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## **EDITORIALS**

# 1 WHITHER WHITE SOUTH AFRICA?

During January Mr Vorster spent three consecutive days in his Cape Town office talking separately to three groups of African, Coloured and Indian leaders about their people's future in the 87% of the country where they represent the vast majority but where government policy insists that white power and interests will prevail for ever.

The African leaders Mr Vorster saw were from the homelands. Although they are supposed to confine themselves to homeland affairs, they had come to talk about urban African rights. The Coloured and Indian leaders came respectively from the liaison committee of the Coloured Representative Council and the executive committee of the South African Indian Council. They could scarcely be called representative. The Labour Party, which dominates elected representation in the CRC, refused to join the delegation to see Mr Vorster because it regarded the meeting as pointless. The SAIC executive can hardly claim

to have been democratically elected. Nevertheless, and in spite of the fact that cosy statements were issued after both the CRC and SAIC meetings, saying how well things had gone and how much had been achieved, it is significant that even these two conservative groups insisted that what they really wanted was not a greater say in the administration of their own day-to-day affairs, but direct representation in Parliament.

Mr Vorster's meeting with homeland leaders was clearly a much more tense affair than either of the other meetings. The principal demands for an improvement in urban African conditions made at the meeting were for freehold home ownership for permanent residents, the phasing out of influx control, removal of restrictions on African businessmen and professionals in the cities and the granting of trade union rights to Africans. On the wider front an appeal was made for an

amnesty for political prisoners and exiles. To no one of these demands did Mr Vorster give a clear answer. Instead of freehold title for urban Africans he will look into the possibility of giving leasehold; a committee will be set up to see if the hardships of influx control can be eased; it may be possible to do something about traders' rights in towns; a meeting should be arranged with the Minister of Labour to talk about trade unions; he might consider allowing some exiles to return if they had committed no crime and their particular homeland leaders guaranteed their good conduct.

We are halfway through Mr Vorster's 'give-us-six-months' period. What sign is there, judging by these three meetings, that the Prime Minister is coming to grips in any sense of urgency with the problem of producing a response to the changing circumstances of Southern Africa which is going to satisfy the aspirations of people here and give African leaders like Dr Kaunda something to show for their willingness to talk to us again after all these years? Precious little. And the reaction of Black leaders to the talks? Is the Labour Party not right to regard the new powers promised to the CRC as mere window-dressing? Is Chief Buthelezi not justified in his angry frustration at the ox-like pace at which things are moving? Was he not right to say to Mr Vorster "We think it would be a betrayal of our people's cause to come here and not ascertain . . . whether we can go back to our people and tell them that Blacks are now

going to share power and decision-making with their White countrymen in a new and meaningful way . . . If this road (separate development) is leading to a cul-de-sac then our only alternative is to seek fulfilment—not in the unreal separate freedoms—but in one South Africa and in the only seat of power—Parliament"?

The truth of the matter is that rights in urban areas—freehold, leasehold, trading, trade union, whatever you like—are meaningless unless those who have them have also the political power to prevent them being taken away from them. Anyone who used to live in Sophiatown or Cato Manor or District Six knows that. Mr Vorster's main problem remains that of devising a system for real power-sharing between all South Africans, and particularly those living in **White** South Africa. He cannot do this alone. Nor will he ever do it on the basis of the kind of talks he had in Cape Town—where a few concessions are graciously given. What are needed are talks on a basis of complete equality at which the future realities of Black and White power are recognised and in which plans are worked out to get both pulling together in one society. This means a new National Convention. No doubt Mr Vorster is neither willing nor ready to call such a thing yet, and his Party even less so. But that such a Convention will be called one day, who can doubt? The trouble is that the longer it is put off the more intractable become the problems with which it will have to deal.□

## 2 A MEAN ACT

The decision of the Government to expropriate the land and buildings of the Federal Seminary at Alice, is a mean act. It compares with the same Government's decision to abolish School feeding for African children, and its present decision not to allow Mr Bram Fischer to end his days outside the prison walls. In all three cases the meanness of the decision is accompanied by that mercilessness of which the Government is readily capable. Perhaps mercilessness is too strong a word. It would be more correct to say that the Government's understanding of mercy is minimal. It is not in fact a governmental word.

Does the University of Fort Hare need the 94 hectares of land on which the Seminary is built? It has 180 hectares of its own, it owns the Honeydale Farm of 582 hectares, and it would certainly be able to purchase 184 hectares from the Bantu Presbyterian Church and 158 hectares of Lovedale Mission land. The answer to this question is that Fort Hare does not need the land.

Why then has the land been expropriated? The real reasons are these.

1. The Seminary stands for an alien religious culture. Its culture is ecumenical and not Calvinist. This is a further example of the apparently total incompatibility between South African Calvinism and the rest of the Churches.
2. The Seminary stands for an alien racial culture. Its culture is non-racial and anti-apartheid. It is therefore offensive, not to the students of Fort Hare, and not to many of the faculty, but to the rulers of Fort Hare and of South Africa.
3. The Seminary stands for an alien academic culture. It allows freedom of discussion. It permits the organisation on campus of student bodies which are anathema to the rulers of Fort Hare and of South Africa. Its influence on Fort Hare students must be destroyed.

Let us ask a last question. If this had been a Dutch Reformed Seminary, would Fort Hare have needed the land? The answer to this question is that it would not have needed the land.

We are witnessing detente in Southern Africa. But of detente in South Africa itself there are as yet few signs. Indeed this

act of expropriation is irreconcilable with national detente. This alien culture of the Seminary is as indigenous as the Afrikaner culture. It is not only as indigenous, it is also as tough. It cannot be destroyed, therefore it must be re-

moved to somewhere else. If this is the best the Government can show, its efforts in Southern Africa are doomed to fail.

After this editorial was written, the Rector of Fort Hare, exercising his government-given rights, announced that he would immediately take over the Anglican and Presbyterian buildings from the Seminary, including of course the student accommodation. Presumably he had decided that the Anglican and Presbyterian students could be accommodated by the other two constituent colleges. So the dispossessed must learn to live with the dispossessors. Surely the Seminary could have been spared that. The Rector's action makes the expropriation seem a meaner act than ever. □

# STRESS OR BAD FAITH

## The Professional Role in a Therapeutic Society

by John M. Raftery

The undeniable direction of most social and psychological research, during this century, has been in perfecting techniques of social control. In the private sphere, institutionalized psychology has emerged, according to Peter Berger "as one of the agencies supplying a population of anxious consumers with a variety of services for the construction, maintenance and repair of identities. In the public sphere, it lends itself with equal success to the different economic and political bureaucracies in need of non-violent techniques of social control." And in "Law, Liberty and Psychiatry" (1963) Thomas Szasz has noted how the U.S.A. has become a 'therapeutic state'. Psychologism has permeated welfare and educational organizations, personnel and business administration, and has become firmly entrenched as an orthodoxy of veiled psycho-manipulation. This makes it very easy to define away "social problems" as "anti-social behaviour" or "maladjustment", implying that the individual rather than the society is sick, and of course, a battery of therapeutic techniques are available to "readjust" the individual.

This new impersonal authority of the therapeutic state, with its apparent reasonableness and its repressive tolerance, is simply an up-to-date variant of the paternalistic authority described by Oscar Wilde in 1891: "When it is used with a certain amount of kindness, and accompanied by prizes and rewards, it is dreadfully demoralizing. People . . . are less conscious of the horrible pressure that is being put on them, and so go through their lives in a sort of coarse comfort, like

petted animals, without ever realizing that they are probably thinking other people's thoughts, living by other people's standards . . ."

In present-day Britain, where 12 million barbiturate and 16 million tranquillizer prescriptions are issued each year<sup>1</sup>, it cannot be denied that pharmacotherapy provides "a sort of coarse comfort" of adjustment. The magnitude of this medication into submission and benign chemical euphoria (benign, that is, from the "social stability" point of view), shows us that probably thousands of creative people are sedated prematurely into oblivion. The disillusioned victims of unjust social systems, when they are fearful, dependent and tranquillized, find rebellion or indeed any political initiative-taking, most unpalatable. It is easier to allow the social defects to fester, and to step up the dosage.

The therapy gospel has become international in recent years, and it may be a short step from the therapeutic state, to the therapeutic globe. In the words of Howard P. Rome: "Actually no less than the entire world is a proper catchment area for present-day psychiatry, and psychiatry need not be appalled by the magnitude of this task"<sup>2</sup>. He does not mention the magnitude of the profits, power and prestige which will accrue to

<sup>1</sup> Figures taken from an article by Professor S. Rose, in the Times Higher Education Supplement, of 23rd November, 1973.

<sup>2</sup> "Psychiatry and foreign affairs: the expanding competence of psychiatry." American Journal of Psychiatry, 1968, Vol. 125.

his profession after its global expansion, but speaks only of its social relevance: "If psychiatry is to avoid the cul-de-sac of irrelevance and move into the avant-garde of meaningful social reform, it will have to greatly extend the boundaries of its present community operations." To facilitate this extension, Rome advocates a breaching of the "impermeable barriers of chauvinistic professionalism", so that all the humanistic sciences may co-operate in the therapeutic endeavour.

Now, if this co-operation and expansion were based on a radical commitment to exposing what Erich Fromm called "the pathology of normalcy", or "socially patterned defects", normality as oppression would be experienced by many as the actual condition of their own society and a critical, challenging independence would emerge among the members of that society. But it appears that the tools of human engineering and psychiatry will be guided in their use, by the traditional model, i.e. the contrast between the SICK patient and his environment which is assumed to be 'normal'; timid sociologists and political scientists will be assigned the task of "studying" the socio-economic problems, these 'problems' being defined in a way which will make them amenable to a mechanistic-autocratic 'solution', supplied by the definers. Real underlying problems like economic-military-cultural imperialism, the gospels of 'development', economic growth and affluence, for whose solution fundamental changes in values are absolutely essential, will meanwhile be watered down and deprived of their educative and transformative force. A good example of the study of pseudo-problems is given by Paul Hoch<sup>3</sup>, when he talks about the student 'revolt'. "The presence of such revolt now calls for a battery of hypotheses, theories, studies, explanations, what have you. And all under the label of the 'student' problem—not of course the professorial problem, or the university problem, or the bureaucracy problems, or still the power structure problem."

And so it is likely that the extension of psychiatry might result in a new apologetics that would not propound nor tolerate any 'solutions' that lead to a significant deviation from social stability. Having observed the fact that there is a traditional deference paid to the health worker, that is not paid to politicians, what Rome advocates is a war against disease (mental and physical) because "wars" against poverty and ignorance . . . suffer from puzzling ambiguity and vagueness about which there are some nagging doubts." But the real problem here is that an all-out war against poverty and ignorance would involve a huge deviation from the norm of stability and a large-scale social upheaval, and this is a case where, the tools of psychiatry and social science become redundant and obsolete. And then the poor and exploited, the "non-experts" on poverty and ignorance, the "deviants" from the norm, are suddenly thinking and acting for themselves, and the politics of apologetics ends.

But at present, the world's poor, in general terms, have a "culture of silence", which makes them identify with their oppressors' opinions of them—idle, ignorant, stupid, deficient. The affluent, on the other hand, have a "culture of science" with its own inherent momentum, and over-aweing presence, and the masses deferentially bow to the Great Minds who produce science (and who are produced by science). We deeply honour the people who implant 'wants' in our minds,

tailor our conformities, and provide ready-made micro-missions in life for us, that can only be fulfilled by the attainment of wealth, power, and status. And we passively acquiesce when confronted with the collective common sense of the "brilliant" Minds. In this way, the occidental 'culture of science' completes the global 'culture of silence'. The worlds of the voiceless peasant and the programmed consumer are equally governed by an overpower, a power that treats each of its subject atoms with a statistical contempt: in the West, the programmer is forced to generalize and to view unique human beings as demographic atoms; he must look at what makes people the same, not at what distinguishes them. Since this is the attitude that typifies the establishment of science and government, we can see that it is a very small step to commending sameness and conformity; ultimately, eccentricities are seen as being subversive, and the inconsistencies that define the human person, spoken of by Thomas Molyneux, will not be accommodated in the programme. "We will go astray in our loves, be rejected by our children, tell tales on our best friends, covet, look the other way, wonder about our courage, walk for days in the world without recognizing it. All people will. But the same people—or some of them—will renew those loves, forgive those children, sustain those friends, will come out of a quiet house at dawn after a troubled sleepless night and stop still at the thin precision of a low moon, the binding steadiness of an elm, a mysterious and solitary light in a neighbour's window. So long as the subject is people, or particular people, those contradictions are possible . . ." But for the technocrat, these contradictions are 'noise' in the system, and upset predictability, and preset categories.

The strong dread of the gut feeling of anxiety, generated by firing or ostracism, forces most people into line, and away from insights, which might expose the absurdity of some of the myths and symbols which confine their behaviours into narrow channels. It is easier to co-operate with the symbols in the ritual of self-deception, than to honestly evaluate one's professional mask, even though the consequences of the self-deception may often be injustice and rigid insensitivity. As Friedenberg correctly notes, people "will accept manipulation that constitutes a massive threat to their being, if it is done in such a way as to alarm them less severely than the consequences of resistance would. The political implications of this are obvious, and well known to government and law enforcement officials."<sup>4</sup>

The crucial quality here is the capacity to tolerate stress; a high stress tolerance is today, probably one of the most liberating personality traits, as it allows the person to fight against the reductionism that sees man as a mere role, occupation or function, and to slough off the straight-jacket of professionalism. Despite common usage, "stress" is not fatigue, or nervous breakdown or disenchantment, but is a non-specific response of the body to any demand made upon it. Stress should not be confused with possible results of stress (like heart and nervous disease, exhaustion). As Dr Hans Selye<sup>5</sup> states: "It would be wrong to say that stress must be avoided, because it is inevitable and because it would be tantamount to saying "avoid living". If you never make a demand on any of your organs you are dead . . . Avoiding stress is impossible; it means suicide." Thus the stress-

<sup>3</sup> Paul Hoch "Academic Freedom in Action" (p.171)

<sup>4</sup> Edgar Friedenberg "Laing", Modern Masters Series, 1973

<sup>5</sup> Hans Selye "Stress without Distress", Lippincott 1974.

avoidance that medication into a vegetable state implies, is self-suffocating and produces an artificially streamlined creature. Pre-fabricated behavioural patterns, which constitute a role-prison, are adopted. According to Charles Reich<sup>6</sup> "The role-prison drastically restricts such fundamental aspects of personality as relationships with others, personal expression, modes of thought and goals and aspirations"; and the individual's own 'true' self, if still alive, must watch helplessly while the role self lives, enjoys and relates to others. Stress avoidance becomes confrontation avoidance, and the "other directed man" described by David Riesman<sup>7</sup> is the dominant professional personality type, seeking to avoid independent critical thought and anxiety, by reacting with radar-like alacrity to the expectations of his peer group; to be "out on a limb" or unpopular is to be miserable and tense, so a plastic, malleable and ingratiating character is adopted.

It may be that culture is man's "second nature", and the only condition in which he can live with a measure of safety, but today, we may have gone too far in the production of a homogenous culture. Professionals, who have been submerged in their social roles, in our modern therapeutic states, while working hard to create what would appear to the functionalists to be a "viable habitat", free from stress, may in fact be degrading our existing habitats by dangerous standardizing and padding. We might agree, for example, with Dr Ivan Illich that the medical establishment is a major threat to health today, since the health professions have transferred illness and death from a personal to a technical challenge. In all cultures pain leads to despair or anguish, but might remain human pain when the anguish is confronted and worked through with the resulting cathartic effect, "But", says Illich, "doctors now claim the power to manage pain, and are producing a new kind of pain—like the Hiroshima 'survivor guilt'—The concentrated attempt of the medical profession to kill pain produced the inability to suffer as a new kind of disease"<sup>8</sup> When pain, sickness and death are dehumanized because of professional expropriation, human beings are deprived of an important, if poignant source of existential awareness, and made more insensitive. And then, the human condition, says Illich, is one of "anaesthetized, impotent, lonely suffering in a world-wide hospital." Is this the "viable habitat" of the unbrave new world?

With the decline of religious absolutism in the West, during this century, man can determine the rules and values, of his existence, within the framework and roles of an institutional-professional world. He should be free, in this framework, to symbolize and create meaning from absurdity. This meaning would transcend the false dichotomy between subjective and objective, since the external reality which exists has no life apart from the mind that perceives it, and the mode of exist-

tence which organizes it. But if we accept the Cartesian dichotomy between mind and external reality, we can easily pretend to ourselves and others that things could not be otherwise, that we are bound to our way of life, and that we could not escape it even if we wanted to, i.e. what Sartre called "Bad Faith". Professional roles are permeated with Bad Faith, for, just as language can solidify and stifle creative thought, so roles and values, unless they are constantly being dismantled and reassembled, can also solidify and stifle spontaneity. The conviction that there are absolute moral laws to bind us, and that there is a predetermined path of duty stretching before us, imprisons us in oppressive roles which do not recognise the contingency, the absurdity, the nothingness, and so the freedom of the human being. Ideally, a person is the sum of his acts and not the victim of his roles.

Most of our professional educators, extol the benefits of Bad Faith, as they inculcate the tenets of this faith, into the minds of their students, with such rationalisations as "fitting into the real world" and "ensuring the students' success"—(the best interests of the students are always at heart, of course! )

Abraham Maslow summed up this repressive educational technique: "The young man is rewarded **only** for being patient, cautious, stubborn, controlled, meticulous, suspicious, orderly, neat, and the like. Some effort is made to train **out** of him his wildness, his unconventionality, his rebelliousness against his elders . . . his mystical impulses, and much more besides"; This technique might produce "clever" and "brilliant" performing professionals, but their minds will have been purged of all critical, autochthonous thoughts.

One of the few pedagogues who has devised an alternative to education for Bad Faith, is Paulo Freire. His method is to "problematize" social reality by using a few key 'generative' words, directly relevant to the difficulties of his students, on the basis of dialogue and question-posing, in a non-authoritarian way. This method overcomes the tightcasting and inhibiting effects of roles, and discovers many genuine, critical, and liberating alternatives to conventional modes of thought and behaviour. Although Freire's work is based on Latin America, it may have many applications to our own therapeutic societies. In the words of Michael Maccoby who reviewed Freire's work: "In rural Latin America, hopelessness has been caused by scarcity and oppression. Here it often comes about by consumerism, anxiety about the future and the lack of responsiveness or joy in human relations. To apply Freire's approach to our own society requires considerable study"<sup>9</sup>

But only this kind of study can counteract Bad Faith, expose the pathology of the professional role, and subvert the therapeutic state.□

<sup>6</sup> Charles Reich "The Greening of America", Random House, 1970.

<sup>7</sup> David Riesman "The Lonely Crowd"

<sup>8</sup> Ivan Illich, Encyclopaedia Britannica lecture 1974, Edinburgh University.

<sup>9</sup> Michael Maccoby "Literacy of the Favelas" Science, May 14th, 1971.

## SHORT STORY

# CIRCUS STYLE

by Getrud Strauss

A black man in a red overall called Boswell Circus over his back. Animals too of course and clowns and glittering costumes, tricks and stunts and trapeze. But he looks on sullen, too familiar with the show. And too familiar with his coke bottle carrying which continues as relentlessly as the persistent hammering cheerfulness of the music. His body balances the weight of the bottles in their red plastic carrying tray. He leans far back with his shoulders, arms straightened and supported by the bulk of his torso, bottles and tray resting against his stomach but jolting away glassily with each step. He releases the hold not bending forward an inch and allows the bulk to crash down on the planks of the steep aisle. White arms stretch out from the rows of spectators, mothers and fathers tell their thirsty kids to wait, the boy will open their bottles. Some impatient ones come out onto the aisles and grab the drinks; one woman takes six bottles out of the tray and waits for the black man to open them. But he gestures with a nod to the side she should put the bottles back again. She refuses, putting back would be to relinquish her right. He battles with her stubbornness but finally returns all six bottles to the tray himself in one neat row. The bottle opener is gripped

expertly in the palm of his hand and with the roll of the drums and the crescendo supporting the juggler's act he glides over the bottles with a single strong movement, extracting all tops in one row with incredible speed. His face remains grim, he is fiercely intent on being allowed the display of such skill. He hates the white woman a row further down who keeps on waving one unopened bottle in his face. Again from him the sideways nod for her to put the bottle down in the tray. She does not, he will not open it in mid-air—or only eventually. It makes him sick to open it thus, his muscular arms despise the little task. He needs the support of the tray for the execution of his skill. Only bottles lined up like soldiers are worthy his attack; then he wipes the heads off with one concentrated stroke.

Rows of white kiddies and Moms and Dads clap eager and excited, taken in by the lion's show of ferocity. They don't take in the black man's art and anger.□

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# FEDERALISM-OPPORTUNITY OR EVASION

by Edgar Brookes

The minds of many thinkers in South Africa during recent years have turned to federation as a solution of our country's difficulties. Even the Report of the Sprocas Political Commission went rather far in that direction (the present writer signed, for that reason, a minority report). Leo Marquard has stood unwaveringly for a federation. Many more superficial thinkers have been equally sure, without his background of study and experience.

There are two ways of approaching the subject. One is the belief that federation is worthwhile for its own sake. The other is that the federal system holds a possible solution of the issue of race and colour in our national franchise.

Those who hold the former view have not hesitated to blame the fathers of the National Convention for rushing our country into a legislative union. Two outstanding South Africans who did not sit in the Convention—W.P. Schreiner and "Onze Jan"—were strongly in favour of federation. So was the somewhat undistinguished delegation of Natal in the Convention. Some of us have been loath to accept that giants like Steyn, Smuts and Merriman were wrong on this vital point.

Be that as it may, there is nothing to prevent a Liberal from supporting federalism on its own merits and arguing that the

experiment should form part of the necessary overhauling of our Constitution at this stage in our history.

We come to the second view, namely, that federation should solve the problems of the franchise in the context of South Africa's racial composition.

There is a preliminary point to be considered here. Has the development of the Homelands gone so far that they must be given the autonomy of States within a Federation? Chief Matanzima is working not for this but for complete independence. Chief Gatcha Buthelezi gives one the impression that if a Liberal solution of the franchise question is reached he would not make the maintenance of an autonomous Kwa Zulu a major point in his policy. This is the impression which one gathers from some of his speeches, but it is no more than an impression: he may have been misunderstood.

Some of the very honest and careful thinkers who have supported federalism have no doubt considered these and other points, but of a large number of ardent federalists it may be said that their views are lacking in precision, and especially under two heads.

The first of these is the composition and powers of the federal legislature. On some points, however few they may be, the federal legislature must be given sovereign authority. Will there be some mysterious process whereby the majority of the people of South Africa will be in a minority in the federal legislature? If not, the federalists find themselves committed to a black majority in the highest legislative authority in South Africa. They usually do not say this openly, but if this is their real opinion what reason have they to suppose that the whites of South Africa would support under a federal system what they would oppose in a legislative union?

The other point on which clarity is advisable is the racial composition of the constituent states of the future Federation. If the white man is assured of autonomy in a large number of points in his own States, may he not be brought to agree to a black majority in the federal legislature? The point is: What are "his own" States? One assumes that we are not repudiating the Liberal doctrine of universal franchise, and that therefore in the Western Cape there will be more Coloured than white voters, and that in Natal the number of Indian voters will be so large that they will dominate many constituencies. Would even the Orange Free State be a "white" area unless Liberals accept the unacceptable doctrine that the Free State farm labourers must be con-

tented with a franchise in "homelands" which they have never seen and will never see.

The fact of the matter is that few of the vocal federalists have really thought it all out, never even illustrated it by maps—those pitiless critics of ill-digested policies. In fact for many decades, ever since white supremacy was first challenged, many South Africans have tried to dodge the real issue by producing imaginary solutions which do not solve. This is South Africa's "lie in the soul". Many federalists leave one with a muddled feeling that somehow their nostrums will overcome all difficulties. But they will not. When "segregation" or "apartheid" were first put forward, there were no maps that could be advanced as proofs of the justice and practicability of their policy but they tried to give us the impression—false as we all agree nowadays that it was—that all would be well and fair if we left the details in their hands. Even the policies of the "homelands" ignored the facts that security and police control were to remain in the hands of the national government. It has been said of Dr Verwoerd that he brought morality into apartheid. He did; but the morality was so inadequate as to be almost specious.

The fact is that South African opinion has twisted and turned and dodged and blindfolded its eyes in the effort to avoid facing the real issues of South African politics. No answer is given to the question: "Can you justify the political colour bar on any honest ethical grounds?" Until South Africans cease to dodge and learn to give an honest straightforward answer to an honest straightforward question, the lie in the national soul will remain. By the year 1975 we must, if we are honest, have come to the conclusion that there must be a black majority in any South African legislature. It would not be wrong to try to devise methods to make this transition more bearable to the whites, or to give legal sanctions to their rights of property, but it would be most definitely wrong to try to evade the main question by putting forward remedies—be they federation or any other nostrum—which do not in fact cure our national disease.

When Steyn, Smuts and Merriman decided in 1908–9 that it was impossible to unscramble the South African egg they had more reason on their side than many present day historians are prepared to admit. Reasons which are no reasons, solutions which do not solve, "practical" proposals which maps and statistics do not support, will not really do for the more mature and more deeply honest South African of 1975. Let us do the best that a man can do with any situation—face the worst honestly and see with equal honesty the best that can be done with it. □





Africans buying books

*The Natal Witness*

A new school-year has begun, and with it comes the annual spending of hard-earned cash on schoolbooks. The photograph shows the scene outside a Pietermaritzburg bookshop.

The Secretary for Bantu Education, Mr G. J. Rousseau announced in Cape Town last week that his department was at present completing the second year of a four-year programme to provide textbooks for African schoolchildren.

Although the programme will lighten the parents' load considerably, the Government does not plan to provide prescribed setworks or stationery, so it will still be no easy task to send a child to school.□

# MESSAGE FROM Mr. SAMORA MACHEL,

President of Frelimo.

From "Decolonization", a publication of the United Nations Department of Political Affairs, Trusteeship and Decolonization, Vol. 1 No. 2, October, 1974.

Read at the ceremony of investiture of the transitional government of Mozambique on 7 September 1974

Mozambican Women and Men,  
FRELIMO Militants and Combatants,

The investiture of the transitional government opens a new phase in our history, the phase of the final march towards independence.

Today we are assuming leadership in the government of our country in a period of transition which will lead to the proclamation of Mozambique's total and complete independence on 25 June, 1975, the anniversary of the founding of FRELIMO.

We have inherited a difficult and serious social, economic, financial and cultural situation resulting from centuries of oppression and colonial plunder, aggravated by decades of colonial-fascist domination and repression and further exacerbated by the recent criminal adventure of a small band of racists and reactionaries in the city of Lourenco Marques.

We are faced with a heritage of widespread illiteracy, disease, poverty and hunger. We see our people, and particularly the people in the countryside, living in sub-human conditions of poverty and exploitation. We see destruction, resentment and hatred created by centuries of oppression and instigated by the colonial war of aggression the reactionaries, colonialists and fascists launched in order to divide and confuse us.

It is thus a complex situation that the transitional government has before it, and the tasks it faces, therefore, are difficult. However, the difficulties were even greater a little over a decade ago, when we started our thrust towards national liberation. We do not hide the difficulties, nor do we shut our eyes to them. But nothing can make us forget that we are today entering upon an exalting phase in our history: for the first time the Mozambican people have a

Government of their own, a Government of their representatives, a Government to serve them.

Thus the Mozambican people have an instrument both able and prepared to face the serious problems of the present phase: a Government led by FRELIMO and which has within it militants seasoned in the tough struggle for national liberation, in political and armed struggle, in clandestine struggle.

Our people's experience of a State and Government, the experience of all workers has been that State and Government are oppressive structures, hostile forces compelling us to submit and resign ourselves to foreign domination, to the domination of big financial interests.

Under FRELIMO's leadership, the transitional government has the fundamental task of creating the conditions for People's Democratic Power to be extended to areas which up to now are still under colonial domination. Whereas for the millions of Mozambicans who have established their power in the liberated zones this is already a reality and a practical experience, the same is not true for the remainder of the country.

This means that we all need to learn what our power is and how to exercise it. We shall all need to know what distinguishes our Power from colonial Power.

Power belongs to the people. It has been won by the People and it must be exercised and defended by the People.

Before the people's victory, power belonged to colonialism and was the expression of the domination of our countries by companies.

Who ruled? The rulers were those who served the interests of a handful of big exploiters.

Years of rule enabled them to accumulate fortunes through the abuse of power, by theft, large sums given in exchange for favours granted to the companies, rewards for ceding the country's resources and even for selling human beings.

After serving their term as governors, they immediately joined the boards of directors of large enterprises where they received inflated salaries as payment for services rendered.

The government of the exploiter was characterised by privilege, despotic arrogance, favouritism, nepotism and lawlessness. Problems were solved through the system of "string pulling", and such basic rights as the right to work were made to seem like favours from the rulers. Even a woman's dignity had exchange value for obtaining employment.

Today, for the first time in Mozambique's history, comrades are being appointed to government posts.

When we say "comrades" we are using a word bathed in blood and sacrifices. Comrades are those who have fought in clandestinity, those who suffered torture and death in the prisons, those who gave of their bodies and intellect on the battlefield, those who built freedom, those who made us what we are, those capable of translating their aspirations into action, who have devoted their lives to the service of our people.

The comrades who are today being given the difficult task of conducting the State machinery until the proclamation of independence are precisely the representatives of the People in the leadership of the State.

This representativeness has been earned in the varied and hard tasks of the politico-military struggle for national liberation. They are all veterans of the people's struggle, seasoned in the toughest school of government; the struggle for national liberation and national reconstruction in the liberated zones.

No one can claim that they are representatives of a race, ethnic group, region or religious belief. They represent the working People, their sacrifices and aspirations, the whole People from the Rovuma to the Maputo, without distinction as to race, ethnic group or religion. No one fought for a region, race, tribe or religion. We all fought and are still fighting for the same nation, for the single ideal of liberating our land and our people.

The authenticity of the people's representatives in the leadership of the State is more than just an assertion: it must be manifested in the content of government action and in the method of work.

To govern is not to issue laws and decrees which the masses do not understand the reasons for but which everyone must comply with for fear of being punished.

To govern one needs to know exactly the interests of the working masses, formulated and discussed with them and not merely on their behalf. To govern is to be able to fulfil those interests in the decision taking.

To govern is always to be closely linked with the masses in order to sound out their preoccupations and discuss with them so as to come to a correct decision together, not disregarding the details of everyday matters on the pretext

that they are minor problems. A decision taken in this way mobilises people and any difficulties or obstacles which crop up will be overcome because the People understand the decision and see it as their own.

Conversely, the Government will be unable to solve any problem if it remains enclosed in a building, governing by bureaucratic and administrative methods. The solution of the problems of the masses and of the country is more political than administrative. Therefore it is FRELIMO's political line, forged in the intransigent struggle to defend the interests of the masses, that must guide Government action, it is FRELIMO that must guide Government action, FRELIMO that must orientate the Government and the masses.

In every factory, every department, every service, every commercial establishment, in every agricultural enterprise, Party Committees must be formed to implement the watchwords of FRELIMO and the transitional government, thus releasing the people's initiative and setting in motion the masses' creative ability.

We will thus establish true democracy throughout the country, which is the essential principle of FRELIMO which has guided political life within the Organisation and in national reconstruction in the liberated areas.

FRELIMO's People's Democratic Government is also distinguished from the colonialist government by its collective working style, joint discussion and analysis of problems, mutual co-operation and elimination of the compartmentalisation of work sectors. Thus and only thus can government actions be harmonious and efficient.

Our Government's action must be guided first and foremost by our political line. The political must never be subordinated to the technical. In practice this means that in each productive unit, in each Ministry, in each public service throughout the whole of our nation, our main effort must be to develop People's consciousness of their destiny, their awareness that to build Mozambique, to build freedom, means work, doing away with laziness and poverty.

We also want to call attention to a key factor: the need for leaders to live according to FRELIMO's political line, the need for them to represent the sacrifices made by the masses in their behaviour. Power and the facilities which surround rulers can easily corrupt the firmest man.

We therefore want them to live modestly and with the People, not turning the task entrusted to them into a privilege, a means of accumulating property or handing out favours.

Material, moral and ideological corruption, bribery, seeking comforts, string pulling, nepotism, that is favours based on friendship, and especially giving preferential employment to relatives, friends or people from one's own region, all this is characteristic of the system which we are destroying. Tribalism, regionalism, racism and unprincipled alliances are serious onslaughts on our political line and divide the masses. Because Power belongs to the People those who exercise it are servants of the People.

Anyone who thus deforms our line can expect no tolerance from us. We shall be intransigent on this, as we were during the hard war years. We shall never have any hesitation in exposing to the masses crimes committed against them.

Deviations from our line breed contradictions, cracks through which the enemy, imperialism and the reactionary forces can enter.

To maintain the austerity required for our life as militants and thus preserve the meaning of the sacrifices of our People, all FRELIMO militants with government tasks must now as in the past, shun material preoccupations particularly regarding salaries. What is more, we cannot tolerate one of our representatives owning means of production or exploiting the labour of others.

For ten years we fought without any concern of an individual financial nature, involved only in devoting all our energy to serving the People. This is the characteristic of FRELIMO's militants, cadres and leaders.

As we have always done and in accordance with our means, we try to ensure that each militant who carries out a task has the minimum material conditions required for his work, his sustenance and that of his family. But we must also not forget that we have often fought and won with bare feet, dressed in rags and hungry.

It must also be stressed that just as we fought a war without a time-table, without vacations, without days of rest, we must engage in the battle for national reconstruction in the same spirit.

This means that as always, the decisive factor for our victory is identifying with our line and implementing it, rejecting luxuries, fighting corruption, practising austerity, and fighting extravagance.

The watchword is work and self-sacrifice.

If the Government is to be really capable of making the interests of the working masses its own and never deviating from serving the People, it is essential that it remain constantly under FRELIMO's leadership.

Within FRELIMO are the organised masses, conscious of their true interests, within FRELIMO are the militants forged and seasoned in the People's struggle, guaranteeing the intransigent defence of the interests of the workers and the Revolution. Hence, only FRELIMO is capable of organising, guiding, orientating and leading the millions of Mozambican women and men in the present battle to build People's Democratic Power and for national reconstruction.

The Government is FRELIMO's instrument at the State level, the executive arm of the People's will. If the arm is amputated from the body it will rapidly decay and decompose.

State Power has been won through the struggle of our People, united by our correct line, under FRELIMO's leadership. At the start the broad masses were not organised we had neither weapons nor State power. Colonialism had the masses subjugated, economic and military strength and the State apparatus. Colonialism lost everything because the people were not with it and it had neither a correct political line nor just leadership.

This means that a Government which deviates from the People's interests, from FRELIMO's political line and leadership, is like the colonial-fascist regime, bound to be overthrown.

Led by FRELIMO, the transitional government begins its action today.

Although it is not for us to spell out the transitional government's programme, since this is its own task, it is nevertheless necessary to define, as from now, the tasks which must be undertaken by FRELIMO, the Government and the masses at this decisive moment in our country's reconstruction.

These have to do with mobilising and organising the masses, with institutions of government and national reconstruction, and finally with the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique, the armed wing of our working People.

As regards the State and its institutions, it is first necessary to decolonise and, secondly, to build the appropriate structures for People's Democratic Power.

Decolonisation does not mean the geographical transfer of the decision-making centres from Lisbon to Lourenco Marques, which the deposed regime was in fact already proposing to do, and neither is it the continuation of the oppressive regime, this time with black-skinned rulers, which is the neo-colonial pattern.

To decolonise the State means essentially to dismantle the political, administrative, cultural, financial, economic, educational, juridical and other systems which, as an integral part of the colonial state, were solely designed to impose foreign domination and the will of the exploiters on the masses.

In this, although we can seek inspiration and stimulation from the revolutionary experience of other peoples, we shall build on the foundation of our own originality, basing ourselves on the specific conditions of our country. We shall thus also enrich the revolutionary heritage of humanity, a duty we have been fulfilling over these hard years of struggle.

The decisive factor for our success is the unity of our people from the Rovuma to the Maputo. The enemy rose and will always rise against this unity: yesterday's colonialism and today's reactionaries and imperialists, exploiters from every race.

As in the past, they will try to use everything. Overt or covert appeals to racism, tribalism and regionalism will be intensified. We will make relentless use of the same liberating fire that wiped out colonialism in opposing racism, tribalism and regionalism, because these are the commanders-in-chief of the enemy's forces which attack and destroy our People's unity, the main weapon in our struggle.

These are the essential instruments which weakened our people in the past and allowed them to be dominated.

As regards our action in the field of socio-economic development, it is necessary right away to lay down a number of priorities, so as to know how to orientate our efforts.

We inherited a colonial economic structure in which productive factors did not serve our country or our people, but foreign domination. We must combat this situation by laying the foundations of an independent economy to serve the working masses.

The transitional government must try as rapidly as possible to solve the serious financial problems, in particular the monetary situation and the establishment of a Mozambican Bank of Issue, and make a frontal attack on the most pressing problems of the broad masses in our country: hunger and lack of clothing and housing.

These ills were not an act of fate, but a result of the system of exploitation. If the productive efforts of the working masses are made within a system of social organisation which fights exploitation, these problems will be gradually eliminated, as the evidence of our liberated areas shows.

Faced with the present economic and financial situation, characterised by a balance of payments deficit and a rapidly rising cost of living, especially as regards essential goods, our economic strategy must be based on the principle of relying on our own efforts, with emphasis on the following watchwords: austerity and work.

The present situation demands, on the one hand, that we fight against superfluous and luxury consumption, avoid wastage and accept sacrifices. On the other hand, we must throw ourselves fully into the economic development of our country, which means stepping up production and raising productivity.

Indeed, economic development is essentially the result of work. More work means higher production, which in turn enables us to raise our standard of living.

With the conquest of political power by the people, the foundations are laid for solving the problems of the working masses in accordance with their interests.

Adequate structures will be established for the correct solution of problems which crop up in labour relations.

Mere wage increases will not solve the problems facing the working masses, especially since in the present situation they would inevitably be transferred to price increases which would automatically cancel out the higher purchasing power.

Under these conditions, at this stage in the life of our country, there is no more reason for strikes because our main concern should be to restructure and relaunch our economy.

Another defect which is characteristic of the structure we have inherited is the tremendous imbalance in regional development, particularly the imbalance between town and countryside.

The overwhelming majority of our people live in the countryside, and it is in the countryside that are to be found the natural resources which must be developed so as to make our country prosper. It was the countryside that most suffered from the destructive effects of war and it is in the countryside that the clearest signs of hunger can be seen. It is therefore towards the countryside that our main efforts to improve the living conditions of the masses will be directed. Priority must be given to the development of our agriculture, animal husbandry and the most effective use of our sub-soil resources.

Agriculture will therefore be the base of our development and industry its galvanising factor.

Industrial development must be based on the processing of our natural resources, which will make it possible to diversify and increase the value of exports.

We must launch an unyielding struggle against the vestiges of colonialism, decadent values, erroneous ideas, the attitude of uncritically imitating foreigners, and against immorality. We must affirm and develop our Mozambican personality by strengthening our unity, constantly exchanging experiences and merging the contributions made by all of us. In this

respect we must bear in mind that the city is one of the centres of vice and corruption and of alienating foreign influences.

We will place training, education and culture primarily at the service of the broad masses oppressed and humiliated by the system of colonialist and capitalist exploitation. The blood of our people was not shed only to free the land from foreign domination, but also to reconquer our Mozambican personality, to bring about the resurgence of our culture and to create a new mentality, a new society. The priority aim of Education will be to wage a vigorous battle against illiteracy, a product of colonialism which today affects the overwhelming majority of our people. This effort must be centred especially on rural areas, where schools are practically non-existent.

The schools must be fronts in our vigorous and conscious battle against illiteracy, ignorance and obscurantism. They must be centres for wiping out the colonial-capitalist mentality and the negative aspects of the traditional mentality: superstition, individualism, selfishness, elitism and ambition must be fought in them. There should be no place in them for social, racial or sexual discrimination. Above all, the masses must have both access to and power in the schools, universities and culture.

We are engaged in a Revolution whose advance depends on the creation of the new man, with a new mentality. We are engaged in a Revolution aimed at the establishment of People's Democratic Power. Therefore at school level we must be able to introduce collective work and create an open climate of criticism and self-criticism. Teachers and pupils must learn from one another in a climate of mutual trust and harmonious comradely relations in which it will be possible to release the initiative of each and develop the talents of all, so that all grow together in the great task of national reconstruction.

Our schools must truly be centres for the propagation of national culture and political, technical and scientific knowledge. The propaganda of knowledge must be aimed at mobilising nature and human potentialities for development and progress of society.

It is therefore necessary to democratize teaching methods. Pupils and trainees must play a responsible part in creating a school of a new type in which manual labour is accorded its due value as one of the sources of knowledge, closely related to practice, drawing inspiration from it and serving the people.

Raising the living conditions of the masses demands fighting disease by improving health conditions. We have inherited a situation in which the vast majority of medical personnel and equipment is concentrated in the towns to serve the minority which can pay, and what is more this takes the form of intense racial and social discrimination in hospitals.

As from now, we must throw ourselves enthusiastically into health work among the broad masses, so as to wipe out the causes of disease, improve eating habits by enriching the diet and eliminating unhygienic traditions. In this field priority must be given to preventive medicine, which is in line with our present capacity and facilities.

This work is not simply a bureaucratic or technical task, but above all a political battle, demanding the mobilisation

of the people, which is now possible on a national scale because the people are in power.

The judiciary must be reorganised so as to make justice accessible and comprehensible to the ordinary citizen of our land. The bourgeois system surrounded the administration of justice with unnecessary complexity, with legalism which made it inaccessible to the masses, with deliberately confusing and misleading jargon, and with such slow proceedings and high costs as to create a barrier between the people and justice. In short, the existing legal system in our country serves the rich and is accessible only to them. The path we want to follow is that of simplifying and speeding up the application of justice, within the framework of new laws and rules which the transitional government must begin to study immediately, bearing in mind the existing situation and the gradual transformation which must be effected.

The basic policy in the field of justice should be inspired by our experience in the liberated areas, where crimes and offenses have been almost completely eliminated owing to two combined factors: the improvement of the people's living conditions and the heightening of their political consciousness by thorough and constant political work. This means that it must be our concern to prevent crime by eliminating its causes.

It is the duty of the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique, FRELIMO's army, the people in arms, an army of peasants and workers, to consolidate the People's victory and defend the Revolution.

FRELIMO's army is not a barracks army. It is an army which studies, produces and fights. This means that the army must have a study centre so that its members, especially veteran militants of the national liberation struggle, have the possibility of continuing to raise their political, educational, cultural and technical level. It will thus be possible further to develop our army's operational and organisational capacity, and it will be able fully to assume the defence of the nation.

At the same time we find in the army people who came from every region of our country, bringing with them the rich and varied traditions of our people. In the army these traditions are harmoniously merged, ceasing to be regional and local culture to become national culture. So, being a centre of cultural fusion, our army also is a centre for the propagation of national culture among the broad masses. We must never forget that any army without culture is an army without national personality, with no popularly based motivation, and hence it is a weak army.

Now as in the past, every unit of the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique must continue to be a production centre.

FRELIMO's army is not an army of parasites; it is an army with a tradition of productive labour, an army which produces for its own subsistence, which helps the people to improve their living conditions and learn about new production methods, and new crops. This work must be continued.

At the same time the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique must remain actively vigilant and in a state of constant preparedness, so as to put down any attempt at external aggression as well as any attempt by reactionaries aimed at jeopardising independence, sabotaging national reconstruction and destroying the Revolution.

The People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique also have the task of mobilising and organising the broad masses. Since the start of the struggle, our combatants have been actively carrying out political work among the masses, which contributed decisively to our victory over colonialism. This work must continue and even more vigorously, guided by the objectives which correspond to the new phase.

At this hour of struggle and also of happiness, we must not allow ourselves to be carried away by feelings of victory and excessive euphoria. The People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique must be well aware that they come from the people, that it was the people who built our victory, and that they are our only heroes. It is therefore by remaining closely linked with the People, by still organising the masses, that we will be able to win the new battle in which we are now engaged.

One of the major fronts in the struggle for the genuine liberation of our people is the liberation of women.

Mozambican women are still weighed down by two burdens: on the one hand reactionary traditions which deprive them of initiative in society and reduce them to mere instruments of men and, on the other, the colonial-capitalist system which regards them as objects of exploitation and a means of production. We must wage a close struggle for the emancipation of women and the restoration of their dignity.

We must, in particular, put an immediate end to that supremely degrading expression of the colonial-capitalist system, prostitution, the sale of the body as though it were a mobile shop. The transitional government has the task of reintegrating these elements in society through productive labour.

Finally we wish to address ourselves to Mozambique's white population, whether Portuguese or foreign nationals in general. The first words we wish to convey to them are words of calm and trust. FRELIMO has never fought against the Portuguese people or against the white race. FRELIMO is an organisation for all Mozambicans without distinction as to race, colour, ethnic group or religion. Our struggle has always been against the colonial system of oppression and exploitation. Therefore all those who live off their honest labour, whom we know to be the overwhelming majority of the white population, have a positive contribution to make to our country's national reconstruction, together with the entire Mozambican People.

At the same time, we wish to remind the whole people that, with this phase, we are now entering upon a new era of race relations in Mozambique: all superiority and inferiority complexes created and reinforced by centuries of colonialism must be completely eliminated. The white population must wage a profound internal struggle and eliminate the attitudes of superiority and paternalism towards blacks and other racial groups which still influence the minds of many, so as to blend in with the Mozambican people as a whole. This watchword is also valid for many people in the Asian community and many mulattoes, who still regard themselves as superior or different to the black population.

The black population must also wage internal struggle against the inferiority complexes instilled in it by centuries of colonialism, and which fascism rendered particularly acute. These are the complexes behind the reactions of individual revenge and hatred which are contrary to our



Banner with likeness of Samora Machel policy. FRELIMO fought for the People's interests and can never allow the sacrifices made to be used as an instrument of personal revenge and hatred, however great the burden of suffering and humiliation under colonialism.

There are no superior and inferior races. But it is not enough to talk about racial harmony for everyone to get on well together from one day to the next. What is needed is the political work of constant explanation, a conscious effort to change attitudes and habits, a deliberate effort to make people of the different races which go to make up our people, live together in harmony. The togetherness which must be established must be full and real, and not just superficial togetherness during hours of work and in professional relations. Most especially clubs and associations based on racial, ethnic or regional origins must be transformed into associations for all Mozambicans, into centres of Mozambican culture where all can meet in a healthy spirit of true fraternity, and with a clearly defined political line on the building of a new society. We should like especially to draw attention to the fact that since the fact of being Mozambican is not determined by skin colour, language, religious belief, social origin or sex, we must vigorously combat the minority concept which some people are trying to instill in the minds of especially white Mozambicans.

There are not minorities, there are no special rights or duties for any sector of the Mozambican people: we are all Mozambicans with the rights that work gives us, and with the identical duty of building a united, prosperous, just, harmonious, peaceful and democratic nation.

In all we have said we have kept the dominant idea that politics must guide Government action, and that this action will not succeed unless it is fully understood by the masses.

Hence the chief task of all FRELIMO militants is to further the work of organising the masses and guiding them in each factory, each agricultural unit, each PFLM detachment, each co-operative, each neighbourhood, each department, so that the government is constantly aware of the people's feelings and thoughts. In other words the FRELIMO militant's work is to create the conditions to release the creative initiative of the masses, to free them from passive obedience and to create structures and channels through which the will of the masses can determine government action.

This also means that they should not passively wait for solutions sent down from on high by the minister in his office, but, on the contrary, what can be done immediately by relying on one's own efforts should be analysed in every productive unit, village, neighbourhood, and family cell. At the same time, and guided by FRELIMO's political line, suggestions on organisation and improvement, which contribute to progress and increased productivity in each sector must be studied and formulated.

For this purpose, in each place of work or residence a party Committee should be set up, comprising the militants who are most dedicated and most committed to the cause of independence, progress, democracy and the Mozambican Revolution.

Another task of these Committees and of all the people is active and constant vigilance against open or disguised sabotage attempts by agents of colonialist reaction who, although they have lost the decisive battle have not yet laid down their arms and still have accomplices at various levels. All those attempts must be publicly exposed in order to neutralise those responsible. Yet we shall never allow this task to be used for settling personal scores, attempts at personal advancement for selfish ends or any kind of manifestation of racism.

We can therefore see that the action of racist and colonialist forces will sometimes take the form of overt or covert sabotage, that is, of typical reactionary activities.

Such action is doomed to fail because one will be dealing with a clearly defined enemy. Therefore, reactionary action will also take other more insidious forms which, assuming a revolutionary appearance, will in fact be aimed at creating chaos and divisions among our forces. This means that we shall find reactionaries disguised as ultra-revolutionaries, who will demand of the government drastic and extremist measures, seeking to present them as immediate revolutionary necessities. These elements, as such, are weak, but their action will be aimed at manipulating certain sectors of our population, selfless and militant but politically uneducated sectors which are likely to be used by the enemy.

Ultra-leftism is thus a weapon of reaction.

We should like, on this occasion, to address ourselves to the High Commissioner of the Portuguese Republic in Mozambique, in whom we see a representative of the new leaders of the Portuguese people and Armed Forces Movement.

We wish to reaffirm the friendship which unites us with the Portuguese people, and in particular with the Portuguese democratic forces, a friendship forged in the common struggle against the colonial-fascist regime.

That common struggle continues.

Colonialism has already been buried, Mozambique's independence will be a fact within a few months. Let us therefore definitely turn towards the future. What matters now is to build the future relations between our peoples, between the democratic forces of our countries.

And the future relations between our peoples largely depend on the actions of the High Commissioner and on frank and sincere co-operation between the High Commissioner and the transitional government.

Together with the High Commissioner, the transitional government will build, stone by stone, the edifice of friendship and co-operation which we hope will be a historical example. We are faced with the tremendous challenge of a unique historical situation—the simultaneous liberation of two peoples through a common victory against fascism and colonialism. Neither of us liberated the other, it was mutual liberation through a parallel struggle which must take on new scope in the future.

Even now in the co-operation established between our forces in struggle against the death throes of colonial-fascist reaction., we presented to the world a singular demonstration of the fact that the identification of peoples in the struggle against a common enemy is not an empty word, but that it is possible, open and fruitful, even between yesterday's colonised and those who were forced to be instruments of that colonisation.

We therefore expect the High Commissioner, in the spirit of the Lusaka Agreement, to carry out to the full what we regard his most inspiring duties, which are to give impetus to the process of decolonisation, eliminate the vestiges of colonialism and lay the foundations for a new type of relations between our peoples.

In line with its political principles, and remaining true to the commitments it has undertaken, FRELIMO will co-operate sincerely with the High Commissioner of the Portuguese Republic and with the Portuguese Armed Forces, so as to fulfill together the tasks of the present phase and build the future.

At this moment, we wish to pay heartfelt and stirring tribute to the memory of all our heroes, to all those who made both us and our country what we are today. Among them all and to remind us of them all, we wish to evoke the unforgettable memory of comrade Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, founder member and first President of FRELIMO, the true inspirer and driving force of our struggle, who fell in the national liberation struggle. May his example of heroism and sacrifice be a source of inspiration and encouragement to enable us to fulfill the new tasks. At a time when the city of Lourenco Marques, and with it the whole of Mozambique, is in mourning because of a fascist adventure, let us be able

to transform our sorrow into new strength to galvanise us to continue on the road of building independence, freedom and democracy in our country.

If the destruction of Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique was brought about primarily by sacrifice and efforts of the Mozambican people, it is nevertheless important to emphasise at this time the great contribution united Africa made to this victory, which is the common victory of the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies and of the entire African liberation movement.

We therefore wish to hail the representatives of the Organisation of African Unity who are here to show by their presence their consistent solidarity with our struggle. We particularly wish to hail the representatives of Tanzania and Zambia, great brother peoples who, with heroism and determination were able to assume the role of strategic rear and therefore made our victory possible. Here we honour the memory of the Tanzanian and Zambian brothers who fell victim to colonialist aggression, consolidating through their sacrifices friendship and solidarity which, forged in the hard years of war, will be strengthened and consolidated in peace. Through them we send our greetings to our brothers in all countries bordering on the fighting territories, in Guinea, Senegal, the People's Republic of the Congo, and Zaire.

We salute the valuable and decisive contribution made by the generous political, moral and material help given to us by the socialist countries in the highest internationalist spirit.

Through the Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations, we greet the United Nations Organisation and the International community in general, whose growing moral, diplomatic and material support was a powerful factor in encouraging our struggle and isolating the colonial-fascist regime.

We wish to hail especially the support given by the democratic forces throughout the world, by progressive international organisations and revolutionary and anti-colonialist forces in western countries.

In conclusion, we wish to greet the Portuguese people, through the Portuguese democratic forces with whom we forged bonds of militant fraternity during the difficult years of common struggle, bonds which, more than the written words of treaties, are the guarantee of our future friendship and co-operation.

As we engage in this new struggle, we call upon our entire people to remain united, firm and vigilant under the banner of FRELIMO embarking with enthusiasm, discipline and hard work on the building of a free, developed and democratic Mozambique, under the watchword:

UNITY, WORK, VIGILANCE.□

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