

APPENDIX 2

Second Congress of the UNFP: Resolution on principles and purpose

INTRODUCTION

After long years of struggle for national liberation and the liquidation of the colonial system, after so much bloodshed and sacrifice on the part of the popular masses, Morocco, although it has acquired legal independence, remains in the grip of ever-growing *contradictions*:

- An absolute monarchy of an archaic and precolonial type.
- The annulment of the chief victories won by the masses, especially in the field of democratic and trade union rights.
- The physical and moral destruction of national resistance organizations, by means of a revengeful and rancorous policy directed against the most experienced militants in the long anticolonial struggle.
- An independence which in fact gives to colonialism its surest bases and prospects, as well as a veneer of legitimate national necessity.

This situation is *deeply rooted* in the fact that the bourgeois political apparatus, which in the beginning of-

ficially expressed the national will, gave to the popular masses men instead of doctrine, and simple attitudes instead of a program and plan of action.

It has historically chosen to divert the revolutionary current of the masses and to curb their enthusiasm. It has kept Morocco submerged in contradictions and led it along a path of adventurism.

This is how we must historically place the blame for the failure of the first phase of Morocco's revolutionary experience.

It is necessary to take note of this failure. A serious mass movement, the objective expression of a historic movement, should learn from experience and draw the appropriate conclusions.

For this reason there is a need to outline a doctrine with clear and precise objectives from a just historical perspective, with a view to establishing principles capable of guiding the action of the masses and of determining their behavior.

As a result,

THE SECOND NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE UNFP

Having heard and discussed the report on principles and purpose, adopts it completely as the basis of a doctrine corresponding to objective national and international realities.

a. OBJECTIVE REALITIES

The chief reality in Morocco, the most real and permanent, is the reality of colonialism. Political independence has really done nothing more than strengthen the structures of colonialism and confer upon them a covering of legitimate national necessity.

The juxtaposition of two kinds of economy, one powerfully developed, and the other archaic; the juxtaposition of two types of society, one western and the other traditional; constitute the basic contradiction which the colonial control of capital can never solve in a single and same type of harmonious, developed and prosperous society.

The poverty of the popular masses and their large-scale and continuous proletarianization are the results of main-

taining colonial economic structures and constitute the counterpart and price of the prosperity that these structures afford,

—on one hand, to the foreign oligarchy;

—and on the other, to a limited group of the bourgeoisie which, because of its participation in the modern sector of the economy, supports the demands of foreign capital.

Feudal elements, while allied with colonialism and committed to it at the moment of struggle for national liberation, have conserved, nevertheless, thanks to the support of the regime, their economic positions in the countryside. With this support they are trying to recover their influence over the rural masses in order to strengthen their domination and counteract any attempt at an authentic agrarian reform.

The powerful foreign interests that control each of the components of the Maghreb have placed the latter, collectively and individually, in a state of dependence and immobility, thereby seriously endangering the idea of Maghreb unity itself.

The territorial and political divisions of the Maghreb, instituted by colonialist treaties, necessarily result in:

the impossibility of carrying out in each of the constituent parts a policy of true planning and agrarian reform;

—political regimes teleguided from abroad and oppressive at home.

In an underdeveloped country where two types of society exist, one modern and semicolonial; the other traditional and feudal, the basis and the exercise of power must necessarily be either popular and progressive, or neocolonial and reactionary.

In the case of Morocco, the experience of these six years of independence, particularly the presence of progressive elements in the government, has permitted the Moroccan masses to acquire the firm conviction that it is impossible to carry out a serious policy of liberation under an absolute and archaic regime with an inert and corrupt administration.

b. PATHS

As a result and in function of these objective realities, the National Union of Popular Forces:

Rejects the capitalist path contrary to the interests of the popular masses and incapable of freeing the country from dependency and underdevelopment. The evolution of Morocco within the capitalist system would be equivalent to:

—the maintenance of the colonial-capital sector of prosperity in a closed circuit, where the only possible development would be that of serving the foreign monopolies and the big mercantile bourgeoisie.

Affirms that the socialization of the means of production leads to freedom from dependency and underdevelopment, the realization of a true economic planning, the application of an authentic agrarian reform, and the construction of a just and prosperous society, free from all forms of exploitation.

Declares that such a socialist path necessarily includes:

1) *An agrarian reform* based on the following principles:

- a) land for those who work it;
- b) land which is national patrimony will be worked only by Moroccan peasants;
- c) agricultural production should be part of an agrarian policy directed toward satisfying our needs. As such it will interest society as a whole.
- d) It is of small importance if the reform of the agricultural structure is based on the nationalization of land, or if, on the contrary, the land is distributed to the peasants as private property; what is of great importance is to determine the number of basic units, socially and technically viable, and from there to organize a unified network following the norms of a previously established economic plan.
- e) Agricultural planning should be based on the close cooperation of all the country's productive forces and therefore the administration of each

productive unit should become, as soon as possible, the sole responsibility of all interested workers.

- f) Agricultural equipment and credits, as well as the marketing of products, should be nationalized.
- g) Any resort to the use of force seriously violates the concept and spirit of the reform by making it seem to be unsuited to the conditions of the Moroccan peasantry.

2) *A comprehensive economic policy* that entails:

- a) the total transformation of the nation's economic structures by means of the rational coordination and integration of the activities of the different sectors according to the norms and perspectives of and *economic planning benefiting* the people;
- b) a policy of planned industrialization, directed in the first place to the establishing, within a completely socialized economy, of a *heavy industry* capable of aiding the country to swiftly become self-supplying;
- c) *the use of human capital and its labor* to transform the economic, social, political and cultural structures.

The Congress affirms that Maghreb unity can in no case constitute a gift of politicians or an object of bargaining. It can only be the work of conscientious popular masses, organized in workers' and peasants' unions, progressive movements, student unions, youth and women's organizations, and artisan trade organizations.

—The means of achieving unity are just as important as unity itself in its revolutionary perspective. The Maghreb is a framework and not an end in itself.

—The struggle for unity cannot be divorced from the struggle for democracy, whose only efficient instrument should be a unified mass movement, capable of mobilizing all the creative energy stored in the people of the Maghreb.

—This unity is contemplated from a broader viewpoint of Arab and African unity, to be achieved according to the same principles.

The struggle of the Moroccan people is identical to the struggle of all the subjugated or developing peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. In effect, the passing from a colonial economy to a socialist economy adapted to the needs of the masses, takes on, in spite of the antagonistic interests existing in each country, the nature of an international conflict between underdeveloped peoples and states and one or a group of foreign states.

The National Union of Popular Forces should therefore act within a framework of solidarity which should unite all peoples in the struggle against imperialism, feudalism and colonialism.

It should likewise work to achieve a sane international cooperation in all spheres towards an efficacious struggle against the causes and effects of underdevelopment, better understanding between peoples and world peace.

Such a cooperation implies:

- a) the elimination of colonial reality of a transitory, fragmentary or improvised nature,
- b) the changing of the present aid policy for another type of aid which would be included in finished programs and would rationally foster the efforts of the interested countries,
- c) the freeing of such aid from political aims or considerations of international blocks engaged in creating division between states or groups of states.

The Congress considers that the source of all power resides in the people and that all work of transformation within the country and sane international cooperation presupposes a political, popular and progressive executive power, whose efficiency and authenticity resides in the representativity of its political, economic and social organs, and where democracy is not a superimposed and external complement of society, but rather an organic and essential structure.

Thus the struggle for democracy and the conquest of power by the people will become an objectively necessary and immediate task.