

There are several arrangements to be made in connection with SASO

Mr. Isaacs:

Workshop

30.4.72

Conflict

- (1) Personal.
- (2) External.

Definition of Conflict:

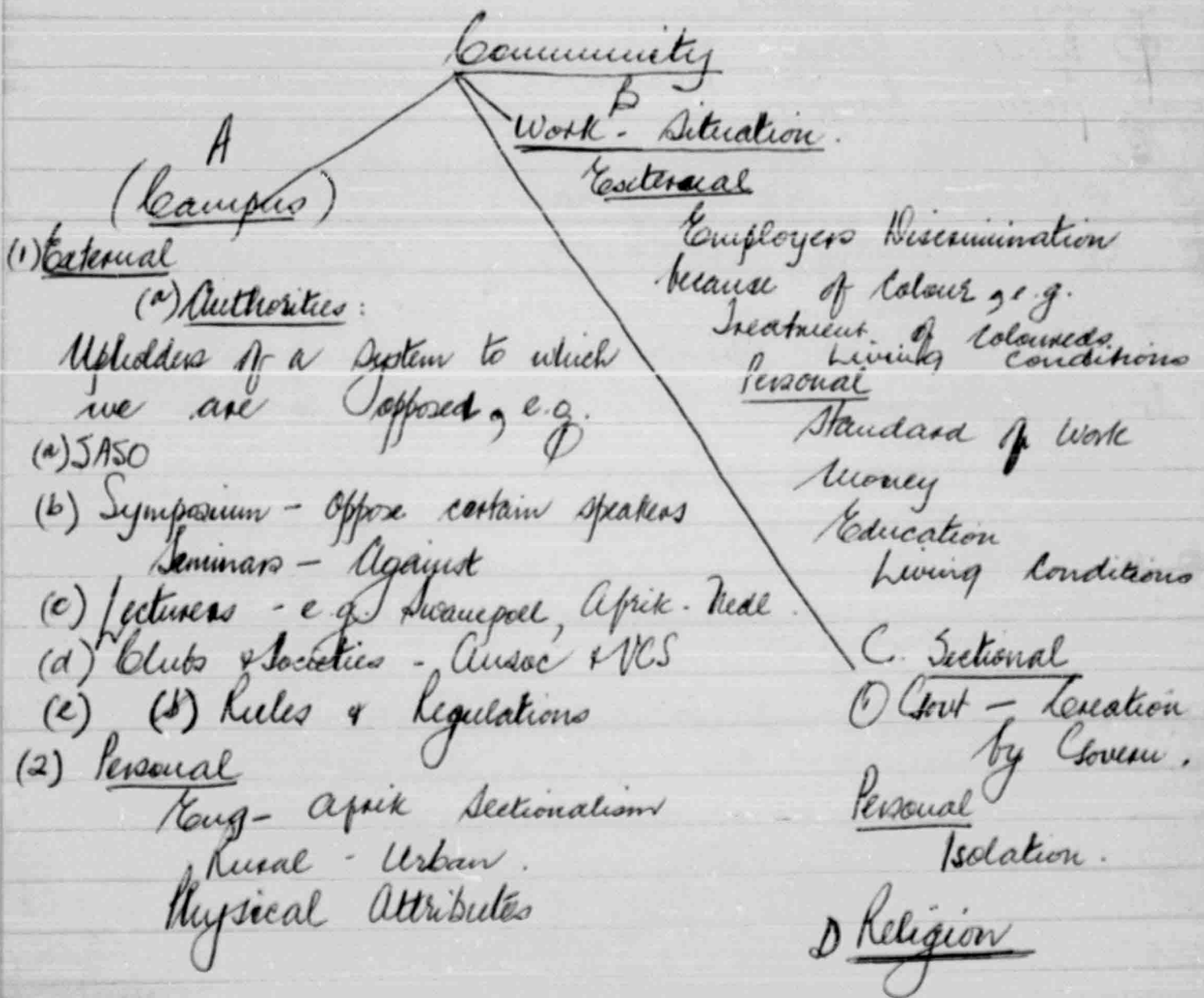
Any thing or person that (~~constitutes an~~) impedes one from reaching his objectives and constitutes a challenge which can lead to a confrontation.

① Areas

① Campus

② Community

③



## Definition:

The process of heightening awareness and developing a consciousness so that effective action can be implemented with the view to total liberation of the black man.

## Problems:

1. Admin
2. Lack of Training
3. Lack of Foresight
4. Apathy
5. Fear.

## Methods:

- (1) Infiltrative Politics
- (2) Directive Politics
- (3) Freedom Reception
- (4) Cultural involvement
  - (a) Drama
  - (b) Symposia
  - (c) Community involvement
  - (d) Cartoons.
- (5) Underground groups
- (6) Organisation

PHONE SCHÖNELL / SCHÖNMANN OR

ILLING AT THE EENROC HOTEL

64941 AND ASK THEM TO COME.

SEE US AT THE OFFICE. I UNFORTUNATELY

HAD TO LEAVE FOR CAPE TOWN AND

COULD NOT WAIT.

HE

# SASO

SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS' ORGANISATION

86 BEATRICE STREET  
P.O. Box 2346

Tel. No. 31-7275

DURBAN  
Cables: SASORG

Ref.:

PERMANENT ORGANISER'S DEPARTMENT.

SASO LEADERSHIP TRAINING PROGRAMMES BLACK YOUTH GROUPS AND SCHOOLS

P R O G R A M M E.

Rationale:

- (a) Basic training in the critical examination of the role and relevance of Black Youth groups, clubs and/or societies, school children.
- (b) To train Black youth in relevance leadership skills, techniques and methods which could be ploughed back into the Black community in order to bring about social change.
- (c) To reorientate the socio-cultural outlook of Black youth.
- (d) To help the isolate, analyze and define their aims, objectives and goals as Black youth in the context of the Black Community and its priorities.
- (e) To develop in them a positive awareness and consciousness of their problems, difficulties and frustrations as Black youth in the context of South Africa.
- (f) To provide career or vocational guidance.

Motivation:

It is our belief that SASO, as a Black students organisation, should and must serve as a nursery school for the training of Black youth in leadership skills, techniques and methods that could be ploughed and fed back into the Black community so as to bring about socio-political change in South Africa.

This point cannot be over emphasized in view of the fact that the kind of education that is being fed to the Black youth is designed to inculcate in them a sense of self-hate and feelings of inadequacy so as to perpetuate the socio-economic and political status quo.

Furthermore, there is no provision for the training of Black youth in leadership skills despite the fact that the youth of today are the leaders of tomorrow.

It is therefore obvious that if the Black Community has to produce the kind of leadership that will be able to redeem it out of the present socio-political morass, provision has to be made for an in depth leadership, training for

Black youth now. Hence SASO's leadership training programmes for Black youth.

The main objectives of this leadership training programmes will therefore, be to train Black youth in leadership skills; to develop a critical, analytical and positive examination and awareness in the roles they, as youth play in their clubs/societies; and the relevance of their clubs in the Black Community.

It cannot be doubted that the Black youth has been made to believe that the Black man is a sub-human being.

It is the aim of SASO, therefore, to erase this feeling from the Black youth. This will equip them better for the different roles which they are going to play in future.

This whole Youth leadership training programme is designed to fall in the general ambit of SASO leadership training programme.

#### SCOPE AND DURATION OF THE PROJECT.

This project is planned to extend over a period of three(3) years and is divided into three(3) initial phases. These phases are designed to enable the participants to graduate from one phase to another.

The scope of this project will cover the basic philosophy of Black Consciousness, Black self-reliance and Black Solidarity, values, Methodology, and the practical application of the philosophy.

The entire project is designed to be a preparatory course to a more advanced leadership training programme already designed for University students and Community leaders.

#### PHASE 1:

Phase 1 will cover the following areas:

(a) An introductory analysis of:

(i) Black value systems.

We believe that an elementary basic understanding and appreciation Black youth of the traditional and acquired value systems that obtain in and stabilize the Black Community is essential if the Black community hopes to produce a positively culturally oriented Black youth leadership that will be able to lead it out of the present socio-cultural morass brought about by an indiscriminate acquisition of foreign value systems that tend to inhibit social change. In order to realize this objective, we need a concerted programme of positive orientation. Hence our youth leadership training programmes.

In order to achieve our aim, we intend inculcating the Black youth a positive understanding and appreciation of Black history as seen by Blacks through Black eyes, a well oriented indoctrination with the Black understanding of religion and his relationship with his natural environment.

ii) An analytic exposition of the attitudes of Whites towards Black. This is necessary, since an understanding of the whole racial attitude of whites towards Blacks will enable Black youth to appreciate the whole fabric of discrimination against Blacks and their subjugation on the basis of our colour pigmentation.

This will also explain the totality of the white power structure.

iii) A positive exposition of group and inter-group attitudes that prevail and operate in the Black Community.

This exposition will entail a systematic appreciation of the danger of glorified tribalism and sectionalism at the expense of Black solidarity and the essentiality of a positive cross-pollination and cross-fertilization of inter-group attitudinal values that form the basis of Black solidarity.

iv) An elementary understanding of the place and role of the Black youth in the Black community in the make of a cry for social change and social justice by Blacks in South Africa.

This will enable the Black youth to comprehend the blight of the Black Community in the make of increased intensified racial oppression and subjugation.

PHASE 11

Phase 11 will deal with:

b) An Analysis of:

(i) The role and relevance of Black youth groups, in the Black Community

This analysis is necessary in order to determine the relevance and role of the existing Black youth groups so as to make them positive in terms of the Black struggle.

This analysis is also essential in view of the fact that most existing Black youth groups, clubs and societies are irrelevant in terms of the Black struggle. This is understandable because most of them, particularly church youth groups are products of white creation that always claimed the monopoly of determining what is good for Blacks.

ii) The interrelatedness of Black youth groups and the need for closer co-ordination, co-operation and/or amalgamation of all Black youth groups into a national youth group that will drive home the nail of Black solidarity.

iii) The organisational and structural problems and/or difficulties that beset many organisations particularly Black youth groups in view of their lack of experience.

It cannot be denied that many organisations are briddled with many organisational problems e.g. bureaucracy nepotism etc.

These structural organisational outgrowths tend to militate against the effectiveness of the organisation. This also leads an organisation becoming self-centred because of personality bickerings that are brought about by either bureaucracy or nepotism

Hence the necessity for courses on organisational structures.

iv) INTRODUCTION TO:

a) The theory of financial administration, accountability and budgeting. A training course of Black youth in the principles of financial administration accountability and budgeting is essential so as to make them well acquainted with the healthy running of their organisations.

b) The theory of the concept of leadership and its manifestations. The necessity for this cannot be overemphasized in view of the fact that the Black Community needs a dynamic and positive Black youth leadership that will be able to shoulder its present and future responsibilities.

PHASE III

This will embrace the following:

i) Introduction to the philosophy of Black Consciousness. A basic understanding of Black Consciousness is essential in order to orientate Black youth.

This will embrace an introduction to the understanding of Black communalism and self-reliance, Black solidarity in the face of the white policy of divide and rule.

ii) An advanced intensive course on leadership's ills, techniques and methods; relationship between youth groups and other Black organisations, etc.

PHASE III will serve as a link-up course between youth leadership training programmes with advanced leadership training programmes designed for University students and community leaders.





SASO LEADERSHIP TRAINING PROGRAMMES BLACK YOUTH GROUPS AND SCHOOLS  
FINANCIAL PROJECTION AND ESTIMATES

	<u>Amount</u>
<b>A. <u>2 National Seminars</u></b>	
1) Expected participants = 150	
ii) Duration - 5 days	
iii) Cost per day per delegate = R2,00	
Total 150 x 5 x 2 = R1 500,00	
x 3 years	R4 500,00
iv) Stationery R100 x 3 years	300,00
v) Transport subsidies R200	
x 3 years	600,00
	R54 000,00
<b>B. <u>4 Provincial Seminars</u></b>	
1) Expected participants 60 x 4 = 240	
ii) Duration 2 days	
iii) Cost per delegate per day R2,00	
Total 240 x 2 x R2 = R960,00	
x 3 years	R2 880,00
iv) Stationery 50 x 4 x 3 yrs	600,00
v) Transport subsidies 100 x 4 x 3 years	1 200,00
	4 580,00
<b>C. <u>4 Local Seminars per Province</u></b>	
1) Expected attendance 50 x 4 x 4 = 400	
ii) Duration 2 days	
iii) Costs per day per delegate R1,00	
iv) Stationery	50,00
Total amount 400 x 2 x 1 x 4 x 4	R15 300,00
v) Transport subsidies	600,00
50 x 4 x 3	
	R16 310,00
<b><u>3 years Total Budget</u></b>	
2 National Seminars	5 400,00
4 Provincial Seminars	4 600,00
4 Local Seminars per Province	16 010,00
TOTAL	26 090,00

Ref:

THE BLACK WORKERS' PROJECT: A PROPOSAL

"When industrial workers were appressed by miserable conditions of work, by long hours, and by starvation wages, they formed UNIONS to demand a decent stake for workers. It was the determination of ordinary workers to join together in a union movement which got them the improvements they wanted.

When ordinary men stop letting decisions be made by the rich and the powerful, when ordinary men decide that we will stand up and be counted, then this country will be a better place to live".

- JOIN MANIFESTO.

This is a universal understanding for workers to negotiate in a united voice for those conditions they regard as essential to their survival. Yet black workers in S.A. have been by various legislative enactments and sheer practice been dissuaded from establishing and belonging to trade unions.

The complexity of the race situation in S.A., however, does require that this sector of great importance to South Africa's economy should claim adequate representation. It was in appreciation of this fact that the SASO GSC at Hammanskraal passed the following resolution:-

".....to mandate the Permanent Organiser to look into the effectiveness of establishing a BLACK WORKERS' COUNCIL whose aims and objects shall be:

- a. to act as a co-ordinating body to serve the needs and aspirations of the black workers;
- b. to unite and bring about solidarity of black workers;
- c. to conscientise them about their role and obligation toward black development;
- d. to run clinics for leadership, in service training and imbue them with pride and self-confidence as people and about their potential as workers.

Subsequent to this SPROCAS Black Community Programmes undertook to co-sponsor the project.

WHY A WORKERS' COUNCIL:

It is not a statutory offence for black workers to organise themselves into unions. Coloureds and Indians are adequately covered in that they can have registered trade unions. They can negotiate through the channels prescribed by law. (Though thousands of them are unorganised)

2/.....

There is a long history of efficient trade unionism among Africans, from Clemens Kadellie's ICU to the S.A. C.T.U. and FOFATUSA of yester-decade. Yet there is an opinion in government circles that "the interests of African workers are adequately protected by state-created machinery." It is their belief also that the African is not yet ripe for trade unionism as represented by the Minister of Labour, Mr. Mervin Viljoen's statement that:

"We definitely are not going to allow our sound labour and race relations so painstakingly nurtured by this Government, to be disturbed by elements which apparently have no respect for our way of life."

White rule in S.A. has been characterised by curbs on the African workers' self expression. A range of specific labour legislations ushered in the Nationalist regime in 1948 among whom was the Bantu Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act of 1953 in which the definition of employee was redefined to exclude Africans. Striking became illegal and incurred stiff penalties.

What forms of negotiation are there for African workers? In a Special Report on Trade Unions (RDM 18/8/72) Robert Kneft of TUCSA submits:

"If there is an Industrial Council Agreement in the industry many workers who are not trade union members can have their conditions of employment prescribed by that agreement. Also, most Industrial Council agreements are extended by the Minister of Labour to cover the African workers, especially in regard to the wages laid down in the agreements.

Unions and workers can, of course, still make Common Law contracts with employers outside the Industrial Council set-up.

Another important body in industrial relations in South Africa is the Wage Board. This is a body of appointed Government officials, which proscribes wages and conditions of employment after hearing evidence from interested parties. The Minister of Labour then publishes a Wage Determination which becomes binding on all employers and employees in the industry in an area. Wage determinations usually prescribe minimum conditions for workers who are not organised into trade unions. A wage determination operates until it is revoked. The Wage Board has been criticised of late for allowing certain wage determinations to run for many years before being updated.

Basis:

The Bantu Labour (settlement of disputes) Act is theoretically the basis for African worker representation at Industrial Council hearings and at the Wage Board. This Act is, however, not operating as it was intended. The provision for works committees of elected African workers in any establishment with more than 20 African employees has not been successful."

Benjamin Pogrud of the R.D.M. (Trade Unions - Special Report 18/8/72) to account for the slump in the effectiveness of trade unions after 1944 notes:

"The unions were not officially registered so the leaders could use little but persuasion in negotiations with employers. With members having long waits for little results, interest could not be sustained.

Regular subscriptions by way of stop orders were infrequent so that unions had scanty resources for officials' salaries and for office expenses. What little there was was open to theft by poorly paid officials. Lack of training added its share of inefficiency and mis-management.

The migratory labour system meant that workers came and went, resulting in fluctuating and disappearing memberships. Meeting venues were hard to obtain, and problems of organisation were added to by the need for workers to travel long distances to get home, the existence of curfew hours and the incessant attentions of the police.

Many of these problems still exist today. But they can be overcome."

It is our conviction that these structures can be overcome. The motivation to take part in a union which caters for the "bread and butter" issues and champions the welfare of the workers as a "whole man" would interest a worker and motivate him to take charge of his own affairs.

We have indicated that there is an urgent need for the establishment of a Council of Black Workers. Implicit in this idea is the desire to look after the "whole man". The black worker must be developed as such. All factors of his existence, the 'singleman's' barracks (hostel), housing, transportation, education, wages etc. all go into the making of a true worker. Any programme envisaged must meet all these factors of a man's development.

Statistics reveal that there has been a steady rise to the present 80% of the contribution of African workers as a work force. Yet 80% of Africans in the private sector earn less than R70 per month; about  $\frac{1}{3}$  of these earn less than R10 a week. The great bulk of African workers are living below the Poverty Datum Line which in many instances is hardly sufficient.

There is a view that if greater wages are paid to Africans - this would increase their economic viability and consumer potential. The most cardinal reason for organising black workers on our part is sheer anger and revulsion at the herds of God's people who are taken for granted and 'pushed around' by whites. There is a sheer necessity for blacks to organise themselves to make their demands loudly heard and full appreciated. To develop a sense of awareness and human dignity.

WHY BLACK?

At the time when TUCSA has renewed its interest in the organisation of black workers after "white fears and misplaced self-interest won" back in 1969 when African unions were evicted from TUCSA. The debate at this year's TUCSA Congress where it was resolved

"to obtain from their members an unambiguous and clear mandate to press the Government to permit the organising of African workers into registered trade unions in their respective industries and occupations for which they cater," proved that there was a reging desire from white unions to take over representation of all workers.

This move by TUCSA, supported by Chief Buthelezi is rejected by Blacks. Drake Keka makes the point that "the unrecognised African Workers cannot validly exist like black pimples on the white union's face." He goes on to say: "Africans are competent enough to speak for themselves, make their decisions and negotiate on their own behalf whether they are being legally recognised or not."

Robert Williams quotes the following poem.

"Can the white man speak for me?  
can he feel my pain when his laws  
tear wife and child from my side  
and I am forced to work a thousand miles away

does he know my anguish  
as I walk his streets at night  
my hand fearfully clasping my pass?

is he with me in the loneliness  
of my bed in the bachelor barracks  
with my longing driving me to mount my brother?

will he soothe my despair  
as I am driven insane  
by scraps of paper permitting me to live?

Can the white man speak for me?

in substantiating Aimé Césaire's view that "we cannot delegate anyone to think for us; to do our searching, to make our discoveries; that we cannot henceforth accept that anyone at all, be he our best friend, answer for us."

It is the oppressed workers themselves who must wrest the initiative. The bastard relationship between black and white unions cannot be allowed anymore.

The interest of TUCSA in black unions is very curious. The best motivation is simply to control black workers. This experience is being reported by Coloureds in mixed unions: "..... Coloured resentment over appointments on racial lines not infrequently leading to white control or at least severely disproportionate White representation on the executive committee."

Trade unionist Norman Davids comments "We see this as White superiority." Blacks are no longer interested in white tutelage.

Another reason for this sudden interest is that TUCSA was worried at the erosion of the bargaining power of White (Coloured and Indian) workers in Industry and commerce. A very influential view, however, is that unorganised African unions are amenable to exploitation by the bosses and this might induce unfair competition."

White workers have heavy protection against competition with blacks. Certain sectors of employment are reserved for whites. While the black worker is tottering on the base of the economic ladder, white workers are enjoying the highest standard of living. Dr. Dudley Kussal cites as reason for this situation:

"The fact that the large majority of White workers occupy skilled or semi-skilled positions in the economy. Thus the average earnings of Whites appearing in our table (unlike the figures for other countries) are not pulled down by the inclusion of the lower earnings of unskilled workers (mostly Blacks in South Africa).

Furthermore, the restrictions on the entry of Blacks into skilled or semi-skilled jobs must also have helped push White wage rates and earnings higher than they otherwise might have been.

Also, in our view, the statistics, if anything, underestimate how relatively well off White workers in South Africa are because they do not take full account of their benefits stemming from the existence of an industrial colour bar and a ready supply of cheap Black labour.

White workers have a stake in the system and they cannot be trusted to shoulder the aspirations of the workers they, themselves, help to oppress.

#### WHO ARE BLACK WORKERS?

Those people who are discriminated against socially, politically and economically by law and tradition because they are not white and have as their sole source of income the selling of their labour for financial gain. We, therefore, include in our definition Coloured, Indian and African labourers who are not professional but that the political situation in S.A. cultivates 'common ground' and a common awareness about their situation.

There is seeming discrimination among black workers themselves since Indians and Coloureds receive preferential treatment and can bargain for their rights. Hence there is an urgent need to build up solidarity between black workers. The priority, however, is to build up and organise the African labour force.

#### THE PROGRAMME:

There is disarray in the Black trade union situation. There are some unregistered African trade unions mainly around the Reef which are under the aegis of the white unions. This does affect their effectiveness and true relevance and tend to become 'kaffir-boatie' of their white overlords.

There are in some establishments workers' committees which operate under the Department of Labour and represent the interests of workers to the management which appoints its 'boss boys'. This has tended to militate against the free expression of workers.

The Black Workers' Council will be something much wider in scope than a trade union. Organisation, of course, will stem from formation of craft unions. However seeing that most Africans are not craftsmen or skilled labourers they can be organised according to the type of work they do.

#### Collective Bargaining:

It is a prerogative of workers to bargain collectively for the improvement of their situation, eg wages, hours, benefits and to protest against ill-treatment and prejudice. The collective voice of workers is their most potent weapon. They can thus bargain and demand a hearing from the management. In numbers they can bargain from a position of strength and make representations to the Wage Board and the Industrial Councils. Employment of this power would put an end to arbitrary exploitation and harassment of black workers. Their trump card is their essentiality to the production process and hence the GNP of white S.A. Only such an event will they earn respect as people from the management and the other white workers.

#### IN - SERVICE TRAINING:

Many workers never had the opportunity to become craftsmen or skilled technicians because no opportunities have ever been afforded them. Even despite use being made of them because of their experience, they enjoy no grading from unskilled to semi-skilled to skilled workers. Thus despite the fact that they are used as such, sometimes they are not recompensed for their labour because they are not certified. The challenge of the Minister of Transport to white unions in this regard is worth noting;

"For instance you find very few Black men becoming skilled journeymen and I want to ask this question:

7/.....

I want to ask this question: Even if the government had to adopt a neutral attitude, is there one craft in S.A. that would be prepared to throw the doors open to the Black man?

"Is there one craft union that would be prepared to allow the Black man to become an apprentice so that he could become a skilled journeyman?"

"Would engineering, metal workers and iron and steel workers' unions be prepared to do this?"

"Oh no, they would allow the black man to become a semi-skilled assistant, but would certainly not permit him to become a skilled journeyman."

"I want to challenge the mining industry. If the Mines and Works Act were amended to remove the colour bar, would they issue blasting certificates to Blacks?"

(Daily News 24/8/72)

It shall be the task of the Black Workers' Council to organise clinics for 'in-service' training of workers. This can be done in consultation with the management which has everything to gain from the improved skills of their workers - then production will improve and workers can claim pay rises.

#### Motivation:

This is an aspect lacking most in present-day labour relations. It has been noted that this is due to the fact that Africans are "aware that advancement is limited. They know that time spent on the job, and the experience gained, do not lead to significant pay increases."

"The feeling that they can be fired at will and the insecurity of urban tenure are also factors. Chief Buthezi's comment in this regard is worth noting:

"Productivity will rise automatically if African people are better paid, better educated, better trained for the job and if they feel that they are relied upon. They must be involved in the whole job situation. They must know that they have a fair share in all this."

(Natal Mercury 24/8/72.)

Chief Buthezi is operating within a Bantustan system that perpetuates the misery of the black worker, viz: Prof V.D. Mhomo's proposals at TUCSA on Pretoria-created Bantustan operated worker unions.

This is the task of a Black Workers' Council to be a watchdog against evil employment practices.



### LITERACY CONTINUED (HOME) EDUCATION:

Education for blacks in S.A. is voluntary and very expensive. In the past decades there was abundant resistance to formal education because of the divisive practices of missionaries and a determination to maintain customs and ritual which education frowned upon. Hence the illiteracy rate is high in the working class sector and some even left school too early for their overall development and independence. Poverty at home has hurled such people into the labour market. They are not able to negotiate with advantage because of their limited horizons. Yet they have been able to learn the basic art of work to the satisfaction of employers.

The Black Workers' Council must establish programmes "to serve the people" In consultation with voluntary student groups it can declare war on illiteracy. This will help the crippling effects on both the individuals and the community. Employers who provide compound (hostel) accommodation for migratory labourers must be induced to cooperate in the literacy programmes by providing classrooms etc.

A need urgently felt is that of adult education. Many of those who had to leave school early are spending their time continuing their education at home after working hours. They are preparing to acquire school certificates which will put them in good stead for promotion. Arrangements can be again made with volunteer students to assist with tuition and arrange vacation classes. Improvement in learning will imbue them with self-confidence and ambition.

### Conscientisation Programme:

Seminars on Leadership training will be run. To be discussed there are workers' problems and an approach to these for positive results. These will also be geared at making workers appreciate their social and community obligations.

Literature will be disseminated which increases their awareness of their rights, responsibilities, etc. Happenings and activities of workers in other areas will be brought to their attention. The Council will publish a workers' mouthpiece and organ and plan workers' programmes.

### Recognition, Facilities and Culture:

One of the factors which kill black workers is the absence of facilities and amenities for relaxation and creative occupation of the workers. This is particularly evident in those areas where there are concentrations of migrant workers. The complete absence of family life is killing.

The complete absence of family life is killing. Recreational programmes will then be arranged to employ the workers creatively their leisure time. Representations can be made about their problems about housing, transportation etc; which all affect the productivity of the black worker.

Counselling:

Provision will also be made to establish a counselling service for the many problems workers are confronted with. We have in this regard essential services like legal counselling about their legal status, rights (if any) and advice on the multitudinous irritating confrontations blacks have with the law. Also counselling on workers' problems and rights, health education and prevention, medicine and finances, budgetting etc;

Benefits:

These can be worked out in consultation with the management, the Industrial Councils and other agencies to provide benefits for workers. These would include the statutory ones of unemployment, workman's compensation, sick fund and others like cooperative discounts, travel discounts etc.

The initial stages of this project, however, will consist in grass-roots organisation of African workers into farming committees, unions etc. Both SASO and SPROCAS 2 Black Community Programmes have made available two field officers who shall undertake the organisation of black workers throughout the country. To assist them in this they shall organise regional seminars to motivate workers **TOWARDS A BLACK WORKERS' COUNCIL.** It is hoped that after six months they will be able to call all black workers to a national congress where the said Council will be inaugurated. It is estimated that the Black Workers' Council will be established by June next year.

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# NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS NEWSLETTER

DEC. 1974

The urgency of change in the whole of Southern Africa has become a widely discussed subject. The concept of change, of course raises many questions:

What facets of Society need to be changed?

What is hoped to be achieved by this sort of change?

Who will bring this change about?

How will this change come about?

It is important that these and related questions be answered in order to understand the type of change that will be relevant to the oppressed people of Southern Africa.

We believe that the message of SAMORA MACHEL is worthy of consideration.

## THE PRESIDENT OF FRELIMO'S MESSAGE

Men and women of Mocambique,  
Militant comrades and Frelimo fighters,  
With the investiture of the Transitional Government  
begins a new phase in our History, the phase of the  
final march towards independence.

We assume today the direction of the Government of  
our country in the context of a period of transition  
which will lead us to the proclamation of the total  
and complete independence of Mocambique on the 25th  
of June 1975, the anniversary of the foundation of  
FRELIMO.

### The Inheritance which gave us colonialism

We inherit a difficult and grave situation from the  
social, economic, financial and cultural points of  
view, resulting from centuries of colonial oppression  
and pillage, aggravated by decades of fascist-colonial  
domination and repression, and exacerbated by the  
criminal advent of a small band of racists and  
reactionaries who recently victimised the city of  
Lourenco Marques.

We face the inheritance of widespread illiteracy, of  
sickness, of poverty and of hunger. We find our  
people, in particular the rural people, living in  
sub-human conditions of poverty and exploitation. We  
find destruction, resentment and hatred created by  
centuries of oppression, stimulated by the colonial  
war of aggression which reactionaries, colonialists  
and fascists brought on us with the result of sowing  
division and confusion.

### Exhortation to the Transition Government

It is thus a complex situation that the Transitional  
Government finds itself facing, and it will thus have  
to face difficult tasks. However, the difficulties  
were greater when a little more than ten years ago,  
we began our struggle for national liberty. We  
will not hide the difficulties nor will we close our  
eyes to them. But nothing can make us forget that  
we engage today in an elevated phase of our History:  
for the first time the People of Mocambique have a  
Government which is their own, a Government of their  
own representatives, a Government which will serve them.

The People of Mocambique have thus an instrument which is capable and ready to face the grave problems of the present phase: Government directed by FRELIMO in which combatants tempered in the hard fight for national liberty in the political and armed struggle, in the clandestine struggle, take part.

The experience of our People in relation to the State, and to the Government, the experience of all the workers, is that the State and the Government are oppressive structures, hostile forces which oblige us to submit and resign ourselves to foreign domination, to the domination of large financial interests.

#### DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE POWER OF THE PEOPLE AND THE POWER OF EXPLOITERS

The Transitional Government has the fundamental task, under the direction of FRELIMO, of creating conditions for the extension of Popular Democratic Power to zones which until now were under colonial domination. If for the millions of Mocambicans who have established their Power in the liberated zones this is already a reality and a concrete experience, the same has not happened in the rest of the country.

This means that we all need to learn what our Power is and how to exercise it, we must all know exactly how to distinguish between our Power and Colonial Power.

Our Power belongs to the People, it was won by the People, and must be exercised and defended by the People.

Before the Popular victory, Power belonged to colonialism and was the expression of domination of companies over our land.

Who governed? The governors were those who served the interests of a handful of major exploiters.

The years of government allowed the accumulation of fortunes through abuse of power, robbery, large sums received in exchange for favours done to the companies, as a reward for giving up of the mines of the land and even for the sale of human beings. After completing their service as governors, these men moved immediately into administrative councils in large firms where they received huge salaries in return for their prestigious services.

What characterised the government of the exploiters was the privileges, the despotic arrogance, the favouritism, the nepotism, the absoluteness. To use a current expression, problems were resolved by the system of "influence", the most elementary human rights such as

the right to work appeared to be favours from the government. Even the dignity of woman was a coin to be exchanged in order to get employment.

#### PSYCHOLOGICAL PORTRAIT OF THE MINISTER-COMRADES

Today for the first time in the History of Mocambique, those who are named for government posts are comrades.

We say comrades and we pronounce a word watered with sacrifice and blood. They are comrades, those who engaged in clandestine combat, those who suffered torture and death in prisons, those who offered their body and their intelligence on the battlefield, those who built liberty, those who constructed what we are, those who devoted their lives to the service of our people, knowing how to materialise their hopes.

The comrades who receive today the difficult task of guiding the apparatus of the State until the proclamation of independence, are precisely the People's representatives in the management of the State.

This representation was won in the diverse and hard tasks of the politico-military struggle for national liberation. All of them are veterans of popular combat, tempered in the hardest school of government: the national struggle for liberty and the reconstruction of the liberated zones.

May no-one claim to see them as representatives of a race, ethnic group, region or religious belief. They represent the working People, their sacrifices and their hopes, all the People from Rovuma to Maputo, without distinctions of race, ethnic group or religion. No-one fought for a race, for a tribe, for a religion. We fought and we will all continue to fight for the same Nation, for the single ideal of liberation for our country and our people.

This authenticity of the representatives of the People in the management of the State will not merely be an affirmation: It must manifest itself through the contents of governing action and in its methods of work.

#### WHAT IS GOVERNING ?

Governing is not the publication of laws or decrees for which the masses do not understand the reasons, but which all must obey so as not to be punished.

To Govern, it is necessary to know exactly the interests of the working masses, formulated and discussed with them and not only in their name. Governing means being capable of materialising these interests in the decisions taken.

Governing is being constantly bound to the people to listen to their worries, holding discussions with them so as to make together the correct decision, not despising the quotidian detail under the pretext that it is a small problem. When it is a matter of the People's life there can be no small problems.

A decision made and put in action like this, any difficulty or obstacle which arises will be surmounted, as the people will have understood the decision and the making of it to be its own.

IT IS FRELIMO WHICH MUST GUIDE THE ACTION OF THE GOVERNMENT

On the other hand the Government will not be able to solve any problems if it stays shut up in a building governing through bureaucratic and administrative methods. The solution of the problems of the masses and of the country, before being administrative, is political. For this it is the line of FRELIMO, forged in the intransigent struggle for the defence of the interests of the masses, that must guide the action of the Government, it is FRELIMO that must guide the action of the Government, it is FRELIMO that must orientate the Government and the masses.

WATCHWORDS

At the level of every factory, every department, every service, every commercial establishment, at the level of every agricultural enterprise, Party Committees must be formed to put into practice the orders of FRELIMO and the Transitional Government, liberating initiative and activating the creative capabilities of the masses.

In this way we will realise at the level of the whole country the real democracy which constitutes the essential principle of FRELIMO and which has guided political life in the heart of the Organisation and the national reconstruction of the liberated zones.

NEVER PLACE THE TECHNICAL ABOVE THE POLITICAL

The popular democratic Government of FRELIMO also differs from colonialist Government in its style of collective work, in its joint discussion and analysis of problems, in its mutual collaboration, in its elimination of compartmentalisation between work sectors. In this way and only in this way the action of the Government will be harmonious and effective action.

The action of our Government must in the first place be directed by our politics. We must never place the technical above the political. In concrete terms this means that in every unit of production, in every Ministry, in every political service, across our whole country our principal effort must be to develop the people's consciousness of their destiny, the consciousness that the construction of Mocambique, of liberty means work, elimination of prejudice and poverty.

#### HOW THE LEADERS SHOULD LIVE

We should like to draw attention to a further fundamental aspect: the necessity for the leaders to live in accordance with the politics of FRELIMO, the need that they should represent in their behaviour the sacrifices borne by the masses. Power, and the facilities which surround governors, can easily corrupt the firmest man.

Therefore we want them to live modestly and with the People, not making their received task into a privilege and a way of accumulating goods or distributing favours.

Corruption, material, moral and ideological, suborning, the search for comfort, coins, nepotism - that is giving favours on the basis of friendship and particularly giving preference in employment to one's relatives, friends, or people from one's own region, are all part of the system of life which we are destroying. Tribalism, regionalism, racism, unprincipled alliances, constitute grave dangers to our line and divide the masses. Because Power belongs to the People, whoever exercises it is the servant of the People.

Whoever deviates in this way from our line will meet with no tolerance from us. We will be intransigent in these matters, like starving people in the hard years of war. We will not hesitate to expose to the masses the actions committed against them. Deviations from the line rouse opposition: the breaks which allow penetration by the enemy, imperialism and reactionary forces.

In order to maintain the austerity necessary to our militant life and thus to keep the feeling of the People and their sacrifices, all the FRELIMO combatants who receive tasks in the government of the State, as in the past, will have to renounce their material worries, namely about their salaries. It is evident that for excellent reasons a representative of ours will not be allowed to own means of production, or means of exploiting the work of others.

We fought for ten years without any worries about individual finances, pledged as we were to consecrate all our energy



to the service of the People. This is the characteristic of the combatant of the cadre of the leader of FRELIMO.

As we have always done, as far as possible, we will try to secure for the combatant who fulfills a task the minimum material conditions indispensable to his work, and the sustenance of him and his family. But we must also not forget that we often fought and conquered barefoot, ragged and hungry.

We must further emphasize that as we made war without keeping to a timetable, without holidays, without days of rest, we must also pledge ourselves in the same spirit to the battle of national reconstruction.

We wish thus to say that the decisive factor in our victory has always been identification with and application of our line, rejection of luxury, struggle against corruption, pledging ourselves to austerity in the struggle against waste

The watchwords are: work and sacrifice.

#### THE GOVERNMENT IS THE INSTRUMENT OF FRELIMO

For the Government to be truly capable of assuming the interests of the working masses and not deviating from the service of the People, it needs to keep itself constantly under the direction of FRELIMO.

It is in FRELIMO that the masses find themselves organised and conscious of their true interests, it is in FRELIMO that the combatants meet, forged and tempered by the popular struggle, guarantee of the intransigent defence of the interests of the workers and the Revolution. Only FRELIMO therefore is capable of organising and shaping, orientating and directing the millions of Mocambicans in the present battle to build Democratic Popular Power and for national reconstruction.

The Government is the instrument of FRELIMO at State level, it is the executive arm of the popular will. Cut the arm from the body, and it will rapidly rot and decompose.

State Power was won by our People's struggle, united by our correct line, under the direction of FRELIMO. When we began, the popular masses were not organised, they had neither arms nor power over the State. Colonialism had the masses subjugated, it had economic and military power, the apparatus of the State. Colonialism lost everything because it did not have the people with it, it did not have the correct line, the just direction.

This means that the Government which deviates from the People's interests, which moves away from the line and direction of FRELIMO will, like the colonial fascist regime, inevitably be overthrown.

Under the direction of FRELIMO, the Transitional Government begins its action today.

So we are not detailing here the programme of the Transition Government, or task which is its own; what we must do is define from now on the tasks which FRELIMO, the Government and the masses must carry out in this decisive moment of the reconstruction of our country.

These tasks are to be found at the level of mobilisation and organisation of the masses, at the level of governing institutions and national reconstruction, at the level, finally, of the Popular Forces of Liberation in Mocambique, the armed strength of our working People.

#### WHAT DOES DECOLONIZING THE STATE MEAN?

At the level of the State, of its institutions, the first concern is decolonization and the second is to build structures adequate to Popular Democratic Power.

Decolonization means neither geographical transference of decision-centres from Lisbon to Lourenco Marques, which had already been proposed by the deposed regime, neither does it mean a continuation of an oppressive regime exercised this time by governors with black skins, which would correspond with neo-colonial schemes.

Decolonizing the State means essentially dismantling the politics, administration, culture, finance, economic, education, judicial and other systems, which as an integral part of the colonial State was destined exclusively to place the masses under foreign domination and at the will of the exploiters.

In this action, though we know we may search for inspiration and stimulation from the revolutionary experiences of other peoples, we support the idea of our own originality, basing it on the specific conditions of our country. In this way we shall also be enriching the revolutionary patrimony of humanity, the duty which we have come to fulfill in these hard years of struggle.

#### UNITY ABOVE ALL

The determining factor in our success is the Unity of our People from Rovuma to Maputo. Against this unity there arose and will always arise the enemy: the colonialism of yesterday, the reactionaries and imperialists of today, the exploiters of all races. As in the past, everything will be used.

Appeals, open or camouflaged, to racism, tribalism and regionalism, will be intensified. The same liberating fire which destroyed colonialism will be implacably used by us against racism, tribalism and regionalism, because these are the commanders-in-chief of the enemy, which attack and destroy the unity of our People; the principal weapon of our fight. These were the essential instruments which in the past, weakening our People, allowed them to be dominated.

#### ECONOMIC SITUATION OF MOCAMBIQUE

Considering our action with a view to socio-economic development, we must concern ourselves with some priorities, in order to know how to orientate our forces.

We inherit a colonial economic structure, in which the productive factors were not in the service of our country, of our people, but in the service of foreign domination. We must fight this situation creating the bases of an independent economy in the service of the labouring masses.

The Transitional Government must try to solve, as rapidly as possible, the serious problems of finance, in particular that of the exchange situation, and of the creation of an Issue Bank of Mocambique, and to attack frontally the principal problems of the broad masses of our country: hunger, nakedness, and lack of housing.

These ills do not exist as a fate, they are the result of a system of exploitation. If the productive force of the working masses finds itself integrated with a system of social organisation which combats exploitation, these problems will gradually be eliminated, as the reality of the liberated zones demonstrates.

In view of the present economic and financial situation, characterised by a deficit in the balance of payments, and by a rapid increase in the cost of living, especially in essential goods, our economic strategy must be based on the principle of counting on our own forces, with the accent on the following watchwords: austerity and work.

The actual situation requires on the one hand that we fight superfluous and luxurious consumption, that we avoid waste, that we accept sacrifices. On the other hand we must throw ourselves open to the economic development of our country, which means intensifying production and increasing productivity.

Economic development is, in fact, essentially the result of work. But work means greater production, and this is what will allow us to improve our standard of living.

### NO TO STRIKES

With the conquest of political power by the people, the bases are created for the solution of the problems of the working masses, respecting their interests.

Adequate structures will be established to allow the correct solution of the problems which arise in working relations.

It is not simply salary increases which will resolve the problems faced by the working masses, because such increases in the present situation would finally bring about a powerful rise in costs which would automatically annul buying power.

In these conditions, in this phase of our country's life, strikes no longer have the right to exist, it being our essential concern to restructure and re-create our economy.

### PRIORITY OF AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Another defect which characterises the structure we inherit, is the enormous unbalance in regional development, particularly the lack of balance between city and country areas.

It is in the rural areas that the overwhelming majority of our population lives, it is in the rural areas that we find the natural resources on which development will be imposed in order to make our land prosper. It was the rural areas which suffered most from the destructive effects of war, it is in the rural areas that the clearest marks of hunger are seen.

It is towards the rural areas that we shall thus direct our essential strength in order to improve the living conditions of the masses. We must give priority to the development of our agriculture, to animal husbandry, to the improvement of soil-conservation.

Agriculture will thus be the basis of our development, and industry the dynamic factor.

Industrial development must agree on the transformation of our natural resources, which will allow us to diversify and raise the value of our exports.

### FIGHT ALIENATION

We must wage relentless war on the aftermaths of colonialism, fight decadent values, wrong ideas, the spirit of blind imitation of foreign ways, immorality. We must affirm and develop our Mocambican personality

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