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CONFERENCE ISSUE



- * IMPERIALISM
- * DETENTIONS
- * 7th G.S.C.
- * ADDRESS BY MACHEL
- * DETENTE
- * BLACK STUDENTS' MANIFESTO

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EDITORIAL

The present decade alone has had itself impregnated with so many events the world over that, one wonders whether societies all over are becoming too much impatient about life in general. Though one could infer that the root of all this turmoil is the diverse interests that pervade the human nature, one can never condone human beings letting themselves be carried away by self-fish tendencies. No one can ever justify what has happened or happening in Asia, Europe, America and Africa. Every upheaval that occurs is said to be in quest for human liberty or in protection thereof.

We here in Azania observe with dismay the changes and re-changes that are taking place all over mother Africa. There is no peace from her Southern tip right up to Cairo. Of note here is that so much of the forces causing pain on this continent are not of African origin. Granted a few are true sons of Africa but just how much external influence is exerted on them, leaves one with so much unanswered questions.

What has recently happened in Nigeria has stunned many of us who are concerned about the well-being and prosperity of our Black brothers up North. More so when we still vividly have in our minds the events of the Biafrian war which took so many lives. Even though one can never say with any authority but one wonders that the state of affairs there really warranted a change of leadership at all. Maybe sometime to come we will be clarified.

Still noting with pain one reads almost everyday about lives lost in Angola. The reason for such disregard for human life is very much obscure to everybody. To add to the burdens of mother Africa is the situation in Rhodesia. At least there the problem is one and is very clear to us of the soil and who pay loyalty to Africa. Let Smith give the people what belongs to them. Moreover, let Vorster concern himself with what is needed of him, that is give the people of the soil their needed land and their freedom.

Imperialist Penetration into African Universities

Sons and Daughters of Africa

I regard it as a great honour and privilege to be requested by the South African Student's Organisation to read a paper tonight to the General Students' Council on such a vital subject, 'The penetration of Imperialism in African Universities.' I must submit that the choice of this subject has been most appropriate both in point of time and space. It is a most suitable theme at this period in our history when the march of real and genuine freedom of Africa has reached our borders. When our brothers in Mozambique have successfully exploded the myth that Black Freedom Fighters can never emerge victorious over white imperialist armies. When the very men who only six months ago were regarded by the imperialist as the most vicious and merciless terrorists have compelled their arch-enemies to perform the most spectacular somersault of all time. It is now imperialists and their press who are loudest in proclaiming them as heroes and statesmen and they even squealed when our brothers did not invite them during the celebration of their victory and independence. Indeed this is the right period to re-examine our position in the light of genuine freedom as conceived by us. Today Azania is the right place to discuss the penetration of imperialism in African Universities because the overthrow of imperialism here will spell the total liberation of the entire continent of Africa.

Sons and daughters of Africa I must concede that the theme of conference is as vast as it is complex and one cannot hope within the available time to do justice to it. Imperialism as I understand it means the economic exploitation of the indigenous peoples for the benefit of the metropolitan countries with the resultant political control which is transformed into a process which involves the revolutionising of social relations. The central reason for the existence of imperialism is therefore, to extract profit from the labours of the indigenous peoples by the whites by virtue of their having control of the political machinery of the state.

Imperialism in its naked form, in Africa was sanctioned by the Berlin Conference of 1883 which approved of the balkanisation of our continent in favour of the various European imperialist countries. The main beneficiaries being France, England, Germany and Belgium.

But before I deal with the penetration of imperialism in African Universities I propose to discuss briefly imperialism in general. Before the 2nd World War, the world was divided into two categories. On the one hand there were capitalist states practising orthodox imperialism on the other there were colonial territories which supplied the economies of the capitalist imperialist states with raw materials.

Later after the second world war this state of affairs began to alter. The capitalist imperialist states began to experience great strain and stress in the first place, due to organised labour. The working classes owing to their ability to organise themselves more efficiently began to demand a large share of the wealth produced by the capitalist economy and their demand could no longer be ignored.

The capitalists found that they were obliged to concede to the workers' demands because the capitalist system had been greatly weakened by the Nazi wars. While capitalist system was experiencing this internal strain the colonial world was rising in revolt against it. There was a great upsurge of strong liberation movements such as CPP of Ghana and in countries such as Algeria, Kenya and recently in Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau, direct confrontation demonstrated the determination of the oppressed peoples to attain their goals by making supreme sacrifices if necessary.

This double pronged attack by the working class movement on the one hand and by the liberation movement on the other hand forced the governments of the capitalist countries to grant certain concessions which did not however, affect the basic nature of capitalism. They gave the working classes social pallatives such as highwages, better working conditions, professional training facilities, etc. These as you can see are nothing else but reforms. They merely help to disguise the real nature of the exploitation of the working classes by the capitalist class. To maintain this arrangement which can properly be called Welfare Society in Europe, the capitalist governments had to depend heavily on the exploitation of the material and human resources of the colonial territories.

Imperialism was therefore compelled to modify its methods of approach to Africa by adopting collective imperialism under the leadership of the United States of America. Through this device of the United States, England, France and Germany acquired joint control of the wealth of many parts of Africa through international Monetary Fund, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development etc. Europe as a whole in particular West Germany benefited mostly in exploitation of Africa through the agencies of European Common Market.

As one great writer pointed out that finance capital is such a great, such a decisive force in all economic and international relations that it subjects to itself ever states which are fully independent and derives the greatest profit from the loss of the political independence of the subjected countries and peoples. To maintain this state of affairs the oppressed peoples must be mentally and psychologically enslaved.

Sons and daughters of Africa at this juncture, I wish to refer to African Universities. It will be remembered that the Africans originally received their university education from overseas in particular in Europe. They were therefore educationally and culturally brought up after Western traditions. They believed almost implicitly that Western traditions and culture were superior to those of Africa and most of them returned determined to convert Africa into a carbon copy of Europe. So also the early universities which were established in Africa followed the Western tradition and culture because their founders were westerners. So these universities produced men and women who were convinced that the Western democracy and the Western parliamentary system were the only proper ways of governing, and that they constitute the only correct model for the training of an indigenous ruling class. That capitalism, free enterprise, free competition are the only economic systems capable of promoting development; that the western powers have mastered the technique perfectly. That the balkanisation of our continent agreed upon by the imperialist was fair and irreversible.

What should be the functions of an African University?

I think they should be firstly the ordinary function of a University to advance the frontiers of knowledge through teaching and research in addition it must carry out the task of gaining the African people their rightful place and to act as the custodian of African culture and tradition. It must also provide African society with men and women equipped with skills that enable them to participate fully in the economic and social development. African universities should also act as instruments for the consolidation of national unity. This means they must resolutely oppose tribalism and encourage the exchange of ideas by throwing open the

University to all students who are capable of benefiting from a University education.

As I have pointed out until recently University education in Africa was almost entirely centred on the study of foreign civilisations. I agree with the UNESCO contention that the mission of a university is to define and confirm the aspirations of the society which it is established to serve.

In 1954, Dr. Nkrumah said while I fully subscribe to the vital principle of academic freedom, a University must relate its activities to the needs of society in which it exists. Now referring specifically to our country. I must concede that at present we do not have a single African University. To refer to these tribal institutions as African Universities is self deception. They are neither African nor universities. They are not African because the African people have had no say in their establishment, they have hardly played any part in the formation of their policy and in their financing. In fact these are established under Bantu Education System for the control of the Africans so that they should become willing tools of imperialist-capitalist exploitation by the whites. They are not Universities because they are not open to all who are capable of benefiting from them. In fact they are educational ghettos intended to separate the black people into ineffectual educational tribal kraals. That is why the white staff of these tribal universities are almost to a man the hard core of the nationalists party who are determined to carry out party policy ruthlessly to indoctrinate black students to accept nationalist ideology in its entirety. No wonder therefore that every year one or more of these tribal universities expels the entire student body without any qualms because the black students refuse nationalists apartheid dogma and horns. Indeed this is done in a typical broederbond manner to ensure that revenge is swift and sure. That is why the idea of forming many committees to negotiate on behalf of the students is ludicrous because most of them are not aware of the monster they are contending with. In fact they are up against the entire nationalist machinery which can only be matched with determined and powerful positive action.

The role of our students in our universities is to proclaim the truth at all times irrespective of the consequences thereof. They should realise that it is their bounden duty to address themselves to the black people and to show them the way to freedom without flinching, that it is the youth of the land which is always in the vanguard of the peoples' liberatory struggle. It is high time we reject these institutions because they tend to give us a false sense of security. they are a part of the oppressive machinery.

CAMPUS NEWS IN BRIEF

UNB:

At the time of writing the so called coupon issue seems to have been settled. However, a few points accruing out of this issue need to be highlighted.

(a) the coupon basically and in essence affected the campus resident students with the oppidani students essentially being onlookers. The percentages are oppidani 60%, resident 40%.

(b) the unanimous decision adopted by the resident students to reject the coupon (with strong reasons) posed a solid threat to the authorities that was nerve-racking as to be unchallenged in the history of this campus.

(c) the unbending one-sided way in which the coupon system was introduced to the students once again showed the negative communicative attitude that the authorities declared them closed.

(d) the preparedness of members of community together with some oppidani students in providing accommodation during the crisis period was a model of Black Solidarity.

(e) the orderly way in which students behaved throughout the crisis is something to be recommended except that this perhaps was overplayed in the unanimous decision to leave the residence when the authorities declared them closed.

(f) the Court order to the university to open the residence and to re-establish negotiations was again a backlash to the authorities who had formerly turned mute on the question of communication with the students.

(g) the extreme stand taken by the few students on the maintaining that coming back to residence was a compromise and unnecessary, was perhaps precise in a broader sense. The ad-hoc way in which this vital stand was suggested, on the other hand, made one suspicious that the aim was to prolong the excitement and at the same time missing the initial reasoning.

NGOYE

Re: S.R.C.:

When the campus re-opened this year the SRC found itself minus two members viz, the President (T. Makhanya) and the Vice-President (C.T. Tenteni). The reasons for their not coming back were not clear and seems the remaining members or the student body as such did not deem it fit to find out why these two Black brothers were not with them, but rumours are that the axe of the power that be directly or indirectly had fallen on them. Further there were another two vacancies which due to the apathetic attitude of the student body

were created during last year's election and held again though with minimal voting the SRC was finally constituted in May.

Re: Saso Local Comm.:

The Local Committee too found itself in the same dilemma in the SRC - they found themselves without a chairman (T. Makhanya) and the Vice Chairman (R. Ndlovu) for personal reasons was forced to leave campus at the beginning of the first semester. The remaining members decided against recent background of Saso Local in the campus not to revive the local committee especially because of fear of being victimised and the decision which has harassed the political activity of the students, so far Saso local is totally inactive in the campus.

Re: Student Body:

For the first time after three years the students had a successful meeting, it was called to discuss the alleged scandals reputed to have been said by Gatsha. The student body passed a resolution and elected a commission to look in to this matter and draft an appropriate reply to the alleged scandals. This precedent laid a foundation for the solidarity subsequently displayed by the students in the confrontation with the authorities over the food issue.

The administration having failed in their usual plan of showering the students with their promises followed by threats, they decided to close the varsity two weeks before closing time. Again this was a way to intimidate students since sudden closures have undertones of re-application with its inherent facet of victimisation. Resulting from this the university closed earlier than the usual time with promises of betterment of the conditions of food and promises still stand to be seen.

FORT HARE.

In relation to this campus one finds it difficult to obtain any information about whatever is taking place there, moreover it was expected that at least some students from Fort Hare were going to attend the conference but to our dismay not even one showed up.

What we know is that matters have not changed from the long-standing SRC-constitution problem. Be it as it may we still believe that this problem is not beyond the scope of being solved. Further we hope people down there are actively finding means of overcoming

such a problem. We further hope that they are going to be prepared to share their problems with other students in other Black Campuses.

UNIN:

From what we got from a source this campus is still recovering from the past turmoils that happened towards the end of last year. Adding to the problem is the attitude taken by their rector towards the Organisation. We contend that with some right consultation this type of misunderstanding can be easily solved. Some of the reactions that accrue from stressful episodes can be remedied after some rethinking.

DURBAN-WESTVILLE:

This is one campus one can never claim to understand. A notable fact is that it is conspicuous by its absence from the realm of student activity. Further, people here seem to be shy to communicate whatever is happening there to anybody. It is indeed disappointing to see such a dramatic change or lapse from such an active campus not many years ago. Even here we believe people are going to sit down and do some introspection after which sure as anything people are going to realise their whole being demands of them to be creative and act in the concern for society.

focus



BUILDING A NATION : BLACK WOMEN POWER

What is a liberated woman? One can get a hundred and one answers to this question, ranging from the woman who discards a bra' to the woman who has made a breakthrough into the man's domain, but the real meaning of this concept for the Black woman must be sought outside the scope of what is commonly known as women's libbers in the white society. In so far as women's lib means the articulation of interests that pertain to one section of the community only, the community of women, it runs parallel to our political aspirations as a Black Nation.

Without doubt there are isolated attempts to articulate this so-called cultural trend but its advocates are to be found largely among the middle class Blacks. Its influence in the Black community in general is minimal, primarily because the lower-income-group-woman has more fundamental economic considerations to grapple with.

South Africa has a unique blend of political and economic oppressive measures that make life for a Black woman as well as her male counterpart particularly burdensome.

The South African women libbers, no matter how "sympathetic" their general attitude is towards Blacks in our political deprivation, are physically and spiritually far removed from the Black women, to be able to forge meaningful means of communication. They are

at best able to communicate with the middle class Black women. However, to any perceptive mind, any dialogue between "sympathetic" white libbers and affluent or near affluent Black women with the purpose of finding a common ground over the question of "Women liberation", is bound to be distinctly parthenalistic and unrealistic, for such dialogue by definition rules out any meaningful exchanges of political views and experiences.

The Black libbers have not only accepted this innocuous looking pastime but have also tended to, on the whole, close their eyes to the plight of some of their own people. The whole exercise is therefore a rather dangerous red herring thrown across the path of the struggle for real liberation. This unhealthy association of well-to-do Blacks and Whites has produced several negative offshoots. Not only have the Black middle class tended to drift further and further away from their people but have fully absorbed white values to an amazing degree. The lower income groups on the other hand have tended to adopt a scornful attitude towards their middle class counterparts that they have always had for the oppressor-white. One cannot help feeling that this attitude is in actual fact justified as a reaction to the indifferent and often impersonal treatment that the lower-income-groups receive from their own people in public institutions like hospitals and other government departments, and it is this kind of snobbish Black woman who is at most times taken to be the mouthpiece of the people.

The international women's conference that was held in Mexico produced a lot of realism and foresight, to my mind, when the major political problems over the whole world received prominent attention rather than incidental disabilities experienced by women. In South Africa Erica Rudden reporting on IWY meeting held in Durban observed as follows "At discussion time, white orientated issues like bigger tax concessions for working married women and the social pressures on women who choose a career at work rather than at home, were drowned in the sheer weight of the problems confronting the Black women present". This statement to my mind is an indication that for Black women to resolve their unique problems they have to go it alone. However when the reporter, Erica continues to say that "not that there was no rapport between Blacks and White women, but a feeling of solidarity of the irrelevancy of prejudices based on race, colour and creed in the face of the common bond of womanhood, was one of the exciting characteristics of the meeting". This seemingly afterthought sentiment, does not to my mind counter the fact that Black women have to go it alone - the oppressed and the oppressor can never discuss adequately what the political situation is.

I have alleged earlier on in this article that the middle income groups among the Blacks have become passive to the suffering of their less fortunate brothers and sisters in the lower income groups. They have often exploited them - this is evident in places like Clermont where a classic example is the exorbitant rentage charged by the landlords for tinshachs. So that whilst

they are aware of the plight of their own kind, the middle class group does not grapple with the problems of the Blacks, they tend to maintain a distance distinguishing themselves from the masses. They are therefore in the main apolitical. It is arguable therefore that women coming from this group can at all be seen as advocates of social change.

The emancipation of Black women is a must, primarily because they are oppressed by those who are themselves oppressed and have thus lost their self-esteem through suppression and oppression. This however does not call for ganging up and grumbling against men. There is therefore a need for a proper launching of emancipating Black women by leading Black women who will see their situation as unique and together with conscious Black men forge a meaningful reeducational scheme for both men and women, thus emancipating women without causing lost of unnecessary heartaches. There is still an enormous need for research by the conscious literate Black, a need to remove myths and propaganda of the S.A. government about our people, and the affirmation of our Black identity has to be asserted. There is a need for self criticism, after all aren't all Black women third grade citizens in this country? That in itself is self evident, but then there is nothing as slippery as evident truth. As our struggle unfolds and broadens in even widening diversions, there is a more urgent need for us to be bound by ties of nationalism but much more by common scars and wounds suffered at the hands of White oppression.

WHAT THE DETENTIONS AND TERRORISM CASE MEAN:

We are now at the seventh month since the arrests and detentions of our brothers after the rally which was supposed to celebrate Frelimo victory in Mozambique after ten years fighting for their liberation. An interesting thing is that before that time Vorster had released a press statement actually recognizing Frelimo as a government. We do not wish to go into details about incidents that were given a blind eye that were going on right in South Africa, which were supposed to tople the Frelimo Government, e.g. the M.F.M. having an office in Johannesburg in Jeppe Street and the recruiting that was being done in Johannesburg to go and cause havoc in Mozambique. Of course we are aware of the uselessness, stupidity and how ineffective those groups would have been but one wants to show the irony of South African politics, that what is termed communism or terrorism is what the South African Whites fear or what one Koekemoer of Durban does not like. In any case one does not want to dwell on this for it is typi-

cal of any fascist or totalitarian regime. What we would like to examine here are:

- (1) the motive of the banning of the rally,
- (2) the implications of the detentions and court cases that ensued and are still going on,
- (3) the implications of the release of many of those that were detained or the withdrawal of the charges against two of those who are charged.

1. The motives:

The motives for the banning of the supposed rally were many and the first one as I mentioned is the constant fear experienced by the South African White who knows that he is perpetrating a racist policy that is abhorred not only by the whole world saving those like the United States, France, etc, that have economic in-

terest here, but by the Black society as a whole whose vistas for articulating their aspirations and frustrations have been suppressed with laws like the terrorism or the suppression of communism act. The other motive was to show "kragdadigheid" to the white electorate which keeps the status quo and of course one does not want to forget here the high-handedness of White supremacy. Moving from that point you would have expected all the people to have been charged under the riotous assemblies act but an after thought occurred in the minds of the regime that this could be a chance to crush these Black organisations which have been a thorn in their flesh since 1968. This is manifest in their changing from one act to the other whilst detaining our brothers and sisters in there. The Vorster regime was trying by all means to make up a case which would convince the world that they would be justified in whatever action they would take against these organisations thereafter but this misfired.

2. Implications of detentions and court cases:

One would like to know why I say these efforts misfired. The first reason is that even the special branch and all the other instruments of the oppressive system were already pronouncing victory on having crushed the black organisations and were already seeing everybody detained as having been charged and convicted. But things did not work out that way. The members after having been detained for long spells of months were released without being charged which shows everybody that actually society were being led to believe in a big lie that the detained people had committed a big crime of terrorism. Of those detained thirteen were charged but after many appearances without the actual case starting the first indictment got squashed and two of the thirteen got released charges withdrawn. This is a manifestation of the fascist regimes having gone haywire without thinking thus finding themselves in a cul-de-sac, but totalitarianism being a policy of the unthinking they still want to proceed if only to save their faces against further criticism and isolation from the rest of the world.

Perhaps it would be of interest to the public to hear that looking through the old indictment which was squashed and the Schlebusch Commission report on Polarisation from chapter 16 one finds the stupid and hollow arguments of the latter being the basis of the charges. The court case was supposed to be a public hearing since S.A.S.O. was never brought to the Schlebusch nor any court of law to prove the false arguments of the Schlebusch. Worst of all is that some of the documents used against the organisations were stolen from their offices or the evidence was coming from informers who now cannot be brought to court to testify hence the system is sweating day and night trying to torture members to submit to testifying for the state which thing they are failing in for we have confidence in everybody detained that he is going to stand his ground against all the odds we know what they are faced with for the people they are dealing with are imbeciles who are not trained to think but to keep the status quo from grasping its last by all means.

3. Implications of the release of those that were detained or withdrawal of the charges against two of the 13 who were charged are that the system have declared themselves that there has been no basis for the Schlebusch commission report and that everybody should demand the unbanning of those who were banned on its basis. This also tells us in the Black organisations to work harder, for what we are saying and doing is the truth. This also has been self-defeating to the fascist regime for instead of intimidating us it has conscientized even the man who did not understand what S.A.S.O. or B.P.C. or Tecon or B.A.W.U. or P.E.T. or B.C.P. means. It will also show the world that there is no detente between Vorster and the Blacks within the country, save with the window-dresser. Separate development platforms on a master-slave basis, but racism and oppression, as staunch as ever.

This surmise is supposed to be on the basis of what has happened up to the quashing of the last indictment. We are waiting for the next drama in the forthcoming cases. We hope the state will provide the particulars needed this time.

T. Zani

7TH GENERAL STUDENTS' COUNCIL—1975

ASSESSMENT:

The South African Students' Organisation held its 7th G.S.C. as usual at St. Peter's Seminary, near Hammanskraal. The very fact of having held a conference in the face of bannings, detentions and general harassment and intimidation by the security police on Black students and the Black community generally has been a notable success on achievements of the Black community at large. The delegates at this G.S.C. had no il-

lusions about the state of affairs in the country. They recognised the fact that the Black man's struggle for his liberation in this country has to continue as it has been continuing under virtual state of emergency conditions. This being the fact students realised that there is no time for lying low even in the face of these sporadic harsh actions by the security police but that the tempo of the struggle for liberation should be speeded up. The

delegates then went on to express their solidarity for their Black brothers who are in detention for the love of their country.

The seriousness was demonstrated by the fact that very little time was devoted to other activities besides those pertaining to the deliberations of G.S.C. From centre and executive reports it was clear that the forces of darkness were working overtime in a futile attempt to avoid the inevitable liberation of the Black man from oppression. That the liberation is inevitable is manifest in the rapidly changing map of Africa in spite of the "never-never assurances" given by white politicians to their blinkered electorate.

Saso still has its Head Office in Durban, an office in the Eastern Cape and Transvaal except in the Western Cape where there was nobody running the office at the time of conference though G.S.C. was assured of work which was still being carried out by certain members down there. Further good news for G.S.C. was that a branch has recently been formed at King Williams' Town, which it is hoped is going to be an encourage-

ment to Fort Hare which has been rather on the quiet side of late. It must also be noted here that there are other centres which, like Fort Hare, have shown some laxity in their activities. In the light of these, the G.S.C. urged the executive to see to the rectification of this state of affairs.

The three papers delivered at the G.S.C. were as divergent as they were dynamic with a stress on practicability and implementation of ideas propounded. Of note was a clear definition from one of these papers, of all the forces that militate against the struggle of the Black man in this country.

On the whole this 7th G.S.C. was a further inspiration to Black students and the Black community generally to work even harder for their liberation. It has not escaped our notice that the presence of other organisations at the conference instilled more vigour into our delegates and made it possible for them to come to their decisions having had a wider scope of representative opinions.

CHANGE AND THE MAN AT THE TOP

by Scene Watcher.

On the day following the students' decision-taking on Nusas at Howard College there was hardly any change to be registered in the mood of white students.

But "hardly" is not a safe term to use here. The vote was of vital importance. It hinted the future trend of white student politics in national issues. At Logans University bookshop were the normal expressions characteristic of another normal day. One student of radical bent even said that the students had considered the Nusas vote not to be essential, in view of the principle involved—concerning English and Afrikaans universities.

What really happened to us Blacks, is that the non-participation of some of the students was responsible for the doubts cast on Nusas by the white students. It is this lack of concern which made the next be without any "ripple from the storm" of the Referendum.

Black students expressed their concern for this lethargy amongst Nusas students long ago, and they were accused of advocating Black nationalism. "Swaart geffar" feelings could not be hidden for very long. For "swaart gevaar" had crept into the English sector—the traditionally considered liberal sector.

Those NUSAS students who were making effort to be honest with the students' struggle were axed. BOSS decided on banning orders for them. Others, with an ex-

ceptional minority though, operated on misinformation and self imposed ignorance in Black student affairs. SASO's polarisation with Nusas was a negative factor, they claimed.

Then on what do we blame the reversal suffered by Nusas and the University of Natal? We blame it on white privilege. The non-participation of some of the students in such a crucial matter gave blessing to the ante-Nusas actions of the Government. It was a betrayal of students' rights Universally.

And where was the white student left? Busy theorizing? Or adjusting to the malignance of "Kragdadigheid"?

The white student left has proved time and again to be unreliable in the struggle for Black rights. "Radical" whites tend to be "capitalist" - and to have rested interest in the status quo. Despite their militant rhetoric, they just won't rock the boat. We still hope to see this situation changed though.

In the meantime we shall not stop from criticising and rejecting their ineffective political goals and separatist-inclined actions. Why most of them have retained their "leftist" identity is to contain overseas criticism and the growing pressures of exiled political groups. Theirs is a self-endowed political impotence. Their discreet silence and general inertia betrays the Black youth-student movement.

The Howard college vote is an example of the many bitter truths that the white liberal left is not prepared to accept or positively respond to. These lost hopefuls cannot shed the white settler mentality that they have been brought up with. In other words, they still speak the language of the conquerer. They identify with the man at the top.

White students have not learnt that the Black student did not go out of his way to seek Black-Consciousness, because Black-Consciousness simply became of its own dialectic. One need not go into social circumstance that brought it along. All one can say is that the Black student took up his self-identity with the social moment. It was a matter of identity instead of adaptation.

As a result Black students must develop a dialectic of batterramming the status quo in all spheres of the Black community, particularly students' consciousness. The natural causes are all there for militant activity.

Through Black consciousness Blacks could once more be engaged in didactic communication on a basis of common Black identity. Through Black consciousness Blacks emerged from the chilled silence that came with Sharpeville, 90 days, Robben-Island, house-arrests, bannings, cencorships.

At this stage Black labour decided once more not to collaborate in its own exploitation. Black students also decided not to collaborate and they formed themselves into student organisations. Naturally students on the various tribal campuses were aware of the commonness of their situation. They found themselves like-minded. It was at this stage that a Black Theology project, a Black Peoples Convention a Black Press Project and Black Workers Project came about.

Black students have seen that the System is bent on the rapid creation of an indigenious exploiting class and the easy handling of local whitepower spots at Umtata, Gujani, Bellville, Ulundi, Sibasa, Zwelitsha etc. History has turned full circle. We now have illdefined enemies in our Black communities. The mass of the Black people have nationally been expropriated. Now to salt our wounds, this state imposition of an ailing capitalism.

The White system, as matter of political expediency, is up to its usual tricks against the Blackmans' resistance. But this is going to prove false. "WE SHALL OVERCOME". As the Black resistance grows once more from latency to reality. Not a single "stan" can be able to contain the national consciousness of Black, especially when the rights and freedoms of Blacks are fast dwindling in these stans. The only freedom left is the negative freedom of getting rich quick and joining the Coloureds' Development Council, the Bantu Invest-

ment Corporation, the Xhosa Development Council or the other such exploitative bodies.

The fascist BOSS is busy wanting to confuse the people on the difference between political plots and revolutionary process. One hears shouts of "a bunch of agitators!", "Communist plotters", that kind of nonsense. Nobody with a true mind is going to believe such tripe. A students' organisation cannot be a hierarchy-like say, B.I.C. On the contrary the national conspiracy rests with BOSS, the SABC, the XDC, BIC, television, the press, the Board of Cencors, etc. These are the plotters, not the Black youth and Students' movements.

Student leaders are not there to instruct, they coordinate students efforts. They guide on policy. They lead the collective will of students in suasive manner. After all we need all the necessary strength to back our arguments, students must be militant and understand the national elements in their struggle, engage in ideology and direct action. It is a revolutionary process.

Whilst some disenchanted but socially influential Blacks left problems unsolved and moved into bourgeois securities - only to criticise from above, the Black movement was laying claim to lessons from history. Student leaders sacrificed their careers, and their families for the truth. Never before in this country have the Black youth been able to push historical time itself in so short a period as Black consciousness movement has shown us.

How was this possible?

Black students learned at a faster rate than the white liberal students. They used a historical truth. That how you criticise will determine the nature of your struggle and how effectively you struggle will decide on the type of change you effect. A student who is serious about social change strives for social mobility. For this he must be resourceful in ideas. And a resourceful mind naturally aspires to simple things in life, avoiding tendencies of affluence.

The Saso-Nusas polarisation came about because of white misinterpretation of Black Consciousness. Through Black Consciousness the black student did not want to identify with the man at the top. Whereas the average white student would not dare rock the boat. Between the choice of change or joining the man at the top the Black Consciousness movement has chosen change. White students, those who are earnestly desiring change, shall have to make definite choice. "the ball is in their court." All students and youth should participate in their student or youth organisations through direct action, instead of anticipating a top-to-bottom structure in their organisations. This is effective expression of the democratic will. An effective and con-

structive opposition to the violation of students' rights will of natural sequence expect to exist in a permanent state of tension. The Black student has the choice of negative dying, fleeing into exile or fighting the system. This applies to nationally conscious white students as well. Here I mean National Consciousness as opposed to tribal consciousness or white settler consciousness.

That Black is also beautiful is a nationally accepted factor now. It is one of the many aspects of Black consciousness. But at stake is not the beautification of that which is but the total reorientation of life in this oppressed society. The Black consciousness movement is not blind to the relative and the absolute nature of changing situations.

MESSAGE FROM

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 Lourenço 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

On the white side of the social barrier maybe one should suggest that Nusas has to choose between the democratic rights of man irrespective of colour, race or creed. Or the common "swaar gevaar" excuses."

PREFACE-

This article was written before the 52nd Annual congress of Nusas. The seriousness of the resolution concerning social action is yet to be seen working. We Blacks are going to watch closely and see if Nusas is adopting effectively the much needed direct involvement of white students in the fighting of social evils in the white community.

SAMORA MACHEL

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 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 Rovuna 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 fulfill those interests in the decision taking.

To govern is always to be closely linked with the masses in order to sound out their pre-occupations and discuss with them so as to come to a correct decision together, not disregarding the details of every day 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 interest 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 nation reconstruction in the liberated areas.

FRELIMO's Peoples 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 producing 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 the 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 struggle, guaranteeing the intransigent defence of the interest of the workers and the Revolution.

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 organised we had neither weapons nor State power. 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-fascists 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 decision moment in our country's reconstruction.

They 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 con-

tinuation 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, education juridical and other systems which, as an integral part of the colonial state, were solely designed to impose foreign domination and the will of 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 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 area 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 principles 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 country side.

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 proper. 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 toward 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 now 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 colonialists 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 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 vigour and conscious battle against illiteracy, ignorance and obscuratism. 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 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 nation 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 or 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 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 would be inspired by our experience in the liberated areas, where crimes and offenses have been almost completely eliminated owing to 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 to 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 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 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 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 complexes behind the reac-

tions of individual revenge and hatred which are contrary to our 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 no 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 actions.

This also means that they should not passively wait for solutions sent down from on high by the minister, in this office, but, on the contrary, what can be done immediately by relying on one's own efforts should be an-

alysed 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 and 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 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 people, between the democratic forces of our countries.

And the future relations between our people 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 world, 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 vestige 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 commitment 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 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 Mazambique, 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 wear 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 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.

IN DEFENCE OF BLACK WRITING

"There is nothing in our black-talk to be ashamed of we can be proud of our creative expressions and sounds"

"We wreck the White mans academic grammar and we find new ways of pronouncing words. Thus we are at all times creatively speaking just as jazzmen create on their instruments."

Ted Joans.

"Fences, fences everywhere you look concentration camps everywhere and fences"

**Doris Lessing in
"A Ripple from the Storm"**

THE BIG BOY

I refuse to plead

*I refuse to plead
I did not make the biased laws
As another number of the numberless voiceless infinities
I feel naked and unrepresented
In this war, a gilded court-case
The die is more than loaded
The verdict even to a child is obvious
The struggle, with its numberless casualties, continues.*

*Physically alone as a finger
Spiritually clenched with all the Blacks
To Blacks a hero-national figure
To Whites a dangerous number of darkness.*

*Glorified by colourblind mankind
And to ancestors a God.*

by Roli Marolen.

JUST A MAN

*There is a man on that cold island
He is with other men on that icy void
He thinks of us
Yet like wolf scared lambs
We are afraid to think of him
For the love of us
He is not with us*

*He is born as free as thought
But his music is his chains' tempest
Angry waves and the silent sound of dumb mist
Because he left seeds of his own bolls*

*To see for us all
Armed with a jutting Black clenched fist.*

by Roli Marolen.

PROUD FLESH

"Never let go a snake once you have hold of its head"
- Guinean Proverb.

"Coal even if washed, will never turn into jade" - African Proverb.

"A donkey will remain a donkey even if adorned with a gold saddle" - African Proverb.

"The democratic instinct knows that people are people; that differences of skin, political opinions, of religious belief are irrelevant - differences when set against the vast similarities we all share as human beings - It says nothing about national frontiers" - Felix Green.

"What is more to the point is to define the role of man on the basis of a more civilised and humane ideology, to realize that what the Whiteman has so long defined as the qualities of civilization are no more than his own interests in maintaining White rule" - Mazizi Kunene.

"Black expectations always influence Black achievements" - Ted Jones.

"Education is nothing more than the polishing of each single link in the great chain that binds humanity together and gives it unity. The failing of education and human conduct spring as a rule from our disengaging a single link and giving it a special treatment as though we thought the strength and utility of the link came from its being silverplated, gilded or even jewelled, rather than from its being joined unweakened to the links next to it, strong and supple enough to share with them the daily stress and strain of the chain" - Pestalozzi.

*"Treasure? Let us count it
the madness that remembers
the madness that screams
the madness that sees
the madness that unchains itself
and you know the rest"* - Aime Cisaire.

*"To talk for myself,
I hate to hate,
But how often has it been
I could not hate enough"* - Mongane Serote.

"The Africans sorely need their modern revolution: profound and far-reaching creative stimulus, unleashing fresh energies, opening new freedoms. The world's experience may help" - Basil Davidson.

BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS IS:

1. an attitude of mind, a way of life;
2. its basic tenet is that the Black man must reject all value systems that seek to make him a foreigner in the country of his birth and reduce his basic human dignity;
3. it implies awareness by the Black people of the power they wield as a group, both economically and politically and hence group cohesion and solidarity are important facets of Black Consciousness;
4. The Black man must build up his own value systems, see himself as self-defined and not defined by others;

5. Black Consciousness will always be enhanced by the totality of involvement of the oppressed people, hence the message of Black Consciousness has to spread to reach all sections of the Black Community;
6. Liberation of the Blackman begins first with liberation from psychological oppression of himself through an inferiority complex and secondly from the physical one accruing out of living in a white racist society;
7. Black people are those who are by law or tradition, politically, socially and economically discriminated against as a group in the South African society of their aspirations."

POLICY ON DETENTE

While detente per se is not an abominable idea, detente conducted between countries to the exclusion and at the expense of the true leaders of the people, is nothing more than a hollow and futile political exercise aimed at misleading, condusing and misdirecting the noble intentions of those that are struggling for true justice.

Detent. initiated by imperialists with special reference to South Africa cannot be acceptable to Blacks because,

- (a) it is a mere deflection of international interest from condemnation of South Africa's unjust policies;
- (b) a hollow economic exercise meant to maintain, re-

tain and perpetuate the abominable exploitation of the Blacks;

(c) it is conducted at a time when the true leaders of the people are kept rotting in life imprisonments, detentions, exiled, while many are being charged for their outspoken criticism of the system and those that can't be charged are being terribly tortured for what S.A. is, paradoxically, trying to achieve in its detente manoeuvres-

(d) it is low grade hypocrisy to speak to Africa's true leaders while gagging the true leaders of Azania. Detente with emphasis on S.A. style is therefore a joke of high political magnitude.

It is the endeavour of SASO to make the newsletter a semi-independent organ, in regard to financial backing and expression of opinion reflected in the newsletter.

Your assistance, dear black readers, would be most welcome. Assist SASO in making the newsletter an organ that will be borne by the black community.

Articles and/or donations to be sent to . . .

**The Editor,
SASO Newsletter,
86 Beatrice Street,
Durban.**

BLACK STUDENTS' MANIFESTO

We, the Black Students of South Africa, believing that the Black Man can no longer allow definitions that have been imposed upon him by an arrogant White world concerning his Being and his destiny and that the Black Student has a moral obligation to articulate the needs and aspirations of the Black Community hereby declare that:

A. We Black Students are:

- 1. An integral part of the Black oppressed Community before we are Students coming out of and studying under the oppressive restrictions of a racist education,**
- 2. committed to a more disciplined involvement in the intellectual and physical work and to the consistent search of the Black Truth,**
- 3. committed to work towards the building of our people and to the winning of the struggle for liberation and guided by the central purpose of service to the Black Community on every technical and social level.**

B. We therefore, reject the whole sphere of racist education and commit ourselves to:

- 1. The intellectual and physical development of our community and to the realisation of liberation for Black peoples of South Africa.**
- 2. the definition that education in South Africa is unshamedly political and we therefore, believe that Black education is tied to the liberation of the Black people of the world.**

C. We hereby commit ourselves to:

- 1. the assertion, manifestation and development of a sense of awareness politically, socially and economically among the Black Community.**
- 2. the belief that Black Students should maintain a spirit of fraternity amongst themselves, free from the prejudice of white fallacies by virtue of their common oppression.**
- 3. attempting to break away from the traditional order of subordination to whites in education and to refuse to be educated for them,**
- 4. encourage and promote Black Literature relevant to our struggle,**
- 5. ensure that our education will further the preservation and promotion of what is measured in our culture and our historical experience.**