

# FRELIMO II CONGRESS



## RESOLUTIONS ON THE ARMED STRUGGLE.

1. The Portuguese government is a colonialist, fascist government that still maintains the myth that Mozambique is a Portuguese Province, and, consequently, "part and parcel of Portugal". It still does not recognise the right of the Mozambican people to their national independence.

Nationalist demonstrations are violently repressed with massacres, jailings, tortures, assassinations.

Under these conditions, and in order to face all forms of colonialist oppression and repression, the Mozambican people have decided to follow resolutely the way of armed struggle, by fighting a decisive war of independence or death.

2. The Portuguese colonialists have dominated and exploited the Mozambican people for a very long time. Today, they still have the control of the means of production in those regions of Mozambique where they exert their domination.

Their military force is a powerful one. Besides the army, they have an air force and navy. Despite the rapid growth of our military power, the Portuguese colonialist army is even stronger. On the other hand, we still have great material needs. We need weapons, medicines, means of transport, etc., which, at this phase of our struggle, we have to get from abroad. We also need technicians. So that, with respect to the supply of material and training of technicians, we shall continue for some time to depend on external aid.

Furthermore, the geographical and political situation of our country, as well as the political situation of the neighbouring countries - Swaziland, South Africa, Rhodesia, Malawi - makes it difficult to extend the war further to the South. To carry war material into Zambezia, Mozambique, Manica e Sofala, Inhambane, Gaza and Lourenco Marques Provinces, we have to overcome many difficulties.

All these factors put together build the existing imbalance of forces between us and the enemy. Though politically stronger, we are still militarily weak. In order to get our victory, we have no other way out but to change the direction of this imbalance; we will do it, but for that a great effort is required from us. Our war will therefore be a hard and long one.

3. Our struggle is a people's struggle. It requires the total participation of all the masses of the people. For this reason, it is necessary to intensify the mobilisation and the organisation of the masses in the liberated zones, as well as in the regions where the ...

armed struggle has not yet started.

The direct participation of all in the armed struggle is, therefore, one of the main objectives of the people's mobilisation effort.

In the present phase of our struggle, our main armed forces are made up of the regular guerrilla forces; but people's militias do also play a very important role. People's militias are part and parcel of the populations. They are supplementary to the guerrilla forces and they are fixed in the territory in which they work. All the people - old, young, women and men - who are not part of the guerrillas, must be part of the militias.

People's militias should at the same time satisfy the needs of production, vigilance and defence. In the liberated and semi-liberated zones, people's militias do in particular the following work:

- transport of material and the sick;
- reconnaissance and patrol of the zones in which they work against the infiltration of enemy troops and agents;
- fighting, when the enemy invades the region.

People's militias do take part in heavy fighting, when that is called for.

The organisation of people's militias is an important form of integrating the masses into the armed struggle. In this way, at every place, sufficient and militarily prepared forces are created. People's militias are therefore reserve forces.

4. In order to realise more completely and efficiently the participation of the Mozambican women in the struggle, a women's detachment has been created whose main functions are:

- a) mobilisation and organisation of the masses;
- b) recruitment of young people of both sexes to be integrated into the armed struggle;
- c) production;
- d) transport of material;
- e) military protection for the populations.

5. The phenomenon of desertion is not a specific characteristic of the struggle for liberation of Mozambique. There are desertions in most countries, even in the absence of war.

In the movement for National Liberation of Mozambique, desertions have many causes.

Many comrades are engaged in the struggle because they really have a nationalist, political conscience. But there are some whose national feeling is very weak. There are others who, after committing transgressions, fear punishment by the Portuguese authorities. Then, to escape from punishment, they engage themselves in the nationalist movement.

Persons with such a behaviour often fail: they are unable to withstand the difficult guerrilla's life, and they can hardly acquire a nationalist, political conscience. So they desert. And once out of the movement, they give themselves to inventing excuses to justify themselves. Some spread every kind of rumour in order to discredit the leaders, divorce them from the masses, and disintegrate the struggle. Others give themselves up to the Portuguese. Desertions are grave crimes. Deserters are enemies of the Mozambican people.

6. Prisoners of war have a political importance for us. We should treat them well. Through them, we can obtain information on the enemy. We should re-educate them as much as possible, and, according to our interests, eventually let them free.

We may also use prisoners as hostages to be exchanged for our comrades who may be in the Portuguese colonial prisons. In this way, we would be showing to the world that we are fighting against Portuguese colonialism and not against the Portuguese people; we would be breaking the fighting morale of the enemy's army, and encouraging its soldiers' desertions.

The II Congress decides, therefore, that FRELIMO should continue to apply the policy of clemency with regard to captured enemy soldiers.

7. Our war is essentially a political war, and its direction is defined by the party. The people's army is part and parcel of the party, and its strategic plans are made by the top leadership of the party.

In order to conduct correctly the struggle, all the leaders should be involved in the armed struggle. Only in this way, following the struggle step by step, the leaders can be able to solve all the complex problems arising daily. The people's army performs its task in accordance with the policy defined by FRELIMO.

#### RESOLUTIONS ON ADMINISTRATION OF THE LIBERATED ZONES.

1. The administration of the liberated zones aims at establishing the people's power. Only through an adequate administration will it be possible to consolidate the defence of the liberated zones, to promote its growth and the economic and social progress of the people, and thus to lay the basis for a victorious development of the revolutionary, armed struggle for national liberation.

The direction of the administration in the liberated zones will be undertaken by committees at the several organic levels of FRELIMO - Provincial, District, Local etc., - as stated in the general regulations.

People's management committees, elected by the people themselves, shall be created, whenever possible, to supervise general tasks.

The Provincial Committee, the District Committee or the Local Committee, each at its level, shall direct the establishment of these people's management committees, and shall render them, whenever needed and as much as possible, the necessary technical assistance.

2. The II Congress maintains that only when the Provincial structures are functioning conveniently, it will be possible to administer the liberated zones correctly. For this reason the II Congress rules that:
  - a) clear guidance shall be given to the various provincial organs, so that they may realise completely their functions;
  - b) the various positions in each of the provincial organs shall be conveniently and effectively filled;
  - c) adequate control systems for the provincial organs shall be organised;
  - d) leaders of FRELIMO shall make frequent visits to the provinces;
  - e) necessary sections shall be established which shall function under the provincial administration;
  - f) training of technical cadres needed by the provinces shall be accelerated.
3. Furthermore, the II Congress rules that:
  - a) provincial budgets shall essentially depend on the production of the province;
  - b) all necessary efforts shall be made such that Mozambicans who have sought refuge abroad may return to Mozambique;
  - c) Judicial Committees shall be created which shall look over the execution of the laws.

#### RESOLUTIONS ON NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION.

1. The II Congress notes that the building of a new life in the liberated zones is a requirement of the struggle for national liberation. The liberated zones shall constitute the material basis for growth of our revolutionary armed struggle for national liberation. In that sense, the growth of production assumes special importance.

It is necessary for us to produce progressively the material goods we need for the growth of our armed struggle. We should promote the development of agriculture, industry, cottage industries, always directing our activities towards the meeting of the interests of our people's revolution.

Hand in hand with production, we shall develop commerce, both internal and external. We should also promote the development of education and health services. At the same time, we should promote our national culture by developing the positive values of our regional customs now enriched by our effort to create a new reality: a united and free Mozambique.



All these aspects of our efforts for national reconstruction are closely connected, and for efficiency of work, it is imperative that all sectors of our activity be perfectly co-ordinated, without which, all our efforts will be useless.

To carry on our work, we have to overcome various difficulties and solve many problems, some very pressing ones, such as population dispersion into small settlements separated by large distances, the lack of means of communication, the scarcity of cadres. In order to face these problems, measures will be taken with a view to:

- a) promoting, whenever possible, the resettlement of the populations;
- b) encouraging Mozambican refugees in neighbouring countries to return to Mozambique in order to take part in national reconstruction tasks;
- c) intensifying the training of cadres necessary for the execution of the various tasks dictated by the Revolution.

Whenever deemed necessary and indispensable, foreign technicians shall be recruited, who accept to follow the political line and the Programme of FRELIMO.

2. More specifically, the II Congress of FRELIMO rules that:

(i) ON PRODUCTION AND COMMERCE

- a) Agricultural production shall be developed, such that we may get all we need for food as well as the raw materials for production of soap, fabrics, etc.;
- b) Technical and scientific level of production shall be promoted;
- c) Defence of agriculture fields shall be more and more consolidated;
- d) Organisation of agricultural, commercial and industrial cooperatives shall be developed;

(ii) ON EDUCATION

- a) development of primary schools shall be accelerated;
- b) teacher training programmes for primary schools shall be developed in order to raise rapidly the numbers and technical level;
- c) intensive literacy campaign among the masses of the people, men, women, old and young people shall be promoted;
- d) special courses for raising rapidly the level of knowledge of the militants shall be organised;
- e) young Mozambican women shall be encouraged to complete at least primary school education;
- f) production centres shall be created at every school place for self-maintenance;
- g) a system shall be established which shall make it possible for the students to interrupt temporarily their studies in order to participate in teaching and literacy campaigns;
- h) it shall be the duty of all Mozambican students to take part, whenever it may be deemed necessary, in the various tasks of the struggle for national liberation;
- i) development of schools of political training shall be promoted.

(iii) ON HEALTH

- a) intensive campaigns shall be promoted for obtaining medicines and medical supplies throughout the world;
- b) establishment of medical centres shall be promoted in the regions that will be successively liberated;
- c) organisation of transport of medicines and medical supplies shall be organised for the various regions.

RESOLUTION ON SOCIAL AFFAIRS.

The growth of the Mozambican Revolution requires that particular attention be given to the social conditions of the masses.

A correct direction that will promote the satisfaction of the social needs of the masses will also raise their revolutionary spirit, and will at the same time avoid that the difficulties, normal in a war situation, may turn into serious obstacles to the progress of the war for national liberation.

So, therefore, the II Congress rules that:

- a) necessary measures shall be taken to improve the material conditions of the masses in the war zones, particularly with respect to satisfaction of primary needs, such as salt, soap, clothing;
- b) institutions for social assistance, as well as for study and suggestion of solutions to problems on social relationship, particularly those concerning marriage, at the provincial level, shall be created;
- c) particular attention shall be given to the wives of the militants, seeing to it that whenever possible, they are fixed in the provinces where their husbands are fighting, and encouraging those outside the country to return home.
- d) whenever possible, pregnant women and those with little babies shall be settled in zones of greater stability;
- e) FRELIMO, in cooperation with LIFEMO, shall establish the ways in which the latter shall take care of the orphan children; the same care shall be given to the children of unmarried women, in order to give a chance to the latter to contribute to the struggle;
- f) conditions for assistance and rehabilitation of the war disabled shall be created.

RESOLUTION ON FOREIGN POLICY.

1. The Mozambican people are engaged in an armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism for their national independence and for the establishment of a social, democratic order in Mozambique.

This struggle is part of the world's movement for the emancipation of the peoples, which aims at the total liquidation of colonialism and imperialism, and at the construction of a new society free from exploitation of man by man.

For this reason, FRELIMO has created and developed solidarity and friendly relations with peoples, organisations and governments fighting for the realisation of these objectives. FRELIMO has established relations with nationalist organisations of the Portuguese colonies, and with nationalist organisations of other African countries still under foreign domination.

FRELIMO has relations with progressive organisations of Asian-African and Latin American countries. FRELIMO has relations with all socialist countries, and with progressive countries of the West. FRELIMO is a member of the following international organisations:

- a) CONCP - Conference of Nationalist Organisations of the Portuguese Colonies;
- b) O.A.U. - Organisation of African Unity;
- c) OSPAA - Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organisation;
- d) OSPAAAL - Afro-Asian Latin American Peoples Solidarity Organisation;
- e) WCP - World Council of Peace.

The II Congress declares that FRELIMO and the Mozambican people shall continue to develop and consolidate their alliances and to give their maximum contribution to the world people's movement against colonialism and imperialism for economic, political, social and cultural emancipation of peoples and for the construction of a new society free from exploitation of man by man.

2. The struggle under which the Mozambican people, under the leadership of FRELIMO, are engaged in against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism, enjoys the world's sympathy and support.

The II Congress highly appreciates the aid given by the peoples, organisations and governments of African countries to the liberation struggle of the Mozambican people, in particular through the African Liberation Committee.

The II Congress points out in particular the aid given by TANU, the people and government of TANZANIA, under the leadership of President Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, to the anti-colonialist, national liberation struggle of the Mozambican people, directed by FRELIMO.

Among the African countries, the II Congress stresses also the high contribution given the Mozambican people's struggle by Algeria, the United Arab Republic and Zambia, either through the O.A.U. or bilaterally.

The II Congress highly appreciates and hails the aid given the Mozambican people by socialist countries of Europe and Asia, which aid has been a great contribution for the success of the Mozambican Revolution.

The II Congress appreciates the aid given to the Mozambican people's struggle by the revolutionary people and government of Cuba.

The II Congress appreciates the aid that FRELIMO and the Mozambican people get from progressive organisations of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The II Congress appreciates the material aid accorded to the Mozambican people by humanitarian and religious organisations of Western countries.

3. The II Congress notes that if the Portuguese colonial-fascist government is able to carry on the war up to now, that is mainly because of the help it gets from the Republic of South Africa, Rhodesia, and from its Western allies of NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation) countries.

These are the countries, in particular the United States of America, West Germany, France, Great Britain, Belgium, as well as Japan, which give aid to Portugal in terms of weapons, planes, helicopters, submarines, warships, etc., and in terms of financial and diplomatic support, and which continue to make considerable capital investments in our country.

Thus, these countries, directly or through NATO, give support to the criminal policy of the colonial-fascist government of Portugal.

So, therefore, the II Congress:

- a) condemns the alliance of Portuguese, South African and Rhodesian governments, which constitutes an imperialist conspiracy against the freedom and independence of the Southern African peoples, and aims at perpetuating white man's supremacy in this part of the world;
- b) condemns the NATO countries, in particular the United States of America, West Germany, France, Great Britain, Italy, Belgium, as well as Japan, for their military, financial and moral support to the colonial-fascist government of Portugal, support which enables the latter to continue to implement its criminal, outmoded, colonialist policy of war genocide against the Mozambican people, as well as against the people of Angola and Guinea-Bissau.

4. The II Congress notes the fact that the majority of the African, Asian and Latin American peoples, as well as the peoples of the capitalist countries themselves, are carrying on a hard struggle against colonialism, imperialism and exploitation of man by man.

The II Congress notes in particular:

- a) that the colonial-fascist government of Portugal persists in denying the right of its colonial peoples to national independence and is carrying on a genocidal war against the Mozambican people and against the peoples of Angola and Guinea-Bissau;
- b) that peoples of South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Comores, Equatorial Guinea are still under foreign yoke;



- c) that the American imperialists are carrying on a war of aggression against the people of Vietnam;
- d) that the reactionary government of Israel is carrying on its aggression against the people of Palestine, in order to expand its territory, exterminating entire populations;
- e) that the Portuguese people are still living under fascist oppression;
- f) that the people of the imperialist countries, and, in particular, the workers, are dominated and exploited by their reactionary governments;
- g) that the black people of the United States of America live under economic and racial oppression of the American capitalism.

So, therefore, the II Congress:

- a) Hails the heroic and revolutionary struggle of the peoples of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Cabo Verde Islands, S. Tome e Principe, directed respectively by MPLA, PAIGC and CLSTP,
  - congratulates MPLA and PAIGC for their successes in the armed struggle respectively in Angola and Guinea-Bissau, which are important contributions in the common struggle against Portuguese colonialism,
  - Hails and appreciates the existing fraternal relations among the nationalist movements of the Portuguese colonies;
- b) Hails and supports totally the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia, directed respectively by ANC, ZAPU and SWAPO;
- c) Condemns the colonialist policy of the French and Spanish governments which still oppress the peoples of, respectively, Comoro Islands and Equatorial Guinea; hails and supports the struggle of these peoples for their complete freedom;
- d) Vehemently condemns the American imperialist aggression against the people of Vietnam; demands immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the American Allied forces from the Vietnamese territory,
  - Hails the heroic struggle of the people of Vietnam; reaffirms its total solidarity and support for the government of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam and the Front for National Liberation of South Vietnam;
- e) Condemns the imperialist policy of Israel against the Arab peoples; hails and supports the position of the Arab peoples with regard to their struggle against the occupation of their territories by Israeli aggressive forces; supports the struggle of the people of Palestine to reassert their right to live in their national territory;
- f) Hails and supports the struggle of the Portuguese people against the fascist regime of Salazar for their freedom;
- g) Hails and supports the struggle of the peoples of Asia and Latin America against imperialism and for complete national liberation;
- h) Hails and supports the struggle of the workers' and progressive forces of the Western countries against capitalism and for socialism;
- i) Hails the struggle of the black people of the United States of America against racial discrimination, and for their economic, political and social emancipation;

5. The II Congress of FRELIMO notes that the struggle of the peoples and governments of the socialist countries for consolidation of socialism is a valuable contribution to the general struggle of the peoples of the world against imperialism, and it is an important support for national liberation movements.

On the other hand, the successes obtained by the Mozambican people in their armed fight against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism are due, in particular, to the material aid given to FRELIMO by the socialist countries.

The existing friendship and solidarity relations between the Mozambican people and the peoples, organisations and governments of the socialist countries, acquire, therefore, high importance and constitute a factor of progress in the common struggle against imperialism.

So, therefore, the II Congress:

a) declares complete solidarity of FRELIMO and the Mozambican people with the peoples, organisations and governments of the socialist countries, engaged in the struggle for consolidation and against imperialism;

b) decides to consolidate even more the existing friendship and solidarity relations between FRELIMO and the socialist countries;

6. The II Congress notes that it is important to enlarge constantly the means of keeping the world informed on the progress of our struggle. For that end, it becomes evermore urgent to establish new FRELIMO representations in various regions of the world.

The II Congress thinks in particular that, at the present phase of our struggle, the opening of FRELIMO Representation in Cuba and another in Western Europe, would constitute an important contribution to our struggle.

INDEPENDENCIA OU MORTE - VENCEREMOS!  
II CONGRESS OF FRELIMO  
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