reliant, mass line became predominant. And after delegations returned from China and Korea having observed the Marxist-Leninist line creatively applied, FRELIMO subsequently developed its most fraternal relations with these two socialist Asian countries. This relationship is evident, because two of the largest aid packages received by Mozambique came from China and Korea.

The development of organisational standards has been an area in which FRELIMO has advanced considerably over the past thirteen years. When FRELIMO was founded in 1962 it contained both groups and individuals whose political and class orientations were disparate and contradictory. Originally the approach of FRELIMO to the liberation of Mozambique was not uniform. While many FRELIMO militants supported armed struggle others sought an accomodation with the Portuguese. Controversy arose over whether or not to rely upon certain classes in the national liberation struggle. Questions were raised over the dependability of chiefs and the petty buorgeois assimiladoes in the course of the struggle. Eventually FRELIMO came to stress the worker-peasant alliance, with contributions permitted from most all patriotic elements. However, this policy did not prevent FRELIMO from leading the struggle against exploitation of African by African.

During the period of 1962 to 1972, there were persistent conflicts among leaders and cadres to determine the political line and the organisational character of FRELIMO. While the late President Mondlane was cognisant of the internal struggles within FRELIMO, there was little that could be done at the nascent stage of the organisation. Disagreements constantly arose between those who were fighting for the mere independence of Mozambique and those who envisioned a popular democratic and self-reliant country. There were disputes whether cadres should be drawn from the black African masses, from the educated, multi-racial, radical elite or from traditional sources of leadership i.e. chiefs, professionals, etc.). In addition, divisions of the theatres of guerilla warfare caused further conflicts to arise. Besides these problems, FRELIMO had to deal with those who merely sought personal power and prestige. The Reverend Uria Simango, an ex-Vice-President of FRELIMO, was one of those who were expelled for a political line and style of operation that undermined the national liberation struggle.

In the midst of internal dissension, steps were taken to modify the situation. In March of 1968 several teachers at the Mozambique Inst. who favoured the teaching of English instead of Portuguese were expelled for actively contradicting FRELIMO policy. Later in 1968, a very important FRELIMO Congress laid down organisational guidelines based upon democratic centralism. By rooting itself in the masses through the Congress and other democratic means and by centralising its political and military command, FRELIMO proceeded to direct the national liberation struggle in a well-defined manner. The groundwork was laid in 1968 for an intensification of armed struggle, the recruitment of large numbers of cadres and soldiers, and the cleansing of the FRELIMO leadership of divisive elements. Since then the lesson of proper organisation and uniform execution has been absorbed; and it has been applied to raise the level of FRELIMO as an organisation eventually to that of a party, as the consciousness of the cadres increases. As President Machel said:

“When a major part of our cadres and our people has reached such consciousness that it places them as being transforming elements of society, then we can have a party, a vanguard party to orientate the country, to orientate the government to promote development, establish priorities and define tasks for the people.”

The most useful and important lessons that FRELIMO acquired resulted from the process of conducting a people's war. It was during the ten years of armed struggle that FRELIMO acquired the knowledge and the ability to defeat the Portuguese military, mainly through the development of a proper approach to the masses. During the first two years of FRELIMO's existence, emphasis was placed on non-violent action by the most politically advanced elements of the African labouring population. The brutal suppression of this movement convinced FRELIMO even more that armed struggle was the only means of achieving national liberation. However, it was not until 25 September 1964 that sufficient cadres and soldiers were recruited and trained to commence the armed struggle. Yet, even after the first three years of armed struggle the necessary coordination with and organisation of the masses had not been attained sufficiently to establish definite “liberated zones”. Certainly, FRELIMO fighters found it initially difficult to melt away into the population to avoid selective liquidation. This susceptibility was not wholly eliminated, as is evidenced during Operation Gordian Knot in 1970 through 1972. Portuguese forces (including a large number of Africans) were able to root out many areas of FRELIMO control and scatter the liberation forces, through the strategy of population manipulation used in Vietnam. Fortunately, FRELIMO had developed to such an extent in the five years before the Portuguese operation to be able to counteract the measures against them and go on the offensive. In 1968 FRELIMO had used the influx of foreign money and equipment, coupled with work among the masses, to add numerous cadres and soldiers. In 1970 a clear line, committed to the development of socialism, emerged as FRELIMO consolidated after Mondlane's death. And in 1971, FRELIMO had organised sufficiently in other areas of the country to mount an offensive in Tete Province and western Mozambique that succeeded in diverting the attention of the Portuguese colonialists from the North. This campaign was carried into Manica and Sofala provinces of central Mozambique in 1973, thereby outflanking the Portuguese forces and causing considerably more damage to colonialism than in areas where the settler presence was not as pronounced. In the North, although large numbers of people were herded into aldeamentos to be “pacified”, FRELIMO influence remained strong because of its well-cultivated relationship with the masses and because of its superior grasp of the technique of war required in Niassa and Cabo Delgado Provinces.

What have been some concrete manifestations of the mass line had for the development of FRELIMO? Samora Machel has emphasised the primary importance of working with the masses in order to achieve increasing effectiveness as a conscious, vanguard organisation:

“The seed of knowledge only grows when it is buried in the soil of production of struggle. If we have already so greatly transformed our country, if we have won so many successes in production, education, health and combat, it is because we are always with the masses. We consistently apply what we know to production, correct our mistakes and enrich our knowledge”.

## MASS LINE

Machel has correctly attributed FRELIMO's victories not only in the field of combat to a close working orientation with the masses. After having liberated a considerable area of the Northern Provinces by 1967, FRELIMO augmented its initial organisational activities with large-scale campaigns for political education, literacy, health care, and agricultural services. It helped to re-organise production and encouraged the peasantry to rid itself of parasitical chiefs and Portuguese.

The 1968 FRELIMO Congress institutionalised the mass line by promoting representation in the Congress and other leadership bodies by mass organisations, established under the guidance of FRELIMO. Organisations of peasants and youth continually sprang up in areas of FRELIMO influence. Most significant has been the women's organisation under the national umbrella of the Organisation

of Mozambique Women (OMM). Even in the most "progressive" African countries, it is difficult to find similar emphasis on the woman's role in the liberation struggle or such involvement by women.

In addition most every village under FRELIMO control formed Grupos Dynamizadores that were responsible for political education and guidance. As the struggle for the liberation of Mozambique intensified, these organisations played a greater role in shaping the strategy and tactics of FRELIMO. Accordingly, FRELIMO has become increasingly cognisant of the need of properly organising the masses and became very capable of doing so. Eventually, the people's consciousness was raised to such an extent that FRELIMO was able to transfer some of the burden of armed struggle from the standing Forces for the Popular Liberation of Mozambique (FPLM) to local militias from whom FPLM contingents were drawn. The successful execution of a people's war against the Portuguese colonialists conclusively has demonstrated that FRELIMO has progressed greatly as an organisation by firmly rooting itself in the African masses.

FRELIMO underwent a learning process during the struggle for national liberation, as did the people of Mozambique. However, with the coup in Portugal and subsequent events, the colonialist forces that had already been demoralised during Operation Gordian Knot, were rendered ineffectual. Thus, FRELIMO was suddenly confronted with the reality of peace and power. With the termination of the conflict through the Lusaka Agreements of 7 September 1974, FRELIMO could no longer rely on the menacing adversary of violent Portuguese oppression to rally the masses. Though victory was joyously welcomed, much of the country had not been mobilised during the heat of the struggle. In addition, the liberation war had just begun to affect the Portuguese settlers.

The corroding structure of Portuguese colonialism - the plantations, the ultramarine firms, and the central administration - remained virtually intact to the south of Beira. Considerable numbers of reactionary Portuguese had immigrated to Mozambique after 1960. The white population had increased by 140,000 from 85,000 in the space of a decade, leaving a largely hostile element for FRELIMO to manage. Immediately after the signing of the Lusaka Accords, a fascist insurrection broke out in Lourenco Marques to prevent FRELIMO from taking power. In league with Portuguese peace-keeping forces the African population of Mozambique rose up to defeat the Portuguese fascist attempt to declare UDI. Instrumental in the struggle were the politically-conscious working class of Lourenco Marques who had been organised to firmly support FRELIMO. Significant manifestations of solidarity with the national liberation struggle, taking place hundreds of miles to the north, were carried out by the workers of Lourenco Marques and Beira, most particularly on 25 April 1974. With great vigilance the workers of Lourenco Marques led the African population in defeating the rebellion of 7 September and driving large numbers of Portuguese into South Africa. They helped to extinguish a similar insurrection of 21 October, thus protecting the transfer of power to FRELIMO and providing a very important element of support for the securing of national independence in Mozambique.

The anti-fascist, anti-colonial struggle in the months following the Lusaka Accords was a positive factor in overcoming the lack of politicisation in southern Mozambique. However, considerable problems still remained for FRELIMO after the rapid arrival of peace and national independence in the country. FRELIMO had to oversee the establishment of a political and economic administration that would be both competent and popular. Elements opposing the establishment of the people's democratic dictatorship were still widespread in the country. People whose consciousness had not been raised in the anti-colonial struggle required political education. Production had to be organised on lands and in firms expropriated from the Portuguese colonialists. Greater problems persisted in areas surrounding the aldeias into which large numbers of peasants had been herded. Besides merely maintaining political power and the people's livelihood, FRELIMO was confronted with a country impoverished by the especially oppressive and backward character of Portuguese colonialism. Despite these enormous obstacles to development, FRELIMO called for an advance towards socialism, relying upon little more than the power of the workers and peasants of Mozambique, organised and mobilised in the course of the struggle.

The backward and oppressive character of Portuguese colonialism has left Mozambique impoverished and little-developed, moreso than most African states. Portugal, itself an underdeveloped country dominated by foreign capital, could do little but offer easy access by monopoly corporations to Mozambique's land, minerals, and - labours for capital accumulation. Even that task proved an interminable strain upon the Portuguese economy.

Subsequently, the people of Mozambique, while in contact with "civilising Europe", remained without the most fundamental requirements for democratic participation in a more advanced society. 85% of the population was estimated to be "illiterate", and 14% merely brushed with "education" in attending less than six grades of school. The majority of educational facilities were located in and around the major cities of Mozambique, where only 20% of the population resides. In rural areas that were visited close to Beira, it was actually difficult to find people who spoke Portuguese. It was widely commented that Portuguese is a language spoken by a minority and read by an urbanised elite. Thus, there have been continual questions concerning the use of Portuguese as the official language of Mozambique.

In the area of health, the people of Mozambique have been left in an even worse position than they were in education. Health was deemed by the Portuguese colonial authorities to be a service that the African population could do without. Even in the past decade, when the Portuguese undertook campaigns to appease small sections of the population, health care was still deplorably absent. Among the large concentrations of the Portuguese population in Maputo and Beira, there was most recently a total of no more than 96 doctors for a combined population of 165,000 or one doctor per every 20,000 people. Of course, the doctor's treatment remained confined to the Portuguese population and to the African assimilated. In the shanty towns around Beira and Maputo and throughout the rest of the country, not even sanitation and preventive health care was visible. Outside of the two major cities, there was an average of only approx. one doctor for 350,000. The obvious failures of the Portuguese authorities to provide even the pretense of health care among other services is a most striking example of the parasitism to which the people of Mozambique were subjected. The leading cadres of FRELIMO made the provision of health care and other services a high priority in the development of the revolutionary struggle for a people's democratic Mozambique. However, with the exodus of many Portuguese doctors and technicians with the rest of the colonialists, FRELIMO is faced with a lack of professional expertise. Yet, as in other phases of the struggle, FRELIMO has learned how to rely on the initiative of the masses to overcome such a lack of technical sophistication.

Agriculture represents the far most important sector of the economy of Mozambique and clearly demonstrates once again the parasitic manner in which Portuguese colonialism operated. In a country with fertile agricultural land in abundance, only a quarter of the arable lands was cultivated. Of the cultivated land, more than half was owned by 1% of the population. While the Portuguese and monopoly firms formed large plantations, the African people of Mozambique were scattered on small impoverished "machambas" of family plots, or they worked for the colonialists. Because 90% of the population is in agriculture, Frelimo has been faced with the enormous problem of providing sufficient organisational changes, credit, implements, and seed to raise the country from a bleak state of poverty. Although many Portuguese peasants and plantations-owners have left the country, many of the large monopoly firms remain. While nationalising all land and relying on the organised enthusiasm of the peasantry, FRELIMO must still rely a great deal upon plantation production of cash export crops in order to maintain a sufficient inflow of foreign exchange. Only after much struggle on both the political and productive fronts will the people of Mozambique be able to feed and clothe themselves adequately to proceed to industrialisation.

## SOME OTHER PROBLEMS

On the whole, the economy of Mozambique is in a shambles, reflecting the general condition of the entire country. In bearing the brunt of a decade of war, especially the highly-expensive "Operation Gordian Knot", Mozambique has accumulated a foreign debt of close to 700 million dollars. However FRELIMO implemented several measures to shore up foreign reserves during the period of the transitional government. The departure of most of the Portuguese population has meant that FRELIMO no longer has to cater for extravagant, European tastes, thereby cutting back imports. However, Mozambique will miss the expertise of Portuguese in certain areas of business and industry through many multi-national corporations remain, augmented by the arrival of foreign assistance from Eastern Europe, China, etc. Yet, while both multi-national corporations remain, augmented by the arrival of foreign advisors should fill a vital gap in Mozambique's development plans, FRELIMO will have to closely watch the activities of both in the country. An even more necessary evil appears to be the continued export of contract labour to S.Africa, a practice FRELIMO promised to end at their Second Congress of 1968. Over 100,000 workers are employed in South Africa's mines and approximately 200,000 seek work there altogether. If Mozambique were to suspend this practice, the country would lose a large portion of its foreign exchange earnings and would be saddled with unemployment greater than the total employed for industry inside Mozambique. Therefore, FRELIMO must resort to certain undoctinaire practices in order to maintain economic viability.

Other major problems have continued to confront FRELIMO. As the country developed unevenly both during the national liberation struggle and before, FRELIMO has to administrate and mobilise people in regions of Mozambique with widely varying characteristics. In the south of the country, large Portuguese plantations contained a large tenant population and farm labour. In the center huge concessions were made to colonial companies. In the north and in western Tete Province, persisted the small-holding African peasant population, divided into tribal groupings, yet mobilised during the war for independence. In such a large, elongated country, differences have persisted between tribal groups, between provinces, between town and country, and between mobilised and non-mobilised. Complicating matters is the fact that FRELIMO is short of competent administrators who must provide the necessary guidance, and co-ordination for the country. During the war of independence, FRELIMO managed to administer to the people's affairs quite adequately, without alienating the local population. However, those cadres who took such care to work with the people have, in many cases, moved on to

different areas and higher positions. The large number of provincial, district, and local administrators that were required after FRELIMO inherited Mozambique were drawn from either the ill-equipped local population, "militants" trained in Lourenco Marques or Portugal, or from the assimilado population. Therefore many problems have arisen in diverse areas of Mozambique during the first year of the FRELIMO-led government. Administrators have proven to be incapable of efficiently supplying basic services and needs nor communicating with the local population. In one area the district commissioner had come from Lourenco Marques, could not speak the local language, and had been greatly influenced by his close contact with Portuguese culture and ideas. Although he was termed to be a FRELIMO "militant", he freely availed himself of all the comforts of the old Portuguese commissioner and did not appear to put himself at the service of the African people. This first-hand experience was confirmed by other accounts of widespread dissatisfaction with government officials especially in Tete Province. In that western province, the people had demanded the removal of the governor from Lourenco Marques and the return of the former Portuguese governor. Whether for reasons of regional bias or of incompetence, the removal of high officials from their positions has confronted FRELIMO with difficult contradictions. Only with the development of the political consciousness and organisation of the people in diverse areas of Mozambique can the problems of administration and regional differences be overcome. The continued training and practice of cadres and officials, under the guiding influence of the "mass line" of FRELIMO, will also contribute to the development of a state and party that will serve the people. Of course, the development of a common language - whether it be Portuguese, English, or Swahili - and a common revolutionary culture will contribute greatly to the destruction of barriers between people in the country.

In addition to domestic problems, FRELIMO recognises that Mozambique is located in a region of the continent that features a virulent form of white settler colonialism. The development of South Africa and Rhodesia at the end of the 19th and during the 20th century added an edifying dimension to the colony of Mozambique; it became the port and labour pool for the plantations and mines of its neighbours. The liberation of Mozambique has left an enormous cavity in Southern Africa that has caused considerable disconcert in Salisbury and Johannesburg. However, the Vorster and Smith regimes have not directly intervened in Mozambique, because the country seemed impotent after a decade of war and since the governments of South Africa and Rhodesia were preoccupied in controlling their own African population.

However, as the militancy of FRELIMO has not only succeeded in mobilising the people of Mozambique, but it has visibly inspired the struggle of oppressed people across its boundaries. With the increasing instability of the Southern African situation, South Africa may reconsider its policy of peaceful coexistence with Mozambique. Therefore, FRELIMO has placed special emphasis on maintaining strong, vigilant forces and people's militias. While replenishing its supplies of arms and inheriting Port. military equipment, the most important of its measures to strengthen Mozambique's defenses have been political in nature. The political line of FRELIMO has been applied to the leadership of the armed forces; in August 1975 more than ten officers were purged because of an incorrect style of leadership of FRELIMO has been a notable feature as the organisation developed in the course of the struggle. It has tended to make FRELIMO a more effective organisation. With the tasks of peacetime reconstruction and defense as prime functions of the armed forces, those whose vigilance and attitudes have slackened at the end of armed struggle have been removed. The consciousness and vigilance of the people have been heightened through the publicising of FRELIMO purges and through other methods.

## **FRELIMO'S FOREIGN POLICY**

As FRELIMO has developed a conceptualisation of itself as a revolutionary organisation and of Mozambique as a country requiring revolution, it has developed an appropriate foreign policy. While diplomatically controlling its hostility against the white settler regimes on its borders, FRELIMO has actively supported liberation groups. During the offensive in the Tete Province, FRELIMO and ZANU developed an especially close relationship in the execution of people's war against the Rhodesian and Portuguese colonialists. Although the international positions of FRELIMO and ZANU differed initially they have been drawn together through the Chinese-style struggle that they both have undertaken. With the intensification of the conflict in Zimbabwe, FRELIMO has assisted the people's armed forces by setting up camps for Zimbabwean freedom fighters along its long border. In the recent conflict between the capitulationist clique, led by Joshua Nkomo, and the African National Council, FRELIMO has supported Muzorewa, Sithole, and Chikerema. In the African Liberation Committee's meeting, recently held in Lourenco Marques in January 1976 the seating of the legitimately, majority-supported ANC was upheld by Samora Machel and the other delegates. The futility of further negotiations was stressed, and the call for intensified armed struggle was raised.

In the case of the Azanian freedom struggle, the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Africanist Congress (PAC) are both supported. The PAC and the ANC have recently opened offices in Lourenco Marques, and both attended the Organisation of African Unity's ALC meeting in the Mozambiquan capital.

The most controversial aspect of the foreign policy of Mozambique concerns Angola. FRELIMO has pointedly ignored the warnings of its Chinese and Marxist-Leninist friends about Angola. Instead FRELIMO has mistakenly perceived massive Russian and Cuban intervention as "fraternal assistance" from "our natural allies". Thus, the FRELIMO leadership has failed to make the important dialectical analysis of Russia as a superpower, leaving tremendous questions about FRELIMO's potential as a Marxist-Leninist Party. FRELIMO has also papered over the fact that the MPLA is employing militarist methods to gain control over the major part of Angola. FRELIMO disregards the fact that UNITA has already successfully mobilised 60% of Angola's population, mostly peasants, in the process of fighting a people's war. While achieving commendable successes among urban populations, the MPLA has performed pitifully with respect to Angola's peasantry. FRELIMO's leadership should re-examine FRELIMO's history as a liberation movement in order to discover its mistakes in relation to Angola.

The position of FRELIMO on Angola is based upon the long-standing commitment of the leadership towards other liberation organisations. In 1961, the present vice-President of Mozambique, Marcelino dos Santos, was instrumental in the establishment of the Conference of Nationalist Organisations of the Portuguese Colonies (CONCP) of which both FRELIMO and the MPLA were members. Dos Santos became the secretary general of the permanent secretariat of CONCP. Most CONCP delegates including Dos Santos and MPLA leader, Dr. Agostinho Neto, were heavily inclined towards Russia, and member organisations received a large proportion of their aid through Moscow; In 1969, FRELIMO and CONCP were prominent in the Russian-backed Khartoum Conference. The Conference represented an attempt to supersede the OAU Liberation Committee (ALC) that also supported organisations not in favour with Moscow.

Since 1969, the international position of FRELIMO has diverged from that of its CONCP counterparts. With increasing contacts with Peking for material and moral support, most of the FRELIMO leadership has become most associative with China and other Asian socialist countries. However through certain individuals FRELIMO maintains close relations still with CONCP, as well as Russia, Eastern European countries, and Cuba. FRELIMO still refers to the Sino-Soviet split as "unfortunate" for the "socialist countries". However, FRELIMO recognises that it would not be advantageous at present to alienate a large source of foreign assistance, as well as a section of FRELIMO cadres. Of course, FRELIMO has not yet begun to experience the excessive demands that have been made by Russia and its allies towards their other Third World clients.

In the future, FRELIMO plans to form a Marxist-Leninist Party to lead in the establishment and construction of socialism in Mozambique. At that time, its international position on such issues as Angola and Russian social-imperialism will be of paramount importance. Currently, the Marxist-Leninist movement is in the midst of a heated debate over revisionism and social-imperialism. A widely supported notion has been raised that as long as Marxist-Leninist Party or a liberation organisation combats revisionism in its own ranks, its international position is not of major importance. These proponents point to a socialist country like Vietnam to demonstrate their point. However, past experience does not uphold this position. While endeavouring to combat revisionism within its ranks, the social democratic Second International's international position on the First World War contributed to the movement's rapid demise. Also, the approach of the various Communist Party leaderships to the Third International's United Front against War and Fascism was a major determinant of the strength of their adherence to Marxism-Leninism. Therefore, a much stronger contention can be made that a party or movement's international position is an integral part of its character. If the Vietnam Worker's Party has not yet denounced revisionism and social imperialism one must question the VWP's line and its leadership.

The same holds true for FRELIMO one must question the ability of FRELIMO to lead in the building of a Marxist-Leninist Party and socialism in Mozambique, if it throws its international support behind powers and movements that suppress the masses and prove to be anti-popular, while at the same time proclaiming "socialist principles".

In attempting to establish a Marxist-Leninist Party and move towards socialism, FRELIMO finds itself in a unique historical position, compared to the socialist countries. In China or Albania, the Marxist-Leninist party was formed and was the leading force in the liberation movement well before the national democratic revolution was victorious. Most M-L parties brought long experience to the tasks of building socialism and maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat. The working masses in the socialist countries subsequently were highly prepared and properly guided by tested Marxist-Leninist parties. In Mozambique, it is obvious that the workers and peasants of the new People's Republic have not been accommodated to such an extent. While FRELIMO has many cadres, experienced both in theory and practice, it still must train and rectify more. Also, FRELIMO must become tested in practice as an organisation before it can become a Marxist-Leninist Party.

Other countries, mainly in the Third World, have attempted to organise a Marxist-Leninist party for an advance towards socialism after the completion of the national liberation struggle. Cuba was one of the first to attempt what FRELIMO is endeavouring to accomplish now. By now it appears evident why Cuba's attempt failed. Policies and positions that alienated potentially-valuable class allies; a neo-colonial dependence on the Soviet Union; and the formation of a party that contained

mostly petit-bourgeois radicals and hopeless revisionists were among the prominent mistakes made in Cuba. FRELIMO must absorb the lesson that has been produced through the negative example of Cuba: practice self-reliance, depend on mass initiative, and advance in a dialectical and concerted manner.

Since the "winds of change" swept across Africa and parts of the Middle East in the 1960s, numerous countries have attempted to traverse the path upon which FRELIMO has embarked. In 1964, a group of military officers, intellectuals, and workers formed the National Movement of the Revolution (MNR) to safeguard the victory, in 1963, of the people of Congo-Brazzaville against neo-colonialism.

## TURNING FRELIMO INTO A M-L PARTY

After five years of preparation and struggle, the Party of Labour of the Congo (PTC) was founded as was the People's Republic of the Congo, on December 31, 1969. The PTC was declared to be based upon "scientific socialism". Since that time, the PTC has done much to lead the people of the Congo towards the building of socialism. The Congo's wealth and natural resources have been nationalised. A National Democratic Conference was held in July 1972 for the purpose of discussion and criticism of the PTC. In July 1975, the first national development plan was announced, with the intention of placing the economy under strict popular control and state control. Finally, the PTC has held two Congresses to edify itself and to define the directions that the party and the country should take in the current popular democratic stage of the revolution. All totalled the People's Republic has advanced farther towards socialism in six years than the Cuban Revolution has in 18. However, many serious obstacles remain for the Congo, especially the task of achieving self-reliance and the necessity to stand firm against the two superpowers.

The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen is another excellent example for FRELIMO to follow in the building of both the Marxist-Leninist Party and socialism from the seed of a national liberation movement. After achieving independence from Britain in 1967, Yemen has developed similarly to the People's Republic of the Congo with two major differences. The United Political Organisation - National Front of Yemen has stressed the class struggle (of poor peasants against landlords, for example) more apparently than the PTC. On the other hand, the PTC has engendered democracy within the Congo and within the party, while the UPO-NF has not held an election within the DPR of Yemen.

Therefore, in constructing both the M-L Party and a socialist Mozambique, Frelimo has predecessors in other countries. Thus far, FRELIMO has generally been emulate correct examples and to guard against incorrect ones. In moving towards socialism, FRELIMO has paid constant attention to promoting the mass organisation and initiative of the people of Mozambique. In the area of agriculture, FRELIMO has not only campaigned for the re-allocation of "land to the tiller", but has also promoted cooperation and mutual aid among the peasantry. Concerted action amongst the peasantry in a traditional practice and has become a valuable instrument for FRELIMO to lead in the reorganisation of agriculture.

The two major forms of cooperative and collective organisation are the collective machambas and the aldeias comunais. The collective machambas are usually combinations of small clusters of peasants whose numbers amount to between 200 and 500 people. The collective machambas have proven very effective in concentrating and increasing production, in encouraging cooperation, and in the raising of political consciousness. In 1975, FRELIMO embarked on a campaign to raise rural organisation to a higher plane by introducing the aldeias comunais. These represent an effort to begin the widespread collectivisation of agriculture and the creation of a new "rural man". Originally the aldeias comunais have spread throughout the country, as several collective machambas combine their efforts. Thus far, FRELIMO has quite quite successfully moved the peasantry towards an equivalent of the "Great Leap Forward" that triumphed in China. Although collectivisation of agriculture may take years to complete, the people of Mozambique and the cadres of FRELIMO can claim to have outpaced their Tanzanian counterparts by far.

As previously mentioned, the organisation of the masses has affected the entire country. The Organisation of Mozambiquan Women (OMM) has already been noted for its longevity and effectiveness, relative relative to the rest of Africa. A concerted effort has been made since the end of 1974 to organise and strengthen the working class in trade unions. Besides engaging in political and economic activity, the trade unions have begun to marshall training courses and facilities for the workers. Youth organisations also emphasise the educational aspect in the hands of the now-enthusiastic masses, great strides have already been made. Not only have schools been built and a popular curriculum devised, but literacy campaign have sprung up throughout the country. In the area of health, Korea, China and other foreign donors have helped to fill the gap by sending doctors, medicine and expertise. However, FRELIMO has followed the Chinese example by emphasising preventive medicine. Campaign against specific diseases were an early feature of FRELIMO policy, ebbing away as the danger of serious epidemics decreased. Currently, a campaign to provide every household with a latrine is sweeping the country.

The various forms of activity among the masses enhances solidarity around FRELIMO and the advance towards socialism. However, the raising of political consciousness of the people remains the most important form of activity. The long-established consciousness raising organisations, the Grupos Dynamizadores have been now established throughout the country; The G'D's are located at the level of the machamba and aldeia, the factory, and the local community. Besides helping to raise the political



consciousness of the people, the G.D.s are instrumental in producing both an understanding and the implementation of FRELIMO policy. G.D's. aid in the mobilisation of people to form mass organisations and carry out the revolution. Through the G.D's. the people question and then apply directives in their own creative manner. In this way the G.D's perform a most basic and vital democratic function.

However the development of the G.D.s throughout the country has been most uneven. In areas where the anti-colonial struggle was most fierce, the G.D's have been progressing well. In the areas, I visited, such as Beira, the G.D's leave much to be desired. It appeared that noth class and national struggle had not gained much in intensity and that FRELIMO was experiencing a difficult time in organising and mobilising the populace. Also, even in the most militant areas, if political work and struggle does not continue, mass enthusiasm begins to wane. This trend threatens the national democratic revolution in quite a few areas. Of course, there is the tendency for the people to become over-zealous or misled in their activities. thereby, mistakes have been committed in relation to the tolerance of religion, as well as to the treatment of the 50,000 Portuguese who chose to remain. It is the responsibility of the G'D's to undertake criticism and self-criticism in these matters. Only through the interweaving of practice with both theory and ideology can the G'D.s become effective agents of the revolution in Mozambique.

Although much work remains among the workers and peasants of Mozambique, FRELIMO has initiated the task of building the Marxist-Leninist Party. In July 1975, Samora Machel announced the commencement of Comites de Partido throughout the country and the establishment of a party school. The party committees are set up and coordinated by FRELIMO cadres in conjunction with the most militant and effective Grupos Dynamizadores. The party committees are responsible for the slection of the most advanced sections of the Mozambiquan working class and peasantry for training as FRELIMO party cadres.

They are also supposed to prepare the people for the eventual introduction of a Marxist-Leninist party. Thus far, the task continues of establishing effective party committees, but no credible conjecture can yet be made as to whether and when Mozambique will have a party.

The prospects for socialism in Mozambique remain as indeterminable as the possibility of creating a Marxist-Leninist Party. Too many obstacles still remain in the current, national democratic stage of the revolution for FRELIMO to become overly-concerned about the distant future. Recently, the FRELIMO leadership was faced with yet another revolt within the people's armed forces. Anti-popular elements have not been entirely expunged from positions of responsibility. Reactionaries and fascists posing as revolutionaries represent the greatest threat to FRELIMO and popular power. In addition, Portuguese who may have proven valuable to Mozambique have continued to leave the country. Many claim that they have been harassed by both black individuals and by the FRELIMO government. New measures, calling for the confiscation of all private real estates can only lead to the further emigration of the few Portuguese who are left. If FRELIMO is to build a self-reliant socialist state, it must dedicate itself to a long tortuous process of reconstruction and development. Instrumental in this process will be the the long-suffering workers and peasants of Mozambique who have started their own history with virtually nothing except a revolution.

# **WE ARE LEADING A CLASS STRUGGLE TO CREATE A NEW MAN**

**SAYS SAMORA MACHEL IN INTERVIEW WITH LE MONDE MAY 1976**

The leaders of Mozambique seem resolved to directly help the movements for the liberation of Southern Africa and to win over to the theory of violence certain of its neighbours who upto now supported talks. It is in this context that we must situate the recent declarations of Kaunda, President of Zambia (Le Monde 23 April), who, on the occasion of his visit to Maputo, called upon Africans to unite against the minority white regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa.

The visit to the Soviet Union of a mission led by M.A. Chipande, Mozambique's Minister of Defence, who has just been received by the Russian Minister of Defence, Marshall Gretchko, underlines the concern of the Mozambiquan government team to widen its sources of arms provisions. In fact during the colonial struggle, it was the Chinese who provided arms for the liberation of Mozambique. R. Lefort asked Samora Machel, President of Mozambique how he defined his regime and what role he assigned to his country in the evolution taking place in southern Africa.