A comparison of Frelimo, the Mozambican United Front, with a proto-type vanguard party

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INTRODUCTION

As a result of the Portuguese Coup on April 24, 1974, the African Liberation Movements of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique transformed their organizations into ruling parties of independent states. This transformation was the period of the provisional government, however, the process of statehood began during the wars against Portuguese Colonialism.

The purpose of the thesis is to examine the Mozambican liberation movement, the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO). The objective of the research is to determine whether the Mozambican United Front meets the requirements of the vanguard party type which represents a higher level in the development of African parties.

FRELIMO was organized on June 25, 1962 in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, as a result of the merger of three nationalist organizations. The organizations were UDENAMO (Uniao Nacional Democratica de Mocambique) formed in 1960 in Salisbury, MANU (Mozambique African National Union) formed in 1961 in Tanzania and Kenya, and UNAMI (Uniao Africana de Mocambique Independente) formed in Malawi. The first president and vice-president of FRELIMO were Eduardo Mondlane and Uria Simango, respectively. The first congress was held on September 25, 1962, for the purpose of constructing the organization and preparing for armed struggle which began on September 25, 1964. A second congress convened on July 20, 1968 to consolidate the political line and restructure the organization into a nationalist party. In the meantime, the war against Portuguese Colonialism continued until the signing
of the Lusaka agreement on September 7, 1974. The provisional government, which was composed of members of the FRELIMO group and the Portuguese government, began on September 25, 1974 and lasted until Independence Day on June 25, 1975.

The primary criteria of the prototype vanguard party are based on Lenin's principles and the secondary criteria are based on Mao's principles. The thesis consists of four chapters. The first chapter discusses the concept of a prototype vanguard party based on Lenin's works, particularly, What Must Be Done?, Where to Begin?, and On Organization. The outline of the structure of a vanguard party in an agrarian situation is based on Mao's works. The main Maoist source is The Role of the Chinese Communist Party. The chapter ends with an explanation of how an analysis will be made of FRELIMO from the Leninist perspective.

The second chapter gives an account of the ideological development of the Mozambican struggle. The chapter illustrates the progression of the ideological position from the nationalist political line to the class line. This analysis of FRELIMO's ideology is based on the publications and statements of the movement's leaders and ideological apparatus, namely, Mozambique Revolution, the official party journal, speeches by FRELIMO President Samora Machel published as, The Tasks Ahead and Mozambique: Sowing the Seeds of Revolution, Mondlane's book, The Struggle for Mozambique and an interview of Marcelino dos Santos, "FRELIMO Faces the Future," African Communist, No. 55, Fourth Quarter 1973, p. 23., giving clarity on the development of FRELIMO's ideology.

The third chapter analyzes the structure of FRELIMO from a historical perspective, beginning with an account of the organizations that preceded it.
Finally, chapter four attempts to define the party's relationship to the state apparatus and the laboring masses in Mozambique.
CHAPTER I

THE CONCEPT OF A VANGUARD PARTY

The principles of all vanguard parties developed from Lenin's concept of party building. Lenin's polemics on party building were editorialized in the Istra, the Social Democratic newspaper, and later compiled in his pamphlet, What is to be Done?. Lenin's position on a small tight vanguard party was based on the conditions in Tsarist Russia. Edward Carr, the author of The Bolshevik Revolution, states the nature of the Tsarist state and the effects it had on amateur revolutionaries:

The nature of the Russian state precluded the formation of any kind of socialist, or even democratic, party on a western model and drove every democratic or socialist movement into secret and conspiratorial channels. Isolated revolutionary groups of workers and students formed by well-meaning amateurs, fell easy victims to the Tsarist police. ¹

The development of the 20th century Russian intellectuals, which Lenin was a part of, was different from other European intellectuals because their interest did not coincide with the commercial bourgeoisie. This separation forced the Russian intellectuals to become a revolutionary force. According to Carr,

The economically rootless Russian intelligentsia had already shown how its capacity for abstract revolutionary thinking could be harnessed to the political reality of social revolution. The "going to the people" movement of the 1870's, being exclusively directed to the most backward section of the population, the

peasantry, was a fiasco. But, it had its place in history as a first quixotic and desperate attempt to bridge the gulf between the masses and the revolutionary intelligentsia; and this could now be repeated with the proletarian masses.\(^2\)

The Russian Social Democratic Party was a petty bourgeois organization until radicalized elements of the working class were recruited as a result of the 1905 crisis. The principles on party building expounded by Lenin are based on two premises: the importance of the political struggle which includes the need for theory in relationship to the economic struggle; and, the professionalization of the revolutionaries in a vanguard party. In his pamphlet, *What is to be Done?*, Lenin states the reason for the need of theory: theory is needed to study trends in the society; theory is needed to study experiences in other countries which would aid in the destruction of national chauvinism and finally, theory is not only used in the economic struggle against bourgeois trade unions, but is an essential part of the political struggle against the State.\(^3\) "At this point we wish to state only that the role of a vanguard fighter can be fulfilled only by a party that is guided by the most advanced theory."\(^4\)

Lenin advanced his position on theory to the question of who should be the bearer of theory to the working class. He states that while the working class struggles for trade union demands, higher wages, better conditions, etc., the theories and analyses come from the intellectuals:

The theory of socialism, however, grew out of the philosophic, historical and economic theories elaborated by educated representatives of the propertied classes, by intellectuals . . .

\(^2\)Ibid, p. 31.


\(^4\)Ibid, p. 40.
In the very same way, in Russia, the theoretical doctrine of Social-Democracy arose altogether independently of the spontaneous growth of the working class movement; it arose as a natural and inevitable outcome of the development of thought among the revolutionary socialist intelligentsia. In the period under discussion, the middle nineties, this doctrine not only represented the completely formulated programme of the Emancipation of labor groups, but had already won over to its side the majority of the revolutionary youth in Russia.

Lenin describes the process that the revolutionaries should use in evaluating and sending out the program to the working class as follows:

The working class is divided into three parts—the advanced sector, workers who have participated in demonstrations; the middle sector, or neutral sector; and, the backward sector of workers, who sides with the management. The advanced element would be approached first. After politicization of that sector, party members, along with the politicized advanced sector, would approach the middle sector of workers, attempting to politicize them, and then the backward sector would be approached.

So far in the discussion of party building, the questions have been focused on the need for theory, the social force that theory develops from and the view that should be used in evaluating and approaching the working class. The next two questions pertain to the organs in the party structure, the newspaper and the factory cell.

Lenin outlines the purpose of the newspaper. He states that the issue is not what direction to take, but what procedure should be taken on the course selected. One of the first steps to bring the program to the working masses is the establishment of a newspaper:

A newspaper is what we most of all need; without it we cannot conduct that systematic, all-round propaganda and agitation, consistent in principle, which is the chief and permanent task of Social Democracy in general and, in particular, the pressing

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5Ibid, p. 32.
task of the moment, when interest in politics and in questions of socialism has been aroused among the broadest strata of the population.\(^6\)

Lenin continues to state the need of the newspaper in combating fragmentation of local committees in domestic work and in ideology. The newspaper is a vehicle to arouse the working class to economic exposure and the population at large to political exposure.

Lenin doesn't limit the role of the newspaper to agitation and propagandistic purposes. The newspaper must be a means of organizing. "The role of a newspaper, however, is not limited solely to the dissemination of ideas, to political education, and the enlistment of political allies. A newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and a collective agitator, it is also a collective organiser."\(^7\) What this means is that the newspaper should be the source where projects can be selected for local work; it must inform its members of political events that are happening including the importance and the effects on the classes in the society. Lenin also stated the information party members should know (the structure and the task of distributing newspapers). The members should be in close contact with other members in local committees, know the general political situation in the country and their own locale, and be accustomed to regular party task, and lastly, know the strengths of the members in various political actions. The function of distributing the newspaper is an integral part of party work:

This network of agents will form the skeleton of precisely the kind of organisation we need—one that is sufficiently large to embrace the whole country; sufficiently broad and many-sided

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\(^7\) Ibid, p. 41.
to effect a strict and detailed division of labour, sufficiently well tempered to be able to conduct steadily its own work under any circumstances, at all sudden turns, and in face of all contingencies; sufficiently flexible to be able, on the one hand, to avoid an open battle against an overwhelming enemy, when the enemy has concentrated all his forces at one spot, and yet on the other, to take advantage of his unwieldiness and to attack him when and where he least expects it.8

Another organ of the vanguard party is the factory cell. There are two reasons for constructing factory workers' committees. The factory cell or nucleus is the means by which the party is in touch with the working class; particularly those workers in the larger plant. The formation of the factory cell was the means by which the party could be directly involved with the workers at the point of production. The factory cell should be small and the members are required to take instruction from the party. According to Lenin:

Every member of the factory committee must regard himself as an agent of the committee, obliged to subordinate himself to the orders of the committee and to adhere to all the "laws and customs" of that army on active service which he has joined and which in time of war he has no right to abandon without the consent of his superior.9

Lenin suggests a method for setting up factory committees which he calls the sub-committees of the party. First, a commission is formed to gather information for forming future factory cells. Meetings are scheduled to examine candidates to determine those capable of forming cells in factories. The candidates are interviewed, given written tests and cross-examined. The chosen cadres are placed in different factories to organize the cells. The committee then gives each cadre a secret address to contact the party in case of an emergency. After factory cells have been established

8 Ibid, p. 42.

in different plants, the cadres must organize circles for performing different tasks like passing out literature, watching for spies, propagandizing and agitation, etc. The cadres' tasks encompasses the whole plant. The forming of the factory cell is not only important because it enables the vanguard party to root itself into the working class, but it is used for recruitment of new members into the party. The cell is a small, but visible part of the party.

Lenin does not give an analysis of the formation of a cell among agrarian laborers. In considering how to organize the lower peasants and agrarian workers we examine the conditions of FRELIMO and the Mozambican struggle which existed in an agricultural society from the viewpoint of Mao Tse-Tung's *On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation*. Five points for the preparation of the co-operative were developed. Firstly, the cadres must criticize wrong ideas and sum up past experiences of themselves and other cadres; secondly, the cadres must conduct propaganda work among the peasants which should include the party line, and the benefits and difficulties of a co-operative; thirdly, the cadres must devise a plan for expanding a co-operative on a township, district, county or province basis; fourthly, cadres should be trained to work on the co-operative on a short term basis; fifthly, the cadre must be used as a mutual-aid team for the peasants.10

The purpose of constructing an agrarian co-operative is to prepare peasant and agrarian workers for socialism; and to establish roots of a vanguard party into the masses. There are three steps, according to Mao, in achieving this construction--one, all the cadres and peasants must agree

to voluntary participation in the co-operative; two, improvement of
collective management and farming technique; and three, increasing the
means of production, i.e., fertilizer, irrigation works, tools, etc.11

Mao's procedure for constructing an agrarian co-operative is
accepted. The ideological solution to the agrarian question put forth
by Lenin is accepted also; there should be an alliance between the
working class and the lower peasants (not all of the peasants) led by the
vanguard party with the advanced workers in command.

Generally, the structures of the vanguard party consist of the
Central Committee, Central Organ, Congress, Provincial Committee, District
Committee, Local Committee, and the Cell.

The institution that characterizes all vanguard parties is the
Central Committee. Pronin and Stepichev state that,

The role of the Central Committee in the life of the Party
and the country is very great and many-sided. The CC is the
militant headquarters of the Party, its ideological, political
and organisational centre. There is not a single question of
any significance to the country which can be decided without
the CC, without its guidance.12

The Central Committee consists of the Politbureau and the Secre-
tariats. The Central Committee is also composed of delegates from the
districts, subcommittees and departments. There are regular members as
well as alternate members on the Committee. The Central Committee determines
how many subcommittees and departments can exist. All of the subcommittees,
etc., must keep in touch with the Central Committee and carry out its
policies. If there are members who want to advance in the party structure,
they must be approved by the Committee. The decisions descend from the

11 Ibid, p. 400.

12 I. Pronin and M. Stepichev, Leninist Standards of Party Life,
Committee to the districts and subcommittees, then proceed to the factory and agrarian workers. Expressing the view of Lenin, Drachkovitch and Lazitch describe the Central Committee as follows:

Thus, the central committee was to be the brain, the local organizations, the limbs; the committee would decide, the locals execute; the committee would designate and confirm the local leaders in their posts, then the local leaders would in due course become delegates to a congress which would approve the central committee which had designated them. Such a central committee would be spirit and fist in one.\textsuperscript{13}

Although Lenin gives little detail of the role of the Central Organ, he recognized the Central Organ as the "supreme" party institution consisting of five members. This number of members remained constant. The names of these Central Organ committee members were known to the Central Committee. The Central Organ has more authority than the Central Committee, although its powers are granted by the Central Committee. The Central Organ receives reports from the Congress on the activities of the subcommittees. Projects that require joint action are channelled through an editorial board which consists of members from the Central Organ and the Central Committee.\textsuperscript{14}

The Congress, which is the highest organ in the party, is the arena where the delegates from all committees and subcommittees convene. The Congress hears and approves reports from the different committees, including the Central Committee. The Congress also reviews, amends and endorses the party program and rules. It determines the party's position on domestic and foreign policy and it elects members to the Central Committee and the Central Auditing Commission. Pronin and Stepichev give a general overview of the task of the Congress as follows:


The Congress summed up the gigantic political and organisational work of the Party, defined the perspectives and the direction of the current stage of communist construction, and collectively worked out the political line of the Party for the immediate future.\textsuperscript{15}

Party cadre, according to Lenin, are "networks of agents" who are in the leadership of the revolution. A cadre must devote his total life to the revolution. In Lenin's earlier years as a young revolutionary and student, he had his basic needs financed by his relatives so that he could commit his full time to making revolution. In his pamphlet, \textit{What is to be Done?}, particularly in the section entitled "The Amateurness of the Economists and an Organization of Revolutionaries," Lenin stresses the need for cadres to develop skills in their work; this includes the necessity to develop secrecy in performing party tasks and the ability to dodge the police. Lenin stresses this point by conveying the problems of ill prepared new cadres, many of whom are rounded up and jailed by the police. In addition to the need for cadres to develop skills, Lenin establishes rules for membership; and establishes the perspective from which the cadres must view the party. In the debate between Lenin and Martov over the question of the cadres, in the 1904 Congress, a precedent was established for membership. Paragraph one of Lenin's draft reads as follows:

Everybody who recognizes its program and support the Party both materially and by personal participation in one of the Party organizations shall be regarded as a member of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party.\textsuperscript{16}

For Lenin, it is not enough to just do work personally, and give material support, but one must also belong to one of the party's committees. Lenin's

\textsuperscript{15}Pronin and Stepichev, \textit{Leninist Standards of Party Life}, p. 63.

position flows from his analysis of the party. He sees the party as a class organization because it claims to lead the working class. It has committees, i.e., cells in factories, student groups, agrarian co-operatives, inside the working class. The selection and training of the cadres is important for the party to carry out its policies and to establish the working class as the dominant class in the society. Pronin and Stepichev describe the role of the cadre in the party as follows:

Policies are put into effect by men. The heart of the matter, therefore, is the correct selection of personnel and control over the execution of assignments—that is how Lenin presented this question . . . . Cadres are the guiding force and state leadership. Their selection, placing and training form the basis of the organisational activity of the Party.\(^\text{17}\)

The process of recruiting new cadres is through the establishment of cells inside plants, farm co-operatives, student groups, etc. Only through daily practice in party work, under the direction of a party cadre would party membership be considered.

In the political struggle, the principles of Centralism is an essential part of the party. According to Pronin and Stepichev,

Centralism means that the Party has one Programme and Rules, one leading organ in the form of the Party Congresses, and the Central Committee elected by it. There exists strong discipline in the Party, equally binding on all Party members. The Programme, the Party Rules and the centralised leadership ensure a high degree of organisation and monolithic cohesion in the Party, the unity of its views and aims, and the concerted action of Party organisations and all Communists.\(^\text{18}\)

The principles of Democratic Centralism is important because it determines how the party functions. Organizations that are similar in structure may or may not be a vanguard party depending on whether they follow the principles of Democratic Centralism. Democratic Centralism is based on


\(^{18}\)Ibid, p. 56.
two principles: collective leadership and the division of labor among cadres. When Lenin speaks of collective leadership, he is speaking about a strong centralized Central Committee. When he speaks of the division of labor among the cadres, he is speaking about decentralization. In terms of the whole workers' movement, the revolutionary groups are part of the workers' movement, therefore, they must be centralized; however, workers' organizations are mass-based organizations requiring decentralization. The task of the party must be to divide the work among the cadres so that the masses will be reached.

Essentially, Democratic Centralism involves the formulation and the carrying out of policy. After debate and discussion in the Central Committee, a decision is made. All opposition must cease and a policy is implemented. Because of the role of the party and the relationship of the party to the working class—which is to lead it—factions and individuals are subordinate to it. As Pronin and Stepichev state,

The guiding organisational principle of the Party is democratic centralism. It indissolubly combines the extensive development of inner-Party democracy with strict Party discipline, the organisation and cohesion of Party ranks with the activity and initiative of all Communists. Only a centralised leadership can give expression to the interests of the entire Party and the whole people, and not merely those of individual persons or groups, and can unite their energies and direct them towards the common aim.

Another aspect of Democratic Centralism is Inner-Party Democracy. Certain aspects of Inner-Party Democracy have been mentioned in relationship to party structure and distribution of labor. The concept of Inner-Party Democracy is based on maximum participation of the cadre in practical work, elections, discussions of all questions, reviewing past decisions

19 Lenin, What is to be Done?, pp. 108-110.
and the work of leaders and other cadre. The concept of Inner-Party Democracy, according to Pronin and Stepichev, demands that cadres take the initiative in party work and have discipline in carrying out the task:

Inner-Party Democracy is not confined only to the active participation of Communists in discussions and the adoption of resolutions. Democracy and discipline are intimately connected and not opposed to one another.21

An essential of Inner-Party Democracy is criticism, self-criticism, unity, discussion, i.e., constructive criticism. This type of discussion is done throughout the committees from the Central Organ down to the factory cells and agrarian co-operatives. It is done to ensure unity in the party and the emergence of the correct line and analysis. Through constructive criticism, all of the committees and the party itself are kept in constant ideological struggle.

Democratic Centralism states that the election of delegates to the Central Committee must come from the lower committees. The delegates must submit to the Central Committee scheduled reports of lower committee activities. There must be a high level of party discipline; the lower committees must be subordinate to the higher committees. There can be no minority opposition after an issue has been debated and voted on; the decisions from the higher committees must be carried out by the lower committee members.

In the next two chapters the ideological and structural development of FRELIMO are observed from the Leninist perspective.

In the second chapter, the historical development of FRELIMO's ideology begins with the origin of the organization in 1962. This

21 Ibid, p. 74.
observation includes the identification of social groups that supported different ideological trends, those contradictions of the groups and the resolution of the contradictions resulting in a new political line. The content of that new political line is evaluated from the Leninist perspective to determine whether it meets the standards of the ideology of a vanguard party type. The following questions are to be raised: To what extent does FRELIMO conceive the Mozambican revolution from a social class perspective? Does FRELIMO maintain that the Mozambican working class is the guiding force in the revolution? Is FRELIMO considered to be the vanguard of the working class?

In the third chapter, the evaluation of FRELIMO as a vanguard party concentrates on the organizational structure of FRELIMO after the second congress in 1968. Organs such as the central committee, congress, party committee, etc., are examined in relationship to the vanguard party type. Another aspect of this evaluation is the extent to which FRELIMO functions as a democratic centralist organization, particularly with reference to inner-party democracy and the majority over minority principles.

The last chapter analyzes the observations from chapters two and three in order to draw conclusions on whether or not FRELIMO fits the criteria for the vanguard party type.
CHAPTER II

THE IDEOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF FRELIMO

In a very informative interview with Boubaker Adjali for the Liberation Support Movement, an organization based in Canada, Marcelino dos Santos, the Vice-President of FRELIMO, discusses the ideological development of FRELIMO. He states initially, the basic principle of unity was nationalism. However, different views of nationalism existed because different socio-economic groupings were part of the organization. Dos Santos further states:

It is true FRELIMO as such had no clear ideological line apart from primary nationalism. But the very fact that the leadership was heterogeneous meant that different types of ideologies were represented in it from the start... it was not only the internal dynamic of the process of fighting of the Mozambican people that resulted in understanding by some of those who were in 1962 in the leadership of FRELIMO. A study of the experiences of other countries and the general knowledge acquired by humanity in its struggle against oppression penetrated the minds of quite a few in the leadership.22

Dos Santos acknowledged that the primary task of FRELIMO was to promote unity, subordinating the ideological differences. However, as the struggle intensified, the ideological contradictions became sharper. FRELIMO's ideological development followed a dialectical path. As FRELIMO made advancements, i.e., creating institutions that sustained the revolution, the revolutionaries wanted to heighten the struggle and the reactionaries wanted to retard it, thus a two-line struggle developed for party dominance.

John Saul describes the process:

Most important, the need arose to involve the people—the essential base for successful guerrilla warfare—in the struggle in a new and more vital manner than had been the case with earlier expressions of nationalism on the continent. This, in turn, demanded that the movement exemplify, in the nationalist phase itself, the promise of a new kind of life—one in which the leadership was seen to avoid the easy paths of elitism and pursuit of entrepreneurial advantage, and one in which the people saw themselves to be gaining fresh and meaningful control over their own lives, through popularly-based institutions in the liberated areas. Such a struggle also dictated a deepening of ideological awareness at all levels: an understanding of imperialism, an eschewing of exploitation, a critique of racism and a redefinition of nationalism. Eduardo Mondlane, first President of FRELIMO, was only half joking when he said, shortly before his assassination by the Portuguese in 1969, that it would almost be a pity if Mozambicans were to win their war too soon, because "we are learning so much!"  

The ideological struggle can be divided into three phases. The first phase represented a struggle of the revolutionaries against the petty bourgeois intellectual forces. The conflict was between the Central Committee and Father Gwenjere. Father Gwenjere was a Roman Catholic priest who taught at the Mozambique Institute in Tanzania. He encouraged the students to study abroad, made verbal attacks on the white instructors for teaching at the Institute and tried to replace Portuguese with English as a language requirement. As a result of his actions, the Central Committee was forced to expel him from the Organization. Father Gwenjere represented the reactionary petty bourgeois intellectuals who wants to grant special privileges to the Mozambican students, which would have made them a separate part from the revolutionary process. The second phase represented a struggle of the revolutionaries against private ownership and tribalism. The ideological struggle was

between Lazaro Kavandame and the Central Committee. Lazaro Kavandame was an active leader of the Makonde People in northern Mozambique. He initiated the co-operative movement in Cabo Delgado Province and was President of Mozambique African National Union during the formation of FRELIMO. Kavandame was a member of FRELIMO's first Central Committee until 1968 when the young cadres questioned him about his exploitative relationship of the agrarian workers in the co-operative. He tried to rally support of his followers on the basis of Makonde consciousness; when this failed, Kavandame became a traitor and joined the Portuguese.

A dominant line did not clearly emerge from these first two phases although the revolutionaries were the ascending element inside FRELIMO. This was due to the conciliatory role of Eduardo Mondlane, the President. This situation quickly disappeared with the assassination of Mondlane and the reappearance of the ideological struggle.

The third phase represented a struggle of the revolutionary forces against bourgeois nationalism, itself. The difference between the first two phases and the third is that the latter brought the ideological conflict out into the open and the repercussion would affect the future development of FRELIMO. As a result of the third phase, a dominant line would emerge which would place FRELIMO in the category of a vanguard party type organization. The ideological struggle centered around the question of who would become the head of FRELIMO. Ordinarily, Uria Simango, the Vice-President, would have become President; however, the young cadres saw him as a leading element in the reactionary camp. At the April 21, 1969 Central Committee meeting, from the debate on the process of people's war which reflected the two lines, the young cadres
were able to outmaneuver the reactionaries and establish a presidential council of three: Uria Simango, Marcelino dos Santos and Samora Machel.

The formation of the presidential council did not quell the ideological differences of Simango who represented one line and dos Santos and Samora Machel who represented the other line. Eventually Simango was defeated. With the fall of Simango, Machel and dos Santos were able to consolidate the leadership and the dominant line emerged. The minutes of the Central Committee reflected the new line:

The spirit which prevailed at the latest meeting of the Central Committee revealed that we have already reached an advanced phase in that process of purifying our ranks. Frankness reigned—there was friendship and revolutionary fraternity among all members. The climate that we felt was the result of the ideological unity that existed among us. For the first time in the history of FRELIMO, there were no discordant voices on the Central Committee which were opposed to the revolutionship positions; it constituted a solid and united block.

... thus, the Central Committee stressed its definition of the enemy. The enemy has two faces: the principal and direct enemy, i.e., Portuguese colonialism and imperialism, ... The other face is that of the indirect or secondary enemy, who presents himself under the cover of a nationalist and even a revolutionary. ... Thus, a new period is being opened in the life of FRELIMO. We took an important step forward in the consolidation of our unity, we elected a truly revolutionary leadership, we clarified our political line, we came nearer our final victory.24

In an interview, Marcelino dos Santos clarifies the dominant line as "based on the total committment of the whole population in the national liberation struggle and aims at the realization of the fundamental aspirations of the people and the creation of an independent country where there is no exploitation of man by man."25 Essentially the positions

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24 Minutes of the Central Committee cited in Saul, op. cit., p. 396.

of revolutionary nationalists equated true independence with the total elimination of exploitation of man by man, whereas the position of the reactionary nationalists only extended independence to the expulsion of Portuguese Colonialists. After the consolidation of the Party line in the leadership, the Central Committee, by December 1972, decided to transform the Party line into a mass line.

The Party line was brought to different sectors of the Mozambican society: education, health, farm production, women and cadres. The politicization process involves an analysis of the conditions of the masses in both a capitalist and a socialist society. Samora Machel illustrates this point to a group of nurses in a health training program:

In a capitalist hospital they do not examine patients, they examine wealth. Medicine is sold for its weight in gold. Only those who can pay are treated. Food, special diet, fruit, milk, salad, meat and fine fish restore the convalescent's strength. But they are given only to those who can pay, not to those who need them... It is not surprising, therefore, that in the enemy zone to be a doctor means to be rich, and to be a nurse means very high salary. To be a doctor is to enjoy a position of social prominence as an exploiter, to be a nurse means to enjoy many privileges.  

Machel stressed the importance of politics in health services in his analysis of the society that FRELIMO was creating in the liberated areas. Machel states the purpose of health centers:

Our hospital is different. It is not surgical instruments or medicines that make a hospital. These are of course important, but the main thing, the decisive fact, is the human factor. This is why today, for the first time, the people in Cabo Delgado, Niassa and Tete are receiving medical care and vaccinations, and hygiene is being taught in the villages... Our hospitals belong to the people. They are a fruit of the Revolution. Our hospitals are far more than centres for dispensing medicine and

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cures. A FRELIMO hospital is a centre where our political line—that of serving the masses—is put into practice. It is a centre where our principle that the Revolution frees the people becomes a reality.\(^2^7\)

The ideology of FRELIMO becomes clearer as the massive politicization process widens. The cadre not only attacks the capitalist system, but also its appendages: tribalism, regionalism, and racism. In order to eliminate the social ills of the society, the FRELIMO cadres learn that poverty, ignorance, and the negative mentalities of the masses must be destroyed. The whole transformation involves the development of a people’s democratic society and the creation of the new Mozambican human. At a political course in February 1971, Machel states the purpose of the politicization of the masses; the social ills of African society and how he sees the people as the leading social force:

> It is in fact imperative that the political line lives in the very flesh of every Mozambican, reaching the most remote and distant sectors, so that all people understand and live Mozambique and her Revolution . . .

> We are going to study the political line of FRELIMO, which is based objectively on the interests of the working people, on the concrete reality of Man’s struggle. Our political line always corresponds to the level of development of the struggle and consequently, to the people’s understanding of their situation and their interests . . .

> It is this thinking, forged through practice and moulded by science, that will be the instrument to liquidate tribalism, regionalism and racism, the mentality inculcated by capitalism, which still makes us consider indispensable to our personality all that which is decadent, degrading and outmoded.\(^2^8\)

John Saul further describes the process of politicizing the masses in a conversation with Sebastiao Mabote, the Chief of Military Operations,

\(^2^7\)Ibid, p. 48.

in one of the liberated areas in 1974. John Saul states that this politicization process has reached all segments of the Mozambican society: schools, clinics, women's organizations, etc., and has affected the people themselves: "For Mabote, 'it is not sufficient merely to defeat the enemy; we must also be prepared to remake things afterwards. We conquer, but this is not the main point. Rather, we are "conquering" the consciousness of the people with the concept of a society worked out by the people!'"

FRELIMO also developed a program for the politicization of cadres. The institution that was established for this purpose was the Centre for Political and Military Training. At a meeting on February 2, 1972, Machel outlined the principles for the politically conscious cadre:

The work of the CPPM (Centre for Political and Military Training) is not to produce "killers," but to train true revolutionary fighters, authentic FRELIMO soldiers . . . A fighter is therefore a conscious and active agent in the transformation of society. The CPPM is the laboratory where we create this agent of change, the New Man.

Our watchword is: Production, Study and Combat. This watchword synthesises our political line. Our fighter combines these three factors. Production supplies the material needs of the war, political study gives us our identity, which scientific study enables us to develop production and improve our combat techniques.

Other aspects of the program included the acceptance of new values, national consciousness, commitment to struggle, creativity in initiating programs, i.e., methods of producing crops, developing educational programs, knowledge of hygiene. The CPPM remained the institution for developing cadre until the Central Committee passed a resolution to construct a Party school because of the need for further intensification of politicizing.

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the masses and the need for more cadres. Calling for the need of a Party school, Machel states:

It is primarily a matter of carrying out an ideological offensive to wipe out the colonial and capitalist mentality which is deeply rooted in the urban areas, as well as the feudal traditional mentality which is predominant in the rural areas. An ideological offensive will enable the working masses to understand their historic role, their leading role in the process of transformation which is now under way. This task must be preceded by the consistent heightening of the political and ideological level of cadres seasoned and forged in the process of the people's liberation war. It was for this very reason that the last Central Committee meeting decided to give priority to the setting up of a Party school.31

As the mass line was developing, the ideology was being transformed into a class ideology. This transformation was the result of efforts of FRELIMO cadres to create a people's democratic society to counter Portuguese colonialism and Portuguese aggression. These changes in the ideology during the war would be the basic principles that would guide the FRELIMO organization during the provisional government, and also the principles that would guide FRELIMO, the ruling Party in the independent State of Mozambique.

Machel states on the necessity of having the correct political line and its effect on the revolution and the developing Mozambican society:

With this meeting of the Central Committee, FRELIMO, entered upon a new phase: the creation of an organised vanguard of the working masses and cleansing our ranks of the ideas and values of the reactionary forces. This struggle created the conditions for decisively transforming the national liberation struggle into a People's Democratic Revolution in 1970 . . . .

Heightening the political and organisational level of the masses and fighters cleansing our ranks, drawing a clear dividing line between ourselves and the enemy, and bringing about ideological unity, all made it possible to go over to the final phase of our liberation struggle . . .

It was also because of this correct line that our struggle could be a part of the general struggle of the oppressed peoples and classes against the system which exploits man. In this way, we had the benefit of the political contribution and material solidarity of the revolutionary and democratic forces of the world. For this same reason we were able to contribute to the advance of world democracy and revolution.32

Thus, FRELIMO began to define its organizational type. Its principles explained the Mozambican situation in a class content, identified the Mozambican struggle as part of the world struggle. These principles would have a profound effect on the development of the Mozambican society and the world.

CHAPTER III

THE STRUCTURE OF FRELIMO

The Mozambican United Front, FRELIMO, is part of a historical sequence of organizations that existed to counter Portuguese colonialism.

The first challenge to Portuguese encroachment was by the East African city-states between the 1550's and 1880's. These city-states were part of the great Muslim mercantile complex that extended from the East Africa coast to India and China. The important cities were Pate, Malindi, Mombasa, Kiliji, Mozambique and Sofala. According to James Duffy, these city-states were not just part of the Indian Ocean mercantile but their rulers served as its middlemen:

East Africa was part of the Indian Ocean mercantile complex, and the Swahili traders thrived as middlemen who brought the goods of India and the Middle East to Africa. The trade was principally in beads, cotton cloth, and some metal implements which were exchanged with the Bantu for slaves, ivory, wax and gold.33

The structure of these city-states was based on the superstructure of the medieval period that was also similar to the city-state in Europe during the same period. These cities were ruled by an aristocratic class of Arab background. Each city had its own court structure and its own private army. The cities competed against each other for hegemony over the seas, but this ended with the arrival of Portuguese naval power.

More information about the city-states is not available because of Portuguese destruction of the areas in present day Kenya, Tanzania and northern Mozambique. The motivating force behind the struggle between the Portuguese and the Swahili traders was to control the trade routes in the Indian Ocean. The Portuguese did not remain the dominate element in that area for long. They were challenged by the Turks under the leadership of Mir Ali Bey. The defeat of the Portuguese by the Turks in the northern areas was a prerequisite for Portuguese intervention into Mozambique.

The second period of Portuguese encroachment was challenged by the anti-colonial coalition formed by the tribal groups inside Mozambique. The coalition signifies the first attempt to broaden the base from a feudal or ethnic structure to a regional structure. Allen Isaacman states that,

To thwart the imperialist forces several farsighted leaders proclaimed the urgent need to cast aside their narrow parochial loyalties in order to survive the European onslaught. At a secret meeting of Africans and mulattoes, Chinsinga, ruler of Makanga, declared that the Africans of all tribes must unite in good faith, in a coordinated attempt to acquire large supplies of arms and ammunition, and when we have achieved this we must expel all the Portuguese ... 34

The Zambesian people, located in northern Mozambique near the Rhodesian border, used the coalition as a tactic against the Portuguese. Their efforts to counteract Portuguese aggression is used as a case study. The case study is used to illustrate the historical connection of the organizational tactics used by the Zambesian people in the late 19th century and

the tactics used by the Mozambican Nationalist in 1962.

The 1885 coalition consisted of archenemies from the Zambesi region, such as the Mburma and the Matakenya tribal groups, and was later extended to the Tawara chieftaincies. There was also a second coalition initiated by the Barue tribe which included the Tonga chieftaincies, some of the Shona peoples, the royal family of Massangano and a marriage alliance of the old Monomatapa Empire. The last important coalition attempted to challenge the Portuguese on the Mozambican-Zimbabwean border. The single unit in the anti-colonial coalition was the feudal or tribal groupings; however, the tribal and feudal unit was not strong enough to combat Portuguese encroachment.

At the fall of the last coalition, the struggle, briefly, began to change from a tribal character to an agrarian workers' base. The anti-colonial coalition marked the end of the tribal structure as the dominant force. The appearance of a Zambesian embryonic working class was created as a result of the plantation system. By early 1917 the agrarian workers, again mostly people from the Zambesi region, began to mobilize and challenge Portuguese colonialism. However, the Portuguese were able to regain power and by late 1917 crushed the anti-colonial agrarian workers' coalition.

The anti-colonial coalition, particularly the agrarian workers' base is historically important because it shows the departure from tribalism towards, first, regional consciousness, and later, national consciousness. In the later years, the main principle that would foster national consciousness would be a merger of regional associations into a nationalist organization. According to Isaacman:
As the intensity of Portuguese pressure increased, the Zambesian peoples began to discard their parochial tendencies and to create broader alliance based on more viable political entities. The shift in primordial loyalties reflected a new level of political consciousness which recognized the Portuguese for the first time as the common oppressor. This pan-Zambesian approach reached its zenith during the 1917 rebellion. The nature of the appeal, which was phrased in anti-colonial but non-racial terms, and the broad base of the alliance placed the insurrection in a transitional category between earlier forms of African resistance and the recent wars of liberation.35

The period of the associations lasted from 1910-1926 during the liberal period of the new Republic of Portugal. The creation of the new leadership inside Mozambique was due to the development of Portuguese political and economic policies. Because of the liberal policy inside Portugal, associations in Mozambique were able to emerge and plead their grievances. The development of towns was the result of the establishment of the plantation system, and with the towns a small proletariat and intellectual class appeared. This new social force had a special relationship to Portuguese colonialism that was not manifested in the African agrarian working class. Eduardo Mondlane states to this effect:

In the towns, the colonizing power was seen at close quarters. It was easier there to understand that the colonizers' strength was built upon our weakness, and that their achievements depended on the labour of the African. Possibly the very absence of the tribal environment helped to encourage a national view, helped this group to see Mozambique as the country of all Mozambicans, helped them to understand the power of unity.36

One of the earliest associations that reflected the appearance of the urban intellectual was the Liga Africana which was formed in 1920. This organization participated in the Third Pan African Conference. It

is significant to note that the membership of *Liga Africana* was small, but there were representatives from all three Portuguese colonies. In Mozambique the *Gremio Africano* was one of the first associations formed which later changed its name to the *Associacao Africana*. The colonialist became disturbed at the growth of this organization and forced it to take a conservative position. The radical faction broke from the organization and formed the *Instituto Negrofilo* which later became the *Centro Associativo dos Negros de Mocambique*. A third organization was formed called the *Associacao dos Naturais de Mocambique*. This organization was first started by white Mozambicans, however, blacks were admitted in the late 1950's.

In addition to the political associations, there were student associations. One of the earliest was the *Nucleo dos Estudantes Africanos Secundarios de Mozambique* (NESAM), which was linked to the *Centro Associativo dos Negros de Mocambique*. Eduardo Mondlane explains, "The program of NESAM had three parts: spread nationalist consciousness to the African educated, uplift Mozambican culture and establish contact with former members which would lead to a nation-wide communication network." 37 Mondlane, the first President of FRELIMO, was among the first students to organize the association. Later some members of NESAM would form another group--the *Mozambican Student Union* (UNEMO), that would be involved in the formation of FRELIMO in 1962. Another student association, the *Casa dos Estudantes do Imperio* (CEI) was formed in 1951 and later became part of the United Front effort.

37 Ibid, p. 106.
There were other associations formed, particularly among the agrarian workers and the armed forces. Such associations among the agrarian workers were called co-operatives, like the one constructed by Lazaro Kavandame in the Cabo Delgado Province. To a lesser extent, there was clandestine work to organize the urban workers. It was difficult to organize them because of stiff surveillance and harsh reprisal from the Portuguese Secret Police (PIDE).

The effects of associations brought about the development of the leadership for the beginning of the nationalist organization, and also a change in the strategy for organizing.

In briefly observing the Mozambican resistance movements, we find certain principles that are pillars of FRELIMO which had their origin in the Mozambican past. For example, the anti-colonial coalition of the tribal movement was the United Front of the national movement, and the intelligentsia in the associations became the professional revolutionaries in the nationalist party.

FRELIMO began as a merger of three organizations consisting of UDENAMO (Uniao Nacional Democratic de Mocambique) formed in 1960 in Salisbury; MANU (Mozambique African National Union) formed in 1961, with chapters in Tanganyika and Kenya; and UNAMI (Uniao Africana de Mocambique Independente) formed in Malawi. Its first Congress was held in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, in September, 1962 with 80 delegates and 500 observers. The participants established a Central Committee and formulated a policy for the new Party. The membership of the Central Committee reflected the leadership of the associations; Uria Simango, the Vice-President, David Mabunda, the Secretary-General, and Paulo José Gumane, the Deputy Secretary-General all came from UDENAMO and Matthew Mmole, the Treasurer, came from
MANU. Other important people in the Central Committee included: Marcelino dos Santos, the Secretary for External Affairs and later the Secretary of the Department of Political Affairs and Vice-President, who had contacts in Portugal and France, Lazaro Kavandame and Jonas Namashulua from the peasant co-operatives in northern Mozambique, and Mateus Muthemba and Shaffrudin Khan representing the mutual assistance associations in the southern region of Mozambique.\(^{38}\)

The policy of the Party was manifested through the 1962 Programme and Constitution. The preamble stated that the Mozambican people must be prepared to engage in struggle for independence; however, the tactics to be employed were not defined.\(^{39}\) The Congress concentrated on consolidating the organization rather than engaging in any ideological debate at that time. According to the Programme and Statutes of FRELIMO, the Central Committee had relegated itself to functioning as the legislative, executive and judicial branches. The Central Committee created a National Council, but it never functioned and in the second conference of July, 1968, the council was abandoned.\(^{40}\)

The second congress was a historical event that marked a fundamental change in the structure of the Party. During the first congress, FRELIMO had not begun armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism, so the basic task of the cadre was to organize support, clandestinely for the Party. However, by the time the second congress convened, FRELIMO had liberated areas and was in the process of constructing institutions to support the

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Organization and the war effort. Eduardo Mondlane states that, "The emerging political structure follows the characteristic pattern of one party democracy; and FRELIMO, as well as being the driving force behind the liberation struggle, is becoming the government in the liberated areas."1

The liberated areas not only facilitated in the creation of institutions, but the existing organs in the Party had to be restructured. This is illustrated in the changes in the Central Committee. According to FRELIMO's Programme and Statutes:

In the early days of FRELIMO the Central Committee in this form could function more or less efficiently, being able to tackle and resolve all problems. The development of our struggle and the resulting growth of our organisation, however, necessitated that the nature of the Central Committee be altered. In fact FRELIMO now has thousands of members; controls an area of about 190,000 square kilometres, with a population of about 1,000,000; directs an armed struggle on three fronts in three provinces and directs a large scale programme of national reconstruction in the liberated areas. In this new context the Central Committee faced enormous difficulties in executing all its legislative, executive and judicial functions. It was therefore necessary to create a new structure capable of coping with this new situation.42

Because of the changes in the organization the role and the membership of the Central Committee changed also: the Congress was established as the supreme organ of FRELIMO and the National Council was abolished; the Central Committee increased its membership from twenty to forty and its function was reduced to the legislative; the Politico-Military Committee was created to interpret the political line from the Central Committee and the Congress, resolve questions outside the jurisdiction of the Executive Committee, constituting the presidency and heads of

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42 Programme and Statutes, p. 2.
departments, was created for executive functions.

On the national level, the Congress was formed as the highest organ of FRELIMO which met every four years. If an emergency meeting was necessary, it had to be approved by two-thirds of the provinces. The Congress defined the political line and made changes and/or moderations in the Statutes and Programme of FRELIMO. The Congress analyzed and criticised the reports from the Central Committee and also elected members, including the president and the vice-president of the Central Committee. The decisions of the Congress were binding and could only be changed at the next congress meeting.  

The Central Committee was responsible to the Congress; it also formulated the decisions of the Congress. The Central Committee approved the general internal rules. The Central Committee could suggest candidates for president and vice-president to the Congress. The Central Committee was composed of the Provincial Secretaries, the Head of Defense and the assistant, the Department of Political Organization and the assistant, a representative from each mass organization, an elected representative from each province and eighteen members elected by the Congress.  

The Politico-Military Committee, which was created by the Central Committee developed the political, military and strategic plans, and defined the policy in each area that FRELIMO was active. The Politico-Military Committee clarified the political line and rules for the executive organs, and it ratified the nomination of developmental secretaries. The

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43 Ibid, p. 4.
44 Ibid, p. 4.
Politico-Military Committee consisted of a president, vice-president, the secretaries of the Departments of Defence, Political Organization, Security and Politics, and the provincial secretaries.45

The Executive Committee executed the political line established by the Congress, Central Committee and the Politico-Military Committee. The Executive Committee made amendments to the General Internal Rules and submitted them to the Central Committee for ratification. This Committee included a president, vice-president and departmental secretaries. The departmental secretaries were nominated by the president and ratified by the Politico-Military Committee.46

The last national position was the Presidency which coordinated activities of all departments, represented FRELIMO on the national and international level and ensured that the rules, principles, and resolutions were observed in the general actions of the organizations. The Presidency was made of both a president and vice-president.47

There were also changes in the lower structures of the Party because of the need to establish smaller units in liberated areas and to continue clandestine work in contested areas: the smallest unit in FRELIMO was the Cell, consisting of members from the same area; the next level was the District Council, which consisted of representatives from the local cells; representatives from the district councils formed the Provincial Council; a delegate from the Provincial Council would become a member of the Congress.48

46 Ibid, p. 5.
The second congress established the precedent of the FRELIMO organization that would exist today. Samora Machel stated in his speech, "The Weapons that Brought Us Victory,"

"With this meeting of the Central Committee, FRELIMO entered upon a new phase: the creation of an organised vanguard of the working masses and cleansing our ranks of the ideas and values of the reactionary forces." 49

The Party not only played a leading role in the struggle against Portuguese colonialism, but that role continued in the era of independence. During the independence celebration, Machel stressed that, "The party or FRELIMO, would be the vanguard organ of the revolution and government and bureaucracy would clearly be subordinate to it." 50 The Party would be composed of the People's Assembly. The People's Assembly, consisting of 210 members, is composed of all the departments in FRELIMO on the national level; that includes the Central Committee, the Executive Committee, ministers and vice-ministers, provincial governors, members of the army, two representatives from each province and ten citizens. Its politics would be defined in the Mozambique Constitution. Below the People's Assembly is a Permanent Commission of fifteen members which take up the task of the People's Assembly when it is not in session. In addition to the fifteen member Permanent Commission, there is a Council of Ministers which is responsible for the administration of the country. 51 The political structure of independent Mozambique is based on the same political structure that was implemented by FRELIMO during the war against Portuguese colonialism.


During the transitional government, it was necessary to create pre-party committees to politicize and mobilize the masses who were not in the areas that FRELIMO controlled during the war against Portuguese colonialism. The pre-party committees were called grupos dinamizadores or dynamization groups. The grupos dinamizadores were established in all spheres (factories, communities, farms, schools, etc.) of Mozambican society. Janet Hooper describes how a grupo operates with workers inside a hotel:

The meeting at the Hotel gave us some sense of how the grupos work. The hotel is South African owned and employs 286 people. The grupo has seven different sections representing different hotel functions (the kitchen, lounge, reception, etc.) and each section has a secretary. The seven secretaries meet once a week with the grupo dinamizadores's General Secretary (meeting times are rotated to allow the most people to come). The meeting we attended opened with FRELIMO songs (which the grupo had mimeographed for everyone) . . . The hotel grupo submits reports to FRELIMO twice a month, and FRELIMO had sent cadres out to the hotel grupo three times since January, 1975. The group had also met with another grupo dinamizador. Within each section the work was broken down into such topics as education (literacy); social affairs (lateness to work, drinking problems); cultural events (the group collected worker's poems, organized sports events).52

John Saul, in his article, "Free Mozambique," gives further information of the effects that the grupos had at the work places in the urban areas:

. . . nonetheless, grupos in the workplace are providing a stepping stone—to all appearances an effective and democratic one—toward the new trade unions which are coming into being; indeed, in several cases, they have even become the nucleus of real workers self-management (in a cashew processing factory abandoned by the Portuguese owners for example).53

Grupos have not only been established at the work place, but also in community institutions. John Saul, in the same article, describes the grupos in a school situation:

Even at the university—most hierarchical and deeply colonized of inherited institutions—the grupos' initiative was in train, throwing up, in addition, a new kind of structure for the faculty boards. From now on the latter are to be constituted by three representatives from the teaching faculty, three from the students, and three from the staff (typists, cleaners, etc.)--the dean to be chosen, in turn, from that number.54

The grupo dynamizadores were an essential part of the Party structure because it was the apparatus that extended the political line to the people. In February, 1975 at Mocuba in Zambezia province, representatives from 110 districts met to evaluate the success of the grupo dynamizadores. The representatives were to discuss whether these pre-party committees were ready to be transformed into Party committees. It was decided that they were not ready and that continued work was needed for mobilizing and politicizing the masses.55

The only organs used to propagate the Party's program during the war against Portuguese Colonialism were the Mozambique Revolution, the Party official journal for international publication, and the radio station, "Free Mozambique," in Tanzania. Another Party organ was the Jornal de Parade or the wall newspapers which from all indications, began with the initiation of the provisional government. During the Independence celebrations, articles from magazines, newspapers, party directives, pictures, etc. were posted on places of congregation (walls, side of trees, side of buildings, etc.). After Independence, at the First National Conference at Macomia, Cabo Delgado, the Ministry of Information proposed that the Wall Newspapers be changed to the People's Newspaper (Jornal do Povo) to reflect the revolutionary spirit of the people.56

54 Ibid, p. 17.
The Party structures that were instituted as a result of the second Congress and the new institutions that were constituted during the provisional government, i.e., grupos and Jornal de Parade, were established for the transitional change of FRELIMO from a nationalist organization to a ruling party.
CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

The evaluation of FRELIMO is based on the relationship of the Party to the people and the relationship of the Party to other aspects of the state structure. The vanguard party is a class party that leads the working class, and the vanguard party is also the dominant organ in the state apparatus.

The relationship of FRELIMO to the existing political structure in Mozambique is divided into three parts: the liberation movement, fighting to remove the Portuguese political and economic structure in Mozambique; the nationalist party sharing power in the provisional government; and the ruling party in an independent Mozambique.

On September 7, 1974, at the beginning of the transitional period, FRELIMO and Portuguese officials agreed to the composition of the interim government:

In a statement issued after the installation, the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique called for a major transformation of economic, cultural and political life in Mozambique, which will become fully independent next June 25. The interim Government, composed of six ministers appointed by the front and three appointed by the Portuguese high commissioner, will exercise local self-government until then.\(^57\)

The agreement gave FRELIMO the larger part of the state structure; FRELIMO controlled the following ministries: the Prime Minister, Justice, Home Affairs, 

Economic Co-ordination, Information, Education, and Labor. Samora Machel represented the Mozambican government in conferences concerning the Rhodesian Question, and FRELIMO continues to give military assistance to the Zimbabwean nationalists.

The transitional period lasted until June 25, 1975, ending the period of FRELIMO's sharing power with Portugal and beginning the period of FRELIMO as the only party in Mozambique. On Independence Day, Samora Machel defines FRELIMO's dominant position as having primacy over the government in all decisions and at all levels. The Mozambican Constitution stated the creation of a People's Assembly of 210 members who are elected within the framework of the Party.

FRELIMO became the dominant political organ in Mozambique on Independence Day. The process of FRELIMO becoming a class party has not been completed. There are two decisions that reflect the unfinished process; they are to delay elections for a year and not to convert the grupos dinamizadores into party committees yet. The decisions were based on the conclusion that People's power had not been consolidated among the masses and further politicization was needed. In February at the Mocuba Conference, the FRELIMO cadres outlined two areas that their politicization campaign would have to focus on; these are faulty ideas and conscious deviations. Charles Mohr discussed the resolutions from the Mocuba report:

The Mocuba report called for efforts to eradicate some aspects of traditional African life that would impede the creation of a new socialist state but it called for more lenient treatment for

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that sort of error than for modern ideological heresies. The report said the party should make a distinction between "a faulty idea which may and ought to be enlightened and corrected" and "a planned maneuver or fully conscious deviation."

Examples of the first were given as "superstition, witchcraft and polygamy," An example of a full deviation was "those, who support the reconciliation of opposing ideologies."

... Among the deviations listed were arrogance of power, the concept of self-importance demagogy in the use of ideology, conscious misinterpretations of the party line, encouragement of favoritism "and all and any form of exploitation."59

The Mocuba resolution in February and the post-ponement of elections for a year are clear indications that FRELIMO has not completed the evolution to a vanguard party and people's democracy. However, the FRELIMO cadres have stated that they are committed to constant ideological warfare and a systematic approach to establishing a vanguard party that will reflect the total interest of the working class.


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