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Establishing People's Power to Serve the Masses

by Samora Machel



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glish translation of Samora Machel's writings a difficult task. Thus, a key word is *responsável*, used to designate anyone in a position of leadership. But one possible English equivalent, "leading cadre", does not quite do justice to the notions of responsibility and responsiveness—responsibility both to the people with whom the cadre works and to the movement's programme which provides a framework for his/her activities—inherent in the original word. We have felt compelled to use the somewhat unorthodox English noun "responsible" to capture more precisely the essence of this reality. Another difficult word is the verb "*dinamizar*". Although the phrase *grupos dinamizadores* became current in FRELIMO and in Mozambique only after this text had been written, the verb is used on a number of occasions. Here it has been translated as "to activate", while others have suggested "to mobilize" as an equivalent. Unfortunately neither is quite accurate for both conjure up an image of (well-intentioned) pressure upon the people from outside or above, an implication which is not present in the original Portuguese word. In fact, there is no English equivalent, though the word "empower"—to empower the people—may be truer to the profoundly democratic implications of the term in the FRELIMO lexicon.

In any case, it may be that the entire text which follows provides the best translation of concepts like *responsável* and *dinamizar*. For the text captures clearly the spirit of democratic leadership in Mozambique's revolutionary context. Not so coincidentally, it also provides firm clues for the forging of more effective political practice by militants in quite different settings. Certainly our own committee has found the essay a source of considerable inspiration in trying to improve our own methods of political work—in support of the liberation struggles in southern Africa and in pursuit of significant change in our own society.

Toronto Committee for the Liberation
of Southern Africa
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Establishing People's Power to Serve the Masses

This year, 1974, we celebrate the tenth anniversary of the start of our armed struggle. In these ten years countless militants and the people have accepted every kind of sacrifice and hardship; in these ten years we have overcome difficulties and proved that we are capable of achieving victory.

We are already beginning to know what victory is. In increasingly large areas of our country the people make comparisons and are already saying "before the revolution" and "today". Our people are beginning to taste the fruit of their struggle.

Nonetheless we are conscious that final victory will not come tomorrow: there is still a long way to go.

What is the reason for our sacrifices? Why is the enemy so obstinate and cruel? And why, despite the condemnation of all just men throughout the world, can they still find the support and help they need to continue to perpetuate their crimes?

Is all this happening simply because we want our independence? After all, in 1143 and 1640 Portugal itself fought for independence. The United States, which today supports Portuguese colonialism, fought a war in the 18th century to free itself from British colonialism and win independence. Today France and Britain are financing and arming a fascist and colonialist Portugal, but a few years ago, from 1939 to 1945, they fought Hitler's fascism, suffering great losses and making great sacrifices to preserve their own national independence.

There are many independent countries around Mozambique: Madagascar, which was a French colony, and Tanzania, Zambia, Malawi and Swaziland, all former British colonies. All these countries became independent through negotiations between the co-

lonial power and the colony.

Why, is it that Britain and France agreed to recognize the right to independence of most of their colonies, and yet today support a colonial war?

Why have there been ten years of colonial war, ten years of air raids, ten years of massacres, ten years during which NATO and the Western countries have backed Portugal in every conceivable way?

We often say that our great victory in the course of our struggle has been the fact that we were able to transform the armed struggle for national liberation into a revolution. In other words, our final aim is not to hoist a flag that is different from the Portuguese one, or to hold general elections—more or less honest—in which blacks instead of whites are elected, or to have a black President instead of a white governor in Ponta Vermelha Palace in Lourenço Marques. We affirm that our aim is to win total independence, to establish people's Power, to build a New Society without exploitation for the benefit of all those who consider themselves Mozambican.

This is the explanation of our war. Just as a man infested with lice has to plunge his clothes in boiling water to get rid of the lice, irrespective of their colour or origin, so we were forced to plunge our country in the flames of war in order to get rid of exploitation, irrespective of the colour or origin of its agents.

The issue then is the establishment of people's Power, affirming independence and identity and eliminating exploitation, which means destroying the power of the exploiters who foster it.

This is why imperialist countries which live off exploitation are coming to Portugal's help—it is in their interests that exploitation should continue.

Today, thanks to our struggle, new Power is being built in our country.

Ten years of FRELIMO power is not a long time. Young as we are, we have assumed responsibilities which would overwhelm older people. There are tens of thousands of years of experience behind the exploiters' power, while ours is young and we must also solve many problems which could never be solved under the centuries-old rule of the exploiters.

This new Power is not something abstract. It is we ourselves, with all our shortcomings, who must exercise it.

The New Man who can exercise this new power will not drop from the skies.

Our responsibilities are great and our capability still limited. But we have a great, decisive advantage: we have a correct political line and the masses are with us.

But as we build our Power, as we use it, we still bear within us, in our thinking, habits and customs, all the deformations created by the old power.

This is why we must continually rectify our way of working, and use the scalpel of criticism and self-criticism to amputate the vast, burdensome and negative inheritance bequeathed by the old society.

As we will soon celebrate our tenth anniversary, let us briefly analyze our Power, rethink our activity, study what we have done so far and what remains to be done and, above all, correct the deformations.

To begin with, let us first study the nature of Power, what it is, what it expresses, what values it embodies. We shall analyze the difference between the origin, nature, methods and objectives of colonialist capitalist power and the people's Power built under the leadership of FRELIMO.

Dealing with this crucial point will enable us to understand why the conflict between us and the enemy is so antagonistic that only war can resolve it. Indeed, it is only possible to build people's Power, which reflects the coming to power of a new class, after the previous ruling class and its power have been defeated. And once we have grasped this idea, we shall be in a position to see how impossible it is to reconcile our interests with those of the enemy, through any purported "autonomy" or "independence" safeguarding the essence of the colonial capitalist State.

The popular nature of this power which is being built implies far-reaching and genuine democracy, which has never before existed in the history of our country.

Like power, democracy is not something abstract: if it is to be exercised and have tangible content, we must create the conditions in which it can become a reality.

So the second part will be concerned with the study of democracy, a new experience which our people are enjoying for the first time.

Finally, because people's democratic power is already practised in our various centres, they are laboratories of our experience and centres from which our political line and its practical results are propagated. It is therefore very important that we indicate precisely how our centres should fulfill this task, and what the essential requirements are for success in their historic mission.



President Samora Machel (right) and Vice-President Marcelino dos Santos addressing a mass meeting.

I. The Exploiters' Power is for Oppressing the People. Our Power is the Power of the People.

Various kinds of social relations between men were created in the course of the historical development of societies.

At the dawn of mankind, when the transition from ape to man occurred, pre-humans lived in nomadic groups controlled by the struggle for survival. All product of all effort was immediately consumed and often failed to satisfy basic needs. These pre-humans fed upon roots, wild fruit and dead animals.

Man's ancestors lived like this for hundreds of thousands of years. At a certain point they began to use bones or sticks to unearth roots and hunt animals. They began to use implements to produce their food, production, although still extremely primitive, started and so the ape became man. It is production that sets man apart from the animals and frees his mind, opening the road to progress.

With the emergence of production, at first hunting and gathering, and then agriculture and animal husbandry, humanity started to develop. A division of labour emerged and also improved tools and production techniques. Hence man's productive efforts enabled him to produce more than he needed for mere survival. Production created a surplus.

The fact of a production surplus provides the material base, the objective conditions, for the emergence in society of forces which seek to appropriate the surplus to the detriment of those who produce it.

Society is thus divided into opposing classes, with different interests: some seek to appropriate the fruit of others' labour, which the others resist. The hitherto cooperative human relations become relations of struggle between exploiters and exploited.

Obviously this process took hundreds of thousands of years and the emergence of opposing interests, of antagonistic classes, did not happen overnight. But what is fundamental is the process.

Once distinct and conflicting interests emerged in human society, the question of "power," the problem of who should take decisions, of the criteria to be used in decision-making and on whose behalf, became a fundamental issue in society.

A given group can impose its interests and make its objectives triumph only if it has control of society, in other words if it rules that society.

To rule a society means organizing it to serve the interests of the ruling groups, imposing the will of this group on all other groups, whether they agree or not. In the course of time, the ruling group makes the others consider its rule the best, the wisest, the fairest, and the one which corresponds to everyone's interests.

This continues until such time as new forces within society become aware of how their interests are impaired by the ruling group and unite, fight, overthrow the previous power and establish their own power, reorganizing society to satisfy their own appetites.

Until recently in the history of mankind it has been the various exploiting classes—slave owners, feudalists, and the bourgeoisie—which have successively dominated society and organized it politically, economically, ideologically, culturally, administratively and juridically for their own benefit.

This has been so because the exploited masses had neither sufficient class-consciousness to unite them nor an ideology capable of giving them an overall view of their interests and providing them with appropriate strategy and tactics for the struggle to win and exercise power.

Historically it was in Paris in 1870 that, after several unsuccessful attempts, the exploited masses for the first time seized and exercised power. The Paris Commune was crushed a few months afterwards by a coalition of French and German reactionaries, and 30,000 workers were massacred.

Finally, in 1917, under the leadership of Lenin, the exploited

masses achieved power in Tzarist Russia and created the Soviet Union, the first State in the world with the people in power. After the victory of the democratic forces in the anti-fascist war people's Power spread to other countries like China, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in Asia. In Europe people's Power was established in numerous countries—the Romanian Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Bulgarian Socialist Republic, etc. In Latin America, the first people's state on the American continent was established with the victory of the popular forces in Cuba in 1959.

People's Power has become a reality for about one-third of mankind. The areas where the working masses have seized power are known as the "Socialist Camp," which today comprises fourteen countries.

In our country slave owners, feudalists, kings and emperors ruled society until the colonial conquest. Then the colonialist bourgeoisie established itself in power and imposed its will upon all strata in the country until the time when our struggle began to overthrow it.

The successive domination of the various exploiting minorities—their dictatorship over the masses—is always exercised in a way which is to varying degrees concealed, so that the masses do not understand their true position and do not realize that they are subject to oppression.

In our country before the colonial conquest tribal chiefs who exercised power claimed that their power represented the will of the ancestors.

In some kingdoms, for example, the people could not see the King's face; in others it was forbidden to speak to him, only his voice could be heard.

Even today, in some areas where the power of the regulos has remained relatively intact, situations like that are still common where the cruel reality of the feudal lords' oppression is camouflaged by myth and superstition.

The colonialists fostered superstition as a means of concealing their domination and preventing the masses from understanding their wretched condition and rebelling against it. Thus many

religions were spread among us which, by dividing the masses, weakened them. At the same time every religion preached resignation to the people.

In our country the missionaries taught us that to disobey the government or the settlers was a sin and that we should be very grateful to Portuguese colonialism because it had brought us the true faith. During the last century the Church justified the criminal slave trade, saying it was good because it enabled slaves to be baptized. The present archbishop of Lourenço Marques, Custodio Alvim Pereira, has often stated publicly that the Mozambican people should not demand independence since this would only serve communism and Islam; in other words, to seek independence is to sin against God. In a speech made in June 1961 to the seminarians of the archdiocese of Lourenço Marques, when he was still an assistant bishop, he proclaimed the following principles:

1. Independence is irrelevant to the well-being of man. It may be beneficial given certain geographical and cultural conditions, but such conditions do not yet exist in Mozambique.

2. So long as such conditions do not exist, it is an act against nature to found or participate in any pro-independence movement.

3. Even when such conditions exist, the mother-country has the right to oppose independence, provided the freedoms and rights of the people are respected and efforts are made to ensure the well-being and civic and religious advancement of all.

4. Any movement that uses violence goes against natural law, because if independence is a good thing it must be attained by peaceful means.

5. When the movement is a terrorist one the clergy must, in good conscience, not merely refrain from participating but also oppose it. This is a logical consequence of the nature of their mission.

6. Even if the movement is a peaceful one the clergy ought to refrain from taking part in order to be able to give spiritual guidance to everyone. The Superior can impose this, as has been done in Lourenço Marques.

7. The native peoples of Africa should thank the colonizers for

the benefits they have given them.

8. Educated people should fight openly against illusions about independence among the less educated.

9. Present day African independence is almost always born of revolution and communism. The Vatican's doctrine is quite clear in its opposition to atheistic and revolutionary communism: the great revolution is that of the gospel.

10. The slogan "Africa for the Africans" is a philosophical monstrosity and a challenge to Christian civilization, since current events show that communism and Islam wish to impose their civilization on Africans.

The present head of the Church in Mozambique concluded this speech by saying: "Love your country, which is Mozambique integrated in Portugal, just as a native of the Algarve loves his province without forgetting the common fatherland... the present African liberation movements are against the Church".

In short, according to this prelate we should be grateful for colonial exploitation, forced labour, the sale of men to the mines, the plunder of our lands and compulsory crops. We should be grateful for the oppression inflicted by the *palmaria** and the whip and deportation to São Tome. We should be grateful for the humiliation of racism and raped women, for the abandoned and fatherless children (*filhos do mateo*), and for being made into a nation of errand boys (*moleques*). We should be grateful for obscurantism, lack of schools and superstitions, for the lack of hospitals and social welfare. We should therefore be grateful. It is a sin to rebel against all this. To take up arms when they come to massacre us, as at Mueda, Xinavane, Lourenço Marques, Wiriyamu, is a sin. It is to be against the Church.

We have heard many sermons from Catholic bishops and priests, from Moslem sheikhs and from all the Protestant churches, and until very recently all of them were telling us that we should resign ourselves, that we should accept and be thankful.

It should be noted, however, that with the growing number of crimes committed by the enemy, over the past three years ever

* instrument of punishment peculiar to the Portuguese colonialists.

more voices condemning the colonial war and its massacres have been raised in religious circles. But these voices are still heard in isolation; we cannot therefore regard them as any official, public or clear stand against colonialism taken by the churches in Mozambique. Apart from superstition, the bourgeois colonial society uses other arguments to conceal and justify its dictatorial power.

They say we are an inferior and backward race with primitive customs, an ignorant people who must be educated by the superior and advanced race with all its good customs and knowledge. The Portuguese constitution explicitly states that the essence of the Portuguese nation is to "civilize" the "barbarians"; that is—us. They consistently repeat this argument, though everyone knows that Portugal has more than 40% illiteracy, that there is great poverty among the peasants and people of Portugal, that their obscurantism is no less than ours and that they have as many or more superstitions than we do, albeit different ones.

This is what they say when they want to convince us. But in practice and when they lay down their political line they say and do very different things.

In 1960, the late archbishop of Lourenço Marques, Teodosio Clemente de Gouveia, issued a pastoral which laid down the political line for schools:

"Schools are necessary, it is true; but only schools in which we teach the natives the path of human dignity and the grandeur of the nation which protects them."

To "educate" us clearly means to make us submissive mental slaves to colonialism.

General Kaulza de Arriaga, who was ignominiously defeated in Mozambique, said in the lectures he gave to the Military High Command of the fascist colonial army in 1966-1967:

"If there were 20 or 30 millions blacks in Angola and Mozambique, we would have an extremely serious problem; so it is good that these populations are so small. I don't know if this is the result of the export of these people to Brazil, but if so, it is good that such exports occurred."

Following his approval of the infamous slave trade—the most degrading form of human exploitation and humiliation—Kaulza

de Arriaga the "civilizer", who used to hold forth publicly on "winning the hearts of Africans" and "multiracialism"; at the same time advocated the annihilation of our people. Thus he stated:

"Another very important problem is the demographic problem: first, white growth, and then limiting black growth."

The meaning of "racial equality" and the mission of "promoting the advancement of the African population" becomes quite clear when the general writes:

"Multiracialism must be authentic and remain so, even if under its umbrella we perchance have to cut back slightly on the advancement of the black population. We must then convince these people that we are making them advance at a reasonable pace. . . . There is of course another problem: we must also not be too efficient in advancing the blacks since we must indeed make them advance, but should never overdo it."

In short "civilization", "education" and "advancement" are merely to conceal the actual reality of exploitation and plunder, oppression, brutalization and humiliation. They are pretty words intended to fool us and lull us to sleep. That is why we must see through every watchword put out by the oppressive regime to the reality it conceals.

The bourgeoisie still assert that the intelligent and competent minority, men with wealth and academic degrees, should govern the majority whom they consider stupid and incompetent.

Oliveira Salazar, the great mastermind of Portuguese colonial-fascism, expressed this principle clearly (F.C.C. Egerton, *Salazar Portugal and Her Leader*):

"The hierarchy which exists between the work of planning, organization, management and implementation, properly speaking, reflects not only a need inherent in production, but also the naturally imposed inequality of individual ability which is something which society cannot and should not seek to go against."

One of the greatest Portuguese writers, Eça de Queiroz, in a masterpiece in which he denounces and unmasks the bourgeoisie, *O Conde de Abranhos*, exposes the mentality of the exploitative and oppressive bourgeoisie as revealed in the system of university education:

"Thus the student remains forever imbued with the great social

idea that there are two classes, one which knows, the other which produces. Naturally the former, being the brain, governs; the latter, being the hand, works to clothe, shoe, feed and pay for the former. . . . Graduates are the politicians, orators, poets and, by tactical adoption, the capitalists, bankers and big businessmen. The uneducated are the carpenters, plasterers, tobacco workers, tailors. . . .

"The idea of a division into two classes is salutary, because having been educated to accept it those who leave university will not run the risk of being contaminated by the opposite idea—an absurd and atheistic idea destructive of universal harmony—that the uneducated man can know as much as the graduate. No, he cannot: it follows therefore that intellects are not equal, which destroys the pernicious principle of equal intelligence, the sinister basis of a perverse socialism."

In order to conceal what they are doing and keep us in ignorance, the oppressors, particularly the colonial bourgeoisie, spend all their time trying to drum it into us that they are exercising power for the benefit of everyone, or of the majority, and that they are doing so in order to spread progress, civilization and the Christian religion. They always tell us that to exercise power is a great sacrifice, involving heavy responsibilities which they would willingly and gladly abandon were it not a matter of duty.

The speeches we hear, the newspaper articles, radio propaganda and the entire colonialist poisoning apparatus daily tries to persuade us that the power of the oppressors is the best in the world, that we should feel happy to be under their domination and that only ungrateful people, madmen and communists could think otherwise. Nevertheless, the reality which lies concealed behind the splendid phrases is very different.

From the Governor General to the local administrator, the entire administrative apparatus has the sole purpose of doing everything possible to ensure that the companies, the rich, the capitalists exploit the people.

The laws that are made, the taxes that are paid and the orders that are given never serve the People and are always for the benefit of the bosses. If on occasion there is a law which appears to benefit the People, it is because the people's rebelliousness has

been very strong and something is therefore done to appease their anger, so as to demobilize the masses and thus be able to continue colonial domination.

An example of this was the dock strike in Lourenço Marques in 1963. Before the strike stevedores were paid 12 to 15 esc. a day, but after the strike and in spite of repressive measures, wages were increased to 28 esc., for fear of a more serious revolt by the stevedores. Now on account of the war, wages are being raised everywhere with the aim of corrupting people and trying to make them forget they are colonized, exploited, oppressed and humiliated. In the same way, in the areas in which they fear that the people are starting to support the struggle and that the struggle may spread there, the colonialists quickly become less arrogant and distribute big photographs of blacks and whites apparently happy together. But this is just a facade since the PIDE continues to arrest, torture and murder people while sweets are distributed to children for propaganda purposes.

The nature of oppression remains the same.

Through government laws they continue to have us seized and sold to South African mines. Those who gain are the gold mine owners, while those who lose their lives, come back with tuberculosis, or minus an arm or a leg are ourselves. It is government laws which compel us to grow cotton and sell it to the big companies. Those who gain are the companies, while we never have clothes to wear despite having produced the cotton.

Government laws hand us over to the sugar and tea companies as machines for labour. These companies make many millions, but in our homes in the morning we and our families have neither tea nor sugar.

The administration arrests us if we refuse to comply with the wishes of the companies, and it forces us to work in the fields, mines or factories.

It is our taxes which pay the salaries in the administration which oppresses us; it is our taxes which pay the police who arrest us when we disobey the companies; it is our taxes which pay the army which massacres us if we rebel against oppression.

We and our labour pay for everything, but those who are served and obeyed are the exploiters.

The bourgeoisie and the colonialists say that the courts are impartial and that justice is done in them. According to the propaganda justice is blind because it makes no distinction between the rich man and the poor man, between the great lord and the humble worker, and thus arrives at the truth, rewarding the just and punishing the guilty.

True, they say so. But no one has ever heard of a bourgeois or colonialist court ordering the return of land to peasants who have been dispossessed. Today, as is currently happening in the case of Cabora Bassa dam, where 25,000 people have been dispossessed and driven from their land, there is no court which says that we are in the right. Nor has anyone ever heard of courts condemning the FIDE for murdering and torturing people, or for holding them in prison for months and years without trial. The courts condemn those who fight for the People, and condone, support and praise those who massacre the People.

These very concrete examples which everyone knows and which all of us have experienced in our everyday lives show very clearly what colonialist capitalist power is for and who benefits from it.

When power is in the hands of the exploiters, it is used by them to impose their dictatorship.

In the exploiters' society, in order to exercise power it is necessary to belong to the exploiting group, and to put oneself body and soul at its service.

In traditional society not just anyone can be a chief. To be a chief one must belong to the ruling feudal stratum, to the chief's family, that is, one must be either his son or his nephew. Those who appoint the new chief are either his predecessor or a body of feudalists.

The same happens in bourgeois society where power is held by the companies, the big capitalists, and is exercised by faithful servants of capital.

It is well-known that when a Governor-General or a Minister is replaced, apart from the wealth he has accumulated during his term of office, he immediately finds a high post in a bank or company. Deputies, governors and ministers move from the companies and banks to government, and from government to

companies and banks.

For example, among his various posts before his appointment in October 1971, the present Governor of Mozambique, Pimentel dos Santos, was Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Companhia Mineira do Lobito. Clearly, although he is a Governor, he is still connected with his company and serves it. In September 1972 his company, in association with Bethlehem Steel of the USA and the Mozambique Uranium Company, was granted a concession for prospecting and mining minerals in an area covering tens of thousands of square kilometres between Chioco and Changara in Tete province. We could give similar examples for each of the ministers, provincial governors, deputies, etc. . . .

In the context of a colonial society such as exists in Mozambique under colonial control, apart from the "qualities" normal bourgeois society demands of the individual, he is required to belong to the colonizing race or at least to display total submission to the colonizer, thus becoming a mere puppet.

These facts, which are known to all of us, clearly demonstrate that Power, the State, are not simply neutral, technical instruments, but weapons used by the exploiting classes against the exploited masses.

Oppression does not exist because the local or higher administrator or the governor are evil, hard-hearted men who find satisfaction in exploiting us.

Generally speaking, as individuals, as people, they are neither better nor worse than anyone else, of whatever race. They are what they are because of the position they occupy.

If there happens to be an administrator or local administrator whose conscience is tormented by the crimes he is forced to commit, and if he dares to oppose what his job demands of him, he is immediately removed, replaced and punished.

It is for this reason that we always say we are fighting a system and not the individuals within it.

The practice of Portuguese colonialism and the war of aggression was not altered in the slightest by Marcelo Caetano's better or worse qualities when he replaced Salazar, just as the criminal and murderous activities of the FIDE persist under its new name, the DGS.

The existence of exploiting classes, white or black or any other colour, creates an exploitative form of power and state.

That is why we always say that our struggle is against the exploitation of man by man, of which Portuguese colonialism is today the principal expression in our country. In other words, this means that our objective is to overthrow the power of the exploiting classes in Mozambique whose main representatives are the colonialist and imperialist bourgeoisie, and to destroy the colonialist State, which is the essential form of colonialist and imperialist domination in our country.

It is important to be quite clear about these matters. There are nationalists, some out of naivety because they do not have developed class-consciousness and others because they themselves are involved in exploitation, who think that the aim of our struggle should be to establish black power in place of white power, and to appoint or elect Africans to the various political, administrative, economic and other posts now held by whites. The former, when actively involved, understand and accept the need to destroy the exploitative State, while the latter, who identify with the system, are against its destruction. In short, for the nationalists who are not wholly satisfied with colonial power simply because it is foreign, the ultimate aim of the struggle would in fact be to "Africanize" exploitation. That is why they reject our revolutionary ideology, and they especially reject the complete transformation in thinking and behaviour which we demand claiming that it is not important in the fight against colonialism.

This is a reactionary position which jeopardizes the nature and purpose of the struggle.

For these people our struggle should be a struggle between black power and white power, whereas for us the struggle is between the power of the exploiters and people's power.

We have already seen that the entire apparatus of power in an exploitative State—its laws, administration, courts, police force and army—has as its sole objective to maintain exploitation and serve the exploiters.

This State, this Power, these laws are not neutral techniques or instruments which can be equally well used by the enemy or by us. Therefore the decisive issue is not that of replacing of European

staff with African staff.

Just as the colonialists have their way of fighting and we have ours and just as they have their military science and we have ours, so do we have our power and they have theirs. There is conflict between us and them on the origin, nature, methods and objectives of power.

This power which is coming into being reflects the new balance of forces which is emerging in our country, which is favourable for a popular alliance. The exploiting minority's former dictatorship over the people is being replaced by the power of the people, which is being imposed on all colonialist forces and reactionary classes, the overwhelming majority prevailing over the tiny minority and destroying exploitation.

Our Power is different in form and content from anything which has previously existed in our country.

Our Power belongs to the people and is exercised by its authentic representatives to serve the interests of the people.

We cannot found a people's State with its laws and administrative machinery on the basis of a State whose laws and administrative machinery were wholly designed to serve the exploiters. We cannot serve the masses by governing with State powers designed to oppress the masses.

To "Africanize" colonialist and capitalist power would be to negate the meaning of our struggle. What would be the point of our fight if we were to continue to be subject to forced labour, the companies and the mines, even if there were African managers and overseers everywhere? What would be the point of our sacrifices if we were still forced to sell cattle and cotton in markets that benefit only the traders, even if they were Africans? What would be the purpose of so much bloodshed if we were still subject to a State which even though governed by Mozambicans served only the rich and powerful? How can we maintain a police force which arrests and tortures workers and keep an army which fires on the people, even if all its generals were black?

A State composed of the rich and powerful in which a minority takes decisions and imposes its will, whether we agree or not and whether we understand or not, would be the continuation in a new form of the situation against which we are now fighting.

The question of people's power is the essential question in our Revolution.

In this context it is absurd to talk of "autonomy" or even consider the "independence" that Caetano or his successors could offer us.

The masses of the people have understood this, their class instinct has enabled them to grasp this point: Independence, autonomy, as conceived by imperialism and colonialism, are tactics designed to preserve everything as it was before — to maintain exploitation.

Hence, it is because they have taken it upon themselves to defend their power that the masses accept the most heroic sacrifices to expand the struggle and consolidate the liberated areas. All the enemy offensives, however rabid and violent, have been smashed in the face of the unyielding determination of the masses to defend their power.

In 1967 and 1969, when a new group of exploiters in our midst managed to a great extent to paralyze our leadership and started to distort the meaning of our struggle, in the hope of re-introducing a dictatorship of the exploiters, it was the people, the class instinct of our working masses, who realized the danger we were in and gave the revolutionary forces within the leadership the decisive support that led to victory.

Our Power represents the interests of our working people, expressing our determination to drive out colonialism and imperialism and create a new society without exploitation. Our power is the revolutionary expression of an alliance which, by defending the interests of our peasant and working class, unites all social strata and groups which are fixed by the spirit of patriotism and democracy: workers, peasants, labourers on the plantations and in the sawmills, concessions, mines, railways, docks and industries, drivers, mechanics, intellectuals, technicians, public servants, students, white collar workers, small and middle traders, etc.

The Central Committee of FRELIMO defined the qualities of a Central Committee member in a document issued at a meeting in May 1970: "It is from among the militants who show the most outstanding militant qualities that members who are to lead the organization, and in particular members of the Central Commit-

tee must be selected. A Central Committee member must come from the ranks of the struggle. A Central Committee member must distinguish himself by his dedication to the national liberation struggle and by his own self-denial in devoting himself to the struggle and to serving the people's interests."

The same document underlines the qualities required of a FRELIMO militant as follows: "He serves the masses and sacrifices himself for the majority".

This is to say that whereas in the other zone, the exploiters' zone, it is required of a leader that he serve the exploiters and come from within their ranks, in our zone the leaders come from the masses, from the fighting ranks, and are servants of the masses ready to sacrifice everything, including their lives, on behalf of the majority in defence of the majority.

We are the majority, we peasants, labourers, and workers born of the exploited and dominated people, and our objective is to liberate ourselves, to build a new society, a society that reflects our interests.

Our struggle has already established our power over vast regions of our country. In these regions it is our interests which prevail. FRELIMO's political line, which reflects these interests, is daily implemented in all sectors of work for the benefit of the majority. FRELIMO's political line, which guides our power, is daily transforming social relations, the relations between people, and changing society. Our political line is transforming nature, putting the resources of our land at the disposal of the majority and mobilizing the laws of nature for the benefit of the broad masses.

From the moment when our power began to be exercised in education, we stated that its task was to educate men to win the war, build a new society and develop our country.

Our teaching is aimed at putting science at the service of the people and the revolution, and at making pupils, students and intellectuals into workers at the service of other workers.

When our power began to be exercised on the health front, we stated that hospital work should put into practice the principle that the revolution frees the people.

We don't want hospitals staffed by technicians who are rich and serve the rich. The luxury of bourgeois and colonialist hospitals matters little to us, because what we want is to make our hospitals

into bases, operational detachments in the struggle against both physical disease and diseases which undermine the mind, superstition, ignorance, tribalism and the bourgeois mentality.

In Cabo Delgado, Niassa, Tete and Manica e Sofala the companies and rich landowners are abandoning our areas and fleeing.

Hence our power is being established in production. It is no longer the companies and landowners who lay down the objectives of labour and production or benefit from our efforts.

Today, because we have Power, production is liberating man and giving him his identity as the transformer of nature and society. We produce in order to learn, and we learn in order to produce and struggle better; we produce to supply our needs, feed our children and families and live better.

Our Power creates collective production to serve the People and the Revolution, destroys the exploitative system of production and transforms individual producers into producers integrated into the community. Instead of dividing men into the exploited and exploiters, production now unites them all, making all of them servants of the people who are developing the welfare of the people.

In our liberated areas the colonial bourgeois State has been destroyed and feudal structures have disappeared. A new democratic form of power is emerging, which is ours.

Those who exercise power really enjoy the confidence of the masses, since their political growth has been within the struggle of the masses. They constantly discuss with the masses. New guidelines and directives, which come from discussion and the masses' practical experience, are adopted by the masses and put into practice.

From the circle (*círculo**) to the locality, and from district to provincial and national level, for the first time in our history the people have their own power which they do not feel to be something alien to which they are subject.

Power which belongs to the exploited majority and imposes the latter's will on the whole nation: such is our Power.

* *círculo*: the lowest unit of civilian organization in FRELIMO, the base of the mass structure.

II. Organizing Democratic Life

The exercise of power, its form and methods, must correspond to its content.

Yet it sometimes happens that new wine is kept in old bottles—that is, new power may be expressed through old forms.

In laying down the working methods of FRELIMO—starting in Chapter VII clause (a) and—our Statutes expressly list a series of points which can be summarized as follows: free discussion, the submission of the minority to the majority, collective responsibility, and criticism and self-criticism as regards work and behaviour.

Our Statutes, the content of our action, demand real democracy, true freedom of opinion, and thorough discussion on any decision we take.

This is why we attach so much importance in our life to meetings with the masses and the fighters. These meetings enable us to sound out the true feelings and awareness of the rank and file, discover the contradictions and explain and instill both the political line and the concrete directives for each specific situation.

Our decisions must always be democratic in both content and form. 'Content' means that they must reflect the real interests of the masses. 'Form' means that the broad masses must take part in arriving at the decision, feeling that it is theirs and not something imposed from above.

Obviously there are practical and urgent situations when a responsible (*responsável*) has to take it upon himself to make a decision on his own without consulting anyone. In an ambush a commander cannot assemble all the fighters so that they can take a vote on when to fire, when to attack or when to retreat.

But, on the other hand, the more discussion a commander holds with the fighters before an action, making them grasp the meaning and objective of the battle they are undertaking, the difficulties they face and the right tactics to adopt, the more disciplined they will be in the line of fire and the more prepared to make sacrifices, because victory depends on the good fighting that results from good leadership which releases the initiative of the rank and file.

Sometimes it can happen that in the course of discussion a comrade may express himself badly or even put forward an erroneous idea. We might then tend to order him to keep quiet, basing ourselves on our authority. The result would be negative: firstly because the speaker would feel misunderstood and will persist in his erroneous ideas even to the extent of grumbling outside the meeting, and secondly, and even more importantly, in order to oppose an erroneous idea it is essential that everyone, or at least the great majority, should understand how and why the idea is an erroneous one.

Democracy within the Party is an essential precondition for each and every person to feel committed and responsible for a situation, since the creation and development of the situation are always closely linked.

Of course there are different echelons within structures. In practice, the type and nature of each discussion varies according to the level at which it is taking place, which is only natural. But the principle of discussion and collective decision-making must always be maintained.

A bureaucratic decision, that is a decision simply taken by the commander or leadership without prior debate and explanation among the masses, while it may be excellent in content—which is unlikely—will not mobilize the masses who, in the final analysis, are those who have to adopt, implement and defend it.

However good its content, a bureaucratic decision runs the risk of being unrelated to the masses' level of understanding; in other words, it may be unrealistic and create a contradiction which would have been avoided if discussion had taken place.

Democratic discussion requires *rigorous* preparation. Before the discussion we must make a careful study of the subject, dis-

cover what the general feeling is, and be quite clear as to the party line on the matter in question.

Thus prepared, we are in a position to guide the discussion and formulate correct policies and correct watchwords.

We must always bear in mind that even if a policy itself is correct, it can often have a negative effect to seek to impose it if it does not correspond to the masses' level of understanding. In particular, policies which go against traditions should be introduced gradually, and only after thorough mobilization affecting especially the sector or sectors which suffer most from the tradition in question.

In guiding a discussion, we should use the tactic of uniting the conscious sectors, isolating the recalcitrant forces and winning over the hesitant majority.

Therefore, in our discussions we must not be abstract, we must deal with concrete issues, and we must lay bare the most painful facts so that everyone feels a real need to solve the problem.

A discussion should therefore be prepared in the same way as a battle is: carry out strategic and tactical reconnaissance of the items to be discussed, understand our weaknesses and strong-points and those of the position which we want to combat, and organize and deploy our ideas correctly, knowing how to advance and how to retreat if need be.

In order to carry out an offensive to democratize our methods of work, we must attach special importance to political, economic and military democracy in our midst.

While working we must always bear in mind that power belongs to the people, that we are all equally oppressed, humiliated, sold, exploited and massacred, and that we are brothers of the same class with one purpose: to serve the people. This is the basis of our unity, the starting point for our democracy.

Political democracy is based on collective discussion, on collective solution of our problems. Each and every one of us is called upon to express his views on how best to serve the people in each specific situation. Each and every one of us is responsible for the life of our Organization, for the development and consolidation of the struggle and the Revolution. Each and every one of us has a duty to develop our political line creatively. Synthesizing the rich experience we have acquired in political and armed struggle

against the enemy in transforming society and mobilizing the laws of nature on behalf of collective progress.

Errors which are made, whether individual or collective, and violations of our political line and discipline, should serve to educate us. The lessons we learn from these errors should be discussed by the masses, so that they can gain this new experience. Violations of our line and discipline should be the subject of discussion and public criticism by the masses. In so doing, on the one hand we use our mistakes to deepen our political consciousness and, on the other, we put the defence of our line and discipline in the hands of the people, where it belongs.

The tendency of certain comrades to conceal especially the mistakes of responsables from the masses, reflects a lack of political democracy and lack of confidence in the masses. Power belongs to the working people. The political line reflects the interests of the labouring masses and discipline is the watchdog which defends the line. It is therefore clear that the defence of our line and discipline is first and foremost the task of the masses of the people, since this defence is the defence of their lives.

To entrust the masses with the task of criticizing mistakes, deviations and violations of our line and discipline is also to affirm that mistakes, deviations, violations and crimes are above all political acts which reflect either inadequate understanding of our line or opposition to that line. Within this context, public criticism and denunciation provide political lessons which educate both ourselves and those who contravene our line.

It is for this reason that, generally speaking, we are opposed to secret trials and any immediate preoccupation with drawing up penal and disciplinary codes. When secret trials are introduced as a system it prevents the masses from exercising power and opens the way to possible abuse. Moreover, legal codes tend to freeze dynamic development and the process of continuous change in which we are engaged, and can therefore easily depoliticize and bureaucratize justice.

Military democracy is guaranteed by the participation of everyone in synthesizing our combat experience, in collective study of our country and of the enemy, in the lessons learned together from each operation, and in constant discussion on ways

of expanding the armed struggle to new areas and consolidating our rear.

Economic democracy is an integral part of our fight to destroy the system of human exploitation.

We ensure economic democracy by first abolishing the power of the companies and the exploiting colonialist-capitalist or traditional-feudal classes. By preventing these classes from exploiting the workers we are laying the foundations for economic democracy.

Our work of mobilizing and organizing the masses to transform individual and family production into collective production consolidates the process of economic democracy. Indeed, by doing this we prevent the individual and family producers from degenerating into exploitative ownership giving rise to classes of new exploiters. At the same time, we give material form to the just principles that all the wealth of our country and our efforts belong to the community, serve the community and are intended to advance and improve the living standards and welfare of the people.

In this respect, work, participation in production, is not only a duty but also the right of each and everyone.

For the revolution there are no unemployed, no useless or disabled people, no talents which cannot be used. Everyone has both the duty and the right to participate in the common struggle to transform society and use the resources of nature for the benefit of the community. Taking part in production unites us with our class, and refusal to participate reflects opposition to our line and support for the exploiters.

Collective discussion on ways to increase, diversify and improve our production, constant and collective synthesis of our positive and negative experiences, and collective decisions on the way to distribute the fruits of production, taking into account the requirements for both the war effort and raising the living standards of the broad masses, all guarantees the development of economic democracy.

Within this framework, we can see that laziness in our ranks and lack of respect for the property of the people and movement are serious infringements of both our political line and economic

democracy, reflecting a parasitic and exploitative attitude.

The process and experience of democracy are new in our country. Because they have always lived under the domination of various exploiting classes, our people have never known real democracy.

The Revolution has brought democracy, which is already being asserted at several levels: political, economic and military. It is also exercised within the framework of the Organization. In the present phase it is vital to broaden its field of application, thereby even further putting into practice the principle that power belongs to the working masses.

In this context an important requirement, corresponding to the consolidation of power in the liberated areas, is to progressively extend the system of elections, starting at the lowest levels, for the appointment of responsables from among the people, creating truly democratic basic structures of administrative power.

It is obvious that elections cannot be anarchic but must be oriented in such a way that the choice of the masses falls on those who have internalized the Party line, both conceptually and in their behaviour, and who have initiative and organizing ability.

It is therefore important to show great vigilance in preventing the election of people with exploitative tendencies, even though they may enjoy some popularity, either for subjective reasons or because of demagogic activity.

Old and young, men and women, all must participate equally in elections and must show responsibility by fighting the archaic tendency to discriminate against women or young people.

We must realize that as the Revolution advances and is consolidated and life is reorganized, an ever clearer division of labour is established between the political organization, the administrative and the military structures.

The ever greater involvement of elected representatives of the population in administrative tasks encourages the initiative of the masses and makes them used to a democratic life, creates a sense of collective responsibility and leads the masses to exercise power.

In the final phase, the task of the political Party is definitely to lead, organize, guide and educate the masses; the task of the

administrative structure is to put into practice decisions taken in the various fields of economic and social life; and the task of the military structure is to support and protect the masses, drive out our country's enemy, defend our land and take an active part in its reconstruction.

The Party leads and guides the reorganization of the life of the masses and national reconstruction just as it guides and leads the army, setting the goals to be achieved and heightening political consciousness. The army creates the conditions for liberating the people and the land. The administration puts into practice directives on national reconstruction.

At the present stage, in which administrative tasks are increasing and diversifying, it is important progressively to democratize methods of work and of appointing responsables.

Our methods of work are not of secondary importance, as it is through them that we achieve the practical realization of our decisions.

For a leading body to work with the masses it must be united.

When there are contradictions in a leading body, this gives rise to rumours, intrigue and slander. Each faction tries to mobilize support for its views, dividing the masses. When we are disunited we divide the masses and fighters, making the rank and file lose confidence in the leadership, demobilizing them and making them inactive and opening breaches through which the enemy penetrate. We ultimately divide our own friends.

To be united and to unite with the masses, we need to know ourselves well.

To know ourselves well is to be sure that we are correct in thought and conduct and, when something is incorrect to be ready to assume responsibility for it, submitting ourselves to criticism and self-criticism.

Unity within the leadership behind a correct line, at whichever level it may be in is the driving force of any sector and the precondition for success in a task.

Just as a person must feed himself daily so that his body is able to cope with his tasks and difficulties, so does unity need daily subsistence.

Collective living, work and study, criticism and self-criticism,

and mutual help are the food, mineral salts and vitamins of unity.

Members of the leadership should not therefore live separately from one other, each involved in his own private life and coming together only when there is a meeting.

Taking into account, of course, tasks each of them has and the fact that they have to move from one place to another, the members of the leadership ought to attempt to live together, getting to know one another better in their everyday life and understanding one another's shortcomings, so as to be better able to mutually correct one another. Working together, producing together, sweating together, suffering the rigours of the march together and overcoming the difficulties presented by the enemy and the environment creates strong bonds of friendship and mutual respect. It is not by words that we are bound together, but by the many activities we share when serving the people; it is unity nurtured by sweat and blood that binds us together.

Thus, when we feel that a companion is falling behind we must make an effort to help him advance.

We must understand that the ignorance of one is a collective weakness and affects the work of us all.

How, for example, can we accept the fact that a companion is illiterate and cannot speak Portuguese when many of us can read and write and speak Portuguese? To make this comrade literate, to teach him to speak Portuguese, is it necessary for the Central Committee to meet and pass a resolution on the matter?

One person's weakness can never be anyone else's strong point, because the weakness of one, the mistake of one makes everyone's work more difficult, jeopardizes our task and weakens the community.

Our aim is to advance like the waves of the sea, advancing together and not leaving others behind in ignorance or error.

Organize political, scientific and literary studies so that we can jointly assess the situation and avail ourselves of the techniques require to overcome difficulties. Use criticism and self-criticism often, as much to rectify our methods or work as to correct personal errors and deviations.

However, we must not make criticism and self-criticism a pious routine, a kind of confessional where we recite our sins, are

absolved, receive penance and prepare to repeat the same acts.

We must vigorously combat the spirit of victory, of complacency. Nothing is more ludicrous and false than to hear a comrade say that "everything's fine, all's going well".

Assertions like this demonstrate self-satisfaction and a routine approach, as well as lack of analysis and an inability to detect weak points or organize the fight against them.

Lack of analysis and study leads to ignorance of problems and indecision in the face of concrete situations; and someone who wavers has no authority in the eyes of the masses.

An individual is not a responsible, a leader, simply because he has been elected or appointed to perform a task.

The real authority which makes a leader is political authority.

When a leader does not possess the confidence of his fellows and the masses or, having possessed it, has lost it, he falls into administrative authority, authoritarianism.

To have political authority is primarily to show through one's thought and conduct, whether one has internalized the party's political line and consistently lives by it.

A leader is at all times the representative, defender and the example of FRELIMO's political line.

If a contradiction arises between the line and a leader's behaviour, he will not be in a position to represent, defend and show the line to the people.

We have a popular saying that he who has steak in his mouth cannot speak.

In other words, an indiscipline responsible however much he may talk about discipline will in fact only teach indiscipline and, through his own indiscipline foster liberalism and anarchy.

A responsible who misappropriates the property of the Party to satisfy his own interests and indulgences can make a thousand speeches on the importance of respecting the property of the Party and People, and on the price paid in blood to acquire this property. In fact he can only teach people corruption, and they will fight among themselves to see who can benefit most from the Party's property, who can best turn the blood and sweat of the people to his own advantage.

A responsible who will not let his own hands become calloused

can organize hundreds of meetings on production, but he will not get one person to produce or set up a single co-operative.

A responsible who talks about collective production and wants to keep his own cultivated plot or cattle will continue to teach that private property should be maintained.

A responsible who organizes the fight against traditions which oppress women but is the first to accept his sons and daughters being subjected to initiation rites will actually mobilize the masses to remain submerged in reactionary traditions.

A responsible who comes to explain the importance of hygiene and health yet cannot dig a single latrine or clean his house and rid it of flies and mosquitoes, who does not boil his drinking water and continues to visit medicinemen and witch doctors, makes the people do the same by the example he sets.

In short, the masses will always say: He's saying this because he was told to say it, but his words are empty as the wind—let them blow past and everything will go on as before.

The end result is that such a responsible creates chaos by his behaviour and, fearful of being reprimanded by his superiors, fearful of being removed from his post, which he has surrounded with privileges, he will impose a kind of dictatorship over the masses in order to create a fine-looking facade when everything is in ruins.

Instead of using discussion and persuasion, he will shout out his orders and impose punishments and yet at the same time, because his way of life tends to implicate others, he will not be able to punish his accomplices, creating a general feeling of injustice, and he cannot punish those who know his weaknesses, thus creating liberalism.

Such a responsible will create most favourable conditions for fostering contradictions among the masses, divisions, opening wide the doors to rumour and intrigue. In short, he establishes an enemy base where there should be a centre from which FRELIMO's life is spread.

Political authority demands great discipline of a responsible—that is, his ideas, will and conduct must be totally identified with FRELIMO's political line and decisions of the leading organizations. In addition, political authority requires compe-

tence, willingness to learn, ability to recognize one's own limitations and determination to combat them.

An incompetent person is not in a position to lead or organize. To maintain his position he will have to impose decisions, and as these will necessarily be erroneous ones he will have to prevent discussion and criticism. At the same time, he will oppress all those in whom he sees better qualities, since he is aware only of his own ambition, ignoring the needs of the community and seeing others' competence as "competition".

The more competent someone is, the greater his willingness to learn from others, the easier for him to recognize his own limitations and fight against them. He will therefore always foster a collective spirit, discussion, encouraging the initiative of those below him and fighting bureaucracy which hinders progress.

A responsible must have an overall view of things, since only this will enable him to understand how his task or field of activity fits into the general process of the struggle. In this way, he will be able to define the short, medium and long term objectives and priorities in his work.

It is by establishing correct priorities that work can be planned. Planning means organizing material and human resources, creating the political and material conditions for achieving the programmed objectives in the given period, and establishing the right strategy and tactics to make most efficient use of the resources so as to fulfill the program properly.

A final quality required in a leader is: constant concern for improving the living conditions of the masses and fighters. The aim of the Revolution is to create better living conditions.

This implies material changes which will provide an objective basis for raising the standard of living. This in turn requires explanation and education, so that, both the need for change and the ways of benefiting from change and using it are understood.

For example, it is not enough to make a vegetable plot; people must also understand the benefits of eating salad and how to prepare it. It is not enough to dig pit latrines in a village or base; their purpose and use must also be explained.

In the final analysis, a responsible, the leadership, express our political line.

Their essential qualities are their defence of our line, and concern for the life of our political organization and for the life of the masses and fighters.

This is the supreme criterion for assessing the value of our work, the touchstone for distinguishing between correct, efficient leadership and incorrect and incompetent leadership.

In the colonialist and capitalist zone leadership is judged in terms of the benefits its activity brings to the exploiting classes and its capacity to impede and repress the demands put forward by the mass movement.

Because our aim is to serve the People, and Power belongs to the People, our criterion is the change effected in our society and the use of our natural resources for the benefit of the broad masses.



III. Centres From Which Our Line Is Disseminated

Apart from its specific function, any one of our centres—educational, medical, child care centre, trading post, co-operative or detachment, base or district—has a fundamental task as a centre for disseminating our line and new life, a model of the new society which is being built and of the new social relations between people.

Like a light in the dark night showing the way forward, our centres show the masses how our new society is being built. This means that our centres are dynamic agents for transforming people's thinking and the driving force in mobilizing nature's laws and resources to raise the masses' standard of living.

In the process of transforming man and society we come up against many obstacles.

Our task is to transform the vast population, rich and diverse, which from the Rovuma to the Maputo, from the furthest reaches of Tete to the Indian Ocean, constitutes our People. There are old people encrusted with archaic traditions and young people deformed by the false values of colonialism and capitalism. We have women who have been oppressed by society for centuries, their initiative stifled. Lawyers, engineers, sociologists, economists, technicians and intellectuals are coming to join our ranks who have in many cases been indoctrinated by bourgeois thought to despise manual labour and regard themselves as a ruling elite with nothing to learn. But we also find illiterate peasants, whose experience of the world is confined to the horizons of their village and in whom colonial domination instilled the idea that they are an ignorant and brutish mass incapable of rational thought or initiative. From factories and mines, from sawmills and planta-

tions, from the transport industries, an embryonic working class is coming to join us, with weak class-consciousness and not yet able to assume its leading role in the process of transforming society. From the administrative services and offices, from businesses and banks come public servants and clerical employees imbued with a petit bourgeois mentality.

The rural and urban areas alike send us a continuous stream of people each with their own specific deformations.

In the rural areas life is especially disorganized, without any idea of planning or punctuality, profoundly dominated by routine and outdated traditions which hamper progress and paralyze initiative. To the peasant Power means the hostile foreign government which makes its presence felt through identity cards and taxation, through forced labour and low prices paid for products so painfully produced, through the palmatoria and the litter. Terror stifles initiative. Men live in a state of permanent contradiction with nature, which is both unknown and fearful to them, and with a State which exploits, oppresses and humiliates them. Their social relations go little further than the village in which they live, at most extending to their own linguistic group.

In the colonialist-capitalist city the struggle for survival is fierce, forcing people to be selfish and competitive. Ambitiousness and the struggle to exploit others more and more destroys trust between people, making them rivals. Public servants and employees foment slander and intrigue against colleagues in order to be promoted at their expense. Superiors are flattered, favours are sought, alliances are made against one another and people humiliate themselves to safeguard their daily bread. The degenerate colonialist-capitalist culture vaunts corrupt and degrading tastes which put men on the same level as animals. The desire for power and luxury built on the exploitation and humiliation of others is instilled in everyone.

The wave of colonial-fascist oppression still dominates the countryside and especially the towns. PIDE activities are aimed at creating a state of permanent terror among people, to make them resign themselves to the fate of a destiny of exploitation and domination.

The launching of the struggle and the victories we are winning

show very concretely that there is no such thing as destiny or fate, and that we are capable of transforming society and creating a New Life.

This is why people seek out FRELIMO. Everyone hates the enemy, oppression and humiliation, exploitation and terror, although their definition of who is the enemy may often not be very clear. Everyone longs for freedom and is ready to make sacrifices for it; even when they do not yet know how to describe its content correctly. Everyone aspires to a different world, even if they cannot precisely say what the difference will be.

Thus, lacking clarity, filled with doubts and uncertainties, with vices and faults, obsolete traditions and decadent habits, in the grip of tribalism or individualism, with stifled initiative and afraid to think, with both inherited and imposed complexes, everyone comes to the struggle, comes to FRELIMO seeking a sure answer, the correct path.

Our task is to integrate each one of them and transform them into servants of the People, fighters defending the interests of the exploited masses, militants in the cause of national liberation.

There will be no miracles to help us in this giant task. The process of transformation is being carried out by men, by ourselves, constantly fighting against our own limitations.

If we are to transform both ourselves and those who daily join us, we must be organized; in other words we must have the apparatus, the structures needed to apply the political line.

Unless we are organized we cannot transform ourselves and, on the contrary, we will be held back by the dead weight of habits and tastes brought from the enemy zone.

To be organized means, first of all, having structures. These structures are the organized presence of FRELIMO among us. They show us what our tasks are, how these are related to all the other tasks, and how in this way we become part of the body of FRELIMO. Without these structures, that is without this integration in FRELIMO, we would live in isolation, like limbs severed from a body.

It is clear that however intelligent, dynamic, hardworking and dedicated a person may be, he alone cannot do all the work of the centre in which he lives. Structures provide us with suitable

means through which to distribute tasks amongst ourselves.

Structures provide us with proper channels for solving problems which face us in our work and lives.

It is through our structures that we ensure that our problems are discussed and ways are found to apply our line creatively to every concrete situation we face. It is within the framework of our structures that we correct our methods of work.

Structures are a means of democratizing our way of life, since they involve everyone in the solution of problems in an organized and collective way.

When we involve everyone in solving problems, when we make everyone feel responsible for solving problems we face, we are collectivizing our leadership, collectivizing our lives.

But structures do not fall from heaven; they are products of specific situations and answer practical needs. That is to say, structures must be functional, meeting the specific needs and situations of a given centre. They should make it possible to both divide and coordinate the centre's tasks and to carry out the main task as well as other revolutionary tasks.

Obviously we do not live in a static situation: the development of the struggle and enemy action constantly alter our situation. The developing situation and changing conditions require structures which adapt accordingly. Structures must be adapted to life; life cannot be made subject to structures. This means that the structures must be flexible, so they can always be adapted to the actual situation.

The function of structures is to ensure the continuity and development of work, making it possible to fulfill our task correctly under any conditions. In other words, they must be dynamic, transmitting the energy that sets the machine in motion.

But structures are also human beings, for without them they become mere figures drawn with varying degrees of competence on a sheet of paper or on canvas.

Errors and deviations often crop up in the course of the revolution, even though the line is clear and the structures adequate. It is our weaknesses which must be blamed for these.

The development of our Revolution, the expansion and consolidation of our armed struggle causes the appearance of new

contradictions. Every step forward always provokes a reaction, Revolution is always opposed by counter-revolution.

The main contradiction to arise among us in the present phase is that between the requirements of the situation and our ability.

The struggle, the establishment of people's power, is developing more rapidly than the consciousness and ability of our cadres, who have the task of guiding, channelling and imparting dynamism (*dinamizar*) to the overall process.

The chief feature of this contradiction is the inability of the structures in some centres to solve the various problems which crop up correctly on their own, the difficulty they have in defining and planning their tasks, and the fact that these centres find it impossible to integrate and transform the growing numbers of people entrusted to them, the ever more numerous members of the population for whom they are responsible.

But all of us have a clear guiding line, a line which has stood the test of practice, the *FRELIMO* line, which covers all aspects of our life and all sectors of our struggle. Creative analysis of our line enables us to find appropriate solutions for every concrete situation we come up against. Our structures have developed along with the situation and we are always organizing ourselves. We have the masses with us, we have the structures and the line.

So where does the cause of the contradiction lie? How can we solve the contradiction in order to advance to a higher stage? The answer lies in the responsables, who are the decisive factor in the application of our line and the activity of our structures.

We wonder why it is that veteran responsables of the struggle, who have made us what we are through their many sacrifices, should allow themselves to be overtaken by events, so to speak.

The prime cause of this situation is the spirit of victory, of over-confidence.

The great victories we have won, not only on the battlefield but also in wiping out reactionary forces and eliminating enemy infiltration in our midst, and also in national reconstruction, have led certain comrades to see only continuous victories, to underestimate the enemy tactically and to regard every situation as "normal" and "fine", never learning from setbacks or studying how to overcome our limitations.

These comrades therefore stop studying our line, believing that they already know it well enough, as the victories prove. As a result political analysis is abandoned, we become less perceptive to deviations, contraventions of the line and are thus unable to detect and nip in the bud the enemy's ideological, moral and physical infiltration.

They neglect scientific study in the belief that they already know enough, especially since the victories are there to prove it. But the progress of the war and national reconstruction demands of us increasingly sound and more advanced scientific knowledge which is what we lack. As a result of this attitude, further progress is impeded by our ignorance, and anything which does not progress stagnates and rots.

They stop studying the enemy in the belief that they already know enough, as the victories prove. But the enemy's manoeuvres are continually changing, their attitude becoming more and more criminal and desperate with each defeat. If we do not constantly study the enemy and if we underestimate him tactically, we fall into a routine and are therefore taken by surprise by the enemy's new schemes and crimes. Thus, instead of maintaining the offensive, instead of destroying the snake in the egg, we go back on the defensive, discovering the snake only when it is full grown and lifting its venomous head to kill us.

Little by little internal struggle is relaxed, since we are already sufficiently pure, since the dividing line between us and the enemy is already sufficiently clear, in so far as we no longer have physical contact with them. Little by little the old life, the life of the other zone re-asserts itself, liberalism is introduced, corruption arises, compromise begins to paralyse us, erroneous ideas proliferate and superstition spreads. This creates a lax atmosphere, mistrust and injustice appear, divisions arise and the enemy find that the soil is becoming fertile for them to act.

The spirit of victory is a manifestation of left opportunism: it makes us underestimate the enemy tactically, and leads to adventurism. Sooner or later the spirit of victory will exact sacrifices, making us pay dearly, in heavy and futile losses, for the errors we have committed. The spirit of victory is the twin brother of the spirit of failure or defeatism; left opportunism is the other side of

the coin of right opportunism.

When there are setbacks as a result of errors committed in the spirit of victory, the adventurists fall into defeatism fearing the enemy strategically, starting to analyze only failures and ceasing to see the advances of the struggle. Because they were believed in rapid victory, the war now seems "interminable" to them. The victories which have been won were fortuitous isolated cases, as far as they are concerned.

With this attitude they start to carry out their tasks with evident lack of interest, completely abandoning an overall view of things and seeing only mistakes in other comrades' work but refusing to point out and discuss mistakes or propose correct solutions. They prefer backbiting to criticism and self-criticism, intrigue to open discussion. They create their own tiny groups, their allies.

Analyzing only failures and seeing only mistakes becomes a way of justifying and concealing their abandonment of revolutionary positions and lack of interest in work.

They invent imaginary diseases and problems, behaving as if they were misunderstood, persecuted and victims of conspiracies and enemies which exist only in their slothful and sick imaginations. Their bodies continue to live in our zone but their spirits are already installed in the enemy zone, dreaming of comfort and corruption, now regarded as marvellous things.

Another shortcoming which is frequently linked with the foregoing attitudes, is the spirit of the "old hand" or veteran in war and politics, who knows everything, who has nothing to learn, especially from the new generation. The members of the new generation, full of dynamism and eager to introduce new ideas and methods, are seen as unwelcome competitors come to dislodge the "veterans" from their set ways and privileges.

These "veterans", who are veterans only by virtue of their long service and not because of the wealth of experience they have synthesized to pass on to the new generation, are mentally stagnant people. They perform their tasks in a routine way, never thinking of introducing new methods born of experience. In their work they are not concerned about doing their job as quickly and as well as possible, and they make mistakes which they justify by saying that to err is human. They are ashamed to admit their

ignorance and therefore refuse to learn, persisting in their old erroneous ways. They use their long service as a pretext for claiming privileges, giving priority to their own personal, selfish problems. They demand special treatment on the strength of their long service, forgetting that it is above all exemplary attitudes and behaviour that we demand of veterans who teach us the New Life. They impede the promotion of new responsables and new forces and try to sow mistrust among them. They do this because they have lost their overall view and all sense of the growing demands of the war and national reconstruction. Their only concern is their position, not the struggle; they want to preserve the privileges and routines that make them little capitalists.

These manifestations reflect the permanent contradictions between the old and the new, between progress and routine, between the urge for progress and conservatism. This contradiction is inherent in all revolutions and the correct way to deal with it is to educate all responsables in the spirit of progress, to see things in their totality and to serve the people, winning over the new generation to carry on the work.

The new generation must also be correctly educated.

When they live in our liberated areas, when they are brought up in our centres, these members of the new generation are often automatically regarded as "revolutionaries" imbued with our line. They tend to think so too. Political work among them is sometimes neglected, as is collective struggle against the tastes, vices and defects of the other zone. Without any basis whatsoever and simply because they grew up away from the enemy presence, the new generation is regarded as free from the past.

This is a serious and dangerous mistake which could lead to the formation of little reactionaries in our midst while we believe we are creating a new generation of continuers of the revolution.

We must understand that the new generation grows up in contact with the old, who pass on the bad habits of the past. Our experience shows how even children and young people in our own centres can be contaminated by decadent ideas, habits and tastes. In our situation subversive action by the enemy also plays an important part in introducing and fostering the values and

behaviour of the other zone. Finally, during the period when capitalism and imperialism still exist in the world, their propaganda and subversion will make themselves felt among us, and winning independence and power is in no way a guarantee of impermeability to decadent values.

Indeed, the deadweight of an age-old heritage cannot be wiped out in 10 or 20 years. The values, tastes and ideas of the past, although contrary to our line, contrary to our life, contrary to progress, are still strong. They have been shaken by the struggle but it is still too early for us to sing songs of victory. The political struggle must continue for decades until almost all of society has really been won over to the new way of thinking, and new problems and contradictions arise demanding new struggles.

Furthermore, the new generation grew up without direct experience of the exploitation, oppression or personal humiliation of the colonialist-capitalist society. They have known air raids but have never suffered the *palmatoria*, they have fought against helicopters but have never been subjected to forced labour, they have wiped out enemy soldiers but have never been arrested to pay taxes, they have witnessed atrocities but have never been sold into the mines.

A wealth of experience of suffering exists within the broad masses, an enormous store of hatred towards the enemy. But these experiences are not properly exchanged and too poorly synthesized to deepen knowledge and hatred of the enemy and exploitation. It could be said that this experience of suffering, which should be used to educate the new generation and consolidate mass consciousness as a whole, is being wasted.

To overcome these shortcomings and to solve the contradictions of the present phase, an ideological and organizational offensive is required.

This means working at the section and group level in the case of the army, and at the circle level in the case of mass organization.

However, in order to really transform the sections and the circles into basic cells, into centres of our political life, it was felt necessary to act first upon the responsables, since it is they who have the job of activating the rank and file.

We must activate each work sector with people who, by their

behaviour and ideas, show that they have understood our political line creatively and are part of our organisation's vanguard, that they have a sense of initiative and an overall view that they try to combine their main task with other revolutionary tasks and that they engage in internal struggle, and study and note the slightest deviations and contraventions of the line, defending the discipline which is the watchdog over our political line.

Apart from the concrete problems and specific ills in each sector, the leadership and responsables must concern themselves with the following:

(a) representing, instilling and defending our political line in their sector;

(b) making sure that our discipline is understood and defended, as the watchdog of our policy;

(c) putting politics in command in all our activities;

(d) organizing each work sector, organizing it in the spirit of struggle between two lines, the growing dividing line between us and enemy, and the need to acquire an overall view and combine the main task with other revolutionary tasks;

(e) organizing and guiding the militants in daily critical analysis of individual and collective activities and in synthesizing experiences, releasing initiative, destroying routine attitudes and creating a spirit of innovation and progress;

(f) organizing and guiding the work sector in political study, literacy, raising the scientific level and studying and analyzing our situation and that of the enemy;

(g) maintaining an intense and consistent offensive for collective struggle and cleansing our ranks of incorrigible elements who are impervious to our line and persist in their corrupt tastes, habits and faults, and refuse to change;

(h) organizing and guiding the study of the theoretical and practical experience of other revolutions so as to draw useful lessons for our own situation and educate our militants in the internationalist revolutionary spirit; in essence we can say that the ideological offensive should create political consciousness soundly based on the three following central aspects:

(1) Thorough knowledge of our political line.

(2) Intimate knowledge of our struggle both in its development and its significance for our people and other peoples of the world.

(3) Total confidence in the masses, united and organized under the guidance of our correct line, conscious in this respect that the masses understand the struggle and have made it their own, and that they have creative energy and are invincible, regardless of their adversary or his strength.

The activating process demands careful investigation both to determine what are the concrete problems in the sector in which we have to work and to select the activist nucleus, which must be composed of vanguard elements.

By activating the responsables, who are the decisive factor in the application of our political line, we shall be in a position to transform our sections and circles into basic cells of our political organization.

This action will enable us to structure and transform the life of the masses who are joining our organization in ever greater numbers, thus ensuring the consolidated expansion of our front. This action will at the same time create conditions for establishing among us the organized vanguard of our People and of the exploited working classes, the indispensable instrument for the development of the democratic people's revolution in Mozambique.

Within this context, the nature of the relations between our centres and the masses plays a fundamental role.

The masses are the source of our organization's life, they are the chief and decisive force in the process of liberating our country and in the construction of a new society. The fight is waged and won by the masses and aimed at serving their interests.

Each of our centres is a collective centre at the service of the masses, a centre where the experiences of the revolution are synthesized and taken to the broad masses so as to develop the process of transforming life.

We serve the masses by setting them an example in implementing the political line. When the behaviour of our militants corresponds to our political line, then we are educating the masses in the new life.

We serve the masses by setting them an example of organized

life, by instilling in them ways of living in an organized way and guiding them to organize themselves ever better.

It is by organizing the masses and creating democratic and popular structures among them that we will be able to transform society.

It is the structures created at the level of the local circle level which will lead peasant farmers, cattle raisers, fishermen and artisans to organize collectively to produce in co-operatives, improve production techniques and diversify and increase production, thereby raising the standard of living of the masses. It is clear that the example of collective production in our centres, of the results they achieve — the fields and vegetable plots, the fruit trees, the natural or artificial lakes where fish are bred — will be the best testimony of the value and truth of our collective ability to transform society.

It is the structures created at the local circle level which will lead the masses to organize themselves in military detachments to counter any enemy attack against the village, fields and places of work. It is organizational work which will transform each village and field into a source of suffering and loss for the enemy. The example set by each of our centres of defence against enemy aggression, the military instruction work we do among the masses and our ability to encourage the imagination and creative initiative of the masses to combine traditional guns and snares used to trap wild animals with modern weapons, will make any generalized enemy action against our people impossible.

It is the structures created at the circle level which, by raising the political consciousness of the masses and making them draw a deeper dividing line between themselves and the enemy, will make the masses more acutely aware of enemy manoeuvres or infiltration, enabling us to destroy them in embryo.

In the last analysis, it is this structuring that makes the liberation of an area irreversible, and enables us to repel enemy incursions and attacks, however powerful they may be.

It is obvious that for our centres to activate the life of the broad masses and transform society, every centre and every militant appointed to a centre must assume the task of serving the masses and fully respect the interests of the masses, consistently, in an

exemplary way and without let-up.

We could never tolerate a militant of ours daring to use the power or the weapon entrusted to him for the service of the people to commit any violation of the people's interests, however minor. We must be intransigent about any liberties taken with women, any misuse of the People's property and any injustice committed against the people. This is an integral part of our political line and our discipline an essential condition enabling the masses to distinguish without any hesitation between our actions and those of the enemy.

To serve the masses, to give them the invincible weapon of our political line, of our experiences, to guide them in heightening their ideological and organizational level, is the task of all our centres in their relations with the masses.

We are starting the tenth year of our people's liberation war against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism.

During these ten years of armed struggle and twelve years of FRELIMO's existence the situation in our country and the world has undergone far-reaching changes.

Our initial objective of national independence gained in depth in the course of the development of a people's war laying the foundations for a national democratic people's revolution for the establishment of people's power, the power of the broad working masses of our country.

The expansion of the armed struggle to areas where powerful economic and strategic interests of imperialism are dominant led to a direct confrontation with imperialism, making the anti-imperialist content of our struggle immediate and concrete.

The severe political and military defeats suffered by the Portuguese colonialist forces and their evident inability to halt the advance of the liberation struggle, forced the enemy's leaders to alter the nature of the aggression against our People in the hope of safeguarding essential imperialist interests: the exploitation of the country's working masses, the plunder of our resources and the destruction of the revolutionary movement in Southern Africa in particular, and in the whole continent in general.

It is within this context that one should see South Africa and Rhodesia's entering the war against us, the strengthening milit-

ary, financial and technical support, and the passing on of experiences of aggression to the Portuguese colonialists and their allies, by the imperialist states, especially the United States, France, Federal Germany and Britain.

Thus the internationalization of aggression against our people has become a reality, the colonial war having already taken on the character of an imperialist war of aggression.

With the aim of reducing their growing and alarming number of casualties, the enemy command decided to change the colour of the corpses, to "mozambicanize" the war by creating a puppet army, forcibly recruited and officered by Portuguese: the OPA, GE, GEP, etc.

This also helped to conceal from world opinion the fact of foreign aggression against our People.

These alterations in the situation require an appropriate response from us.

In the past our essential tasks were to intensify political work among the responsables and expand and consolidate the struggle in our areas. The 4th Session of our Central Committee (December 1972), which was elected by the Second Congress, when giving us the watchword to generalize the offensive in order to tip the balance of forces with the enemy in our favour, made it clear that this would mean popularizing our line, that is ensuring that the broad masses internalized it and lived by it, democratizing our methods of work and collectivizing the leadership.

More recently, while studying ways of creating the conditions for the implementation of these guidelines, we defined two fundamental policies: intensifying the ideological offensive aimed at our responsables, fighters and masses, and stepping up organizational work for setting up groups and sections as basic cells within the army, and making the circles the basis of our political activity among the masses.

The various FRELIMO centres — military, educational, medical, child care, production and commercial — have a decisive role to play as centres from which our political line is disseminated. It is they which have the task of demonstrating to the broad masses in a practical way the superiority and justice of our principles.

In short our centre have the responsibility of conveying

FRELIMO's political line to the masses in a dynamic way.

Each militant has the responsibility for making the Revolution strike deep roots in our country and guaranteeing its victory, which is the sole justification for the immense sacrifices made and the sea of blood which has been shed.

It is in our centres that the answers are to be found, it is there that we have the forges of the New Man, the New Society.

Therefore, as we prepare to celebrate the tenth year of our people's war, we issue this watchword to all our centres and militants:

**DRAW A LINE OF DEMARCATION BETWEEN OUR
POWER AND THE POWER OF THE ENEMY, ESTABLISH
PEOPLE'S POWER TO SERVE THE MASSES.**

Further Reading Suggestions:

Samora Machel: *The Tasks Ahead: Selected Speeches of Samora Machel*, (Africa Information Service, New York, 1975)

Samora Machel: *Mozambique: Revolution or Reaction?* two speeches by Samora Machel (LSM Information Center, Richmond, BC, 1975)

Samora Machel: *Mozambique: Sowing the Seeds of Revolution*, (CFMAG, London, 1974)

Marcelino Dos Santos: *Mozambique—FRELIMO*, Interview in depth with Marcelino Dos Santos, (LSM, Richmond, 1971)

FRELIMO: *The Mozambican Woman in the Revolution*, (FRELIMO/LSM, Richmond, 1972)

FRELIMO: *Anniversary of the Death of Josina Machel*, FRELIMO/TCLSAC, Toronto, 1973)

FRELIMO: *Mozambique Revolution—Independence Issue*, (FRELIMO 1975)

William Minter: *Portuguese Africa and the West*, (Monthly Review Press, New York, 1972)

Eduardo Mondlane: *The Struggle for Mozambique*, (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1969)