with ambitions of being ‘great people’ in Mozambique. But it is a fact that Mr. President Mondlane should admit (very unfortunately, nevertheless, for his presidential aspirations) that if Mozambique wishes to progress, it must be in the hands of competent people — which is not to say that the people must be excluded or that all students want to be or must be leaders. Far from it! We have no base of power, but in sane logic, those who should direct the destinies of a country in this twentieth century are those who are well prepared. Still, whether or not Mister Mondlane wants to admit it, all students are going to bring progress in Mozambique by means of serving, helping and cooperating with the people.

Producers and Students
Samora Machel


We shall soon be starting to prepare the land for new crops.

To many people production may seem a rite, a necessity, just something we are obliged to do in order to eat and clothe ourselves. It is true that production is aimed at satisfying our basic biological needs, but we also need it to free ourselves from poverty, to better know, control and use nature, and to educate ourselves politically. We are revolutionaries, our activities always have political meaning and content. Therefore our production, besides having an economic meaning and content, must have also political content.

In the enemy zone, under capitalism, under colonialism, there is also production. There, too, man wields the hoe to break the soil. There too, on the factory machine which we do not as yet have in our zone, — man makes things. Yet we say that production in the enemy zone is exploitation, whereas in our zone production liberates man. But it is the same hoe, the same man, the same act of breaking the soil. Why then is there this dividing line? Almost everyone knows the G3 gun. In the hands of the enemy the G3 is used to oppress and slaughter the people, but when we capture a G3, it becomes an instrument for liberating the people, for punishing those who slaughter the people. It is the same gun, but its content has changed because those who use it have different aims, different interests . . .

In FRELIMO we always emphasise the importance of production. To our army we give the tasks of fighting, producing and mobilising the masses. To our youth we give the tasks of studying, producing and fighting. In our
discussions, in our documents, we constantly stress the importance of produc­tion, pointing out that this is an important front in our fight and a school for us. We can see that production is satisfying our everyday needs at the same time as liberating and uniting us. But we do not as yet see that produc­tion is a school, that we learn through production. Some people might be surprised that in our schools there are those who devote long hours to production, and that our army also has this task. These people might feel that this is absurd, that it would be more worthwhile for the pupils to spend this time reading books, attending classes, that the army’s job is to fight and not to produce. But we also learn through production. Our ideas do not fall from the skies like rain. Our knowledge and experience do not come from dreaming in our sleep. Without ever having been to school, our illiterate peasants know more about cassava, cotton, groundnuts and many other things than the honourable capitalist gentleman who has never touched a hoe. Without knowing how to read, it is clear that our mechanics know more about car engines, how to assemble and repair them and how to mend broken parts, than the honourable capitalist gentleman who has never wished to soil his hands with motor oil. We see our ‘ignorant’ masons, our ‘stupid’ carpenters and labourers, so despised by the capitalist gentlemen, making beautiful houses, beautiful furniture which the honourable capitalist gentleman appreciates immensely and which he has no idea how to make. This clearly shows that we learn through production.

What we learn we do, and when we do, we see what is wrong. So we learn also from our mistakes and achievements. The mistakes show where there are shortcomings in our knowledge, weak points which have to be eliminated. This means that it is in the process of producing that we correct our mistakes. Production shows us that, if good tomatoes are going to grow in it, this soil needs more manure and this kind of manure, that there more water is needed. It was by making experiments which failed that our pupils learned how to make soap. It was by making soap that they improved the quality of the soap. Production is a school because it is one of the sources of our knowledge, and it is through production that we correct our mistakes. It is by going to the people, that we both learn and teach the people. If our army did not produce, how would we have grown cassava in Tete when the people had no knowledge of cassava? If we had contented ourselves with making speeches about cassava, would the cassava have grown? What better way of defending our production in Tete against bombing raids, chemical weapons and enemy incursions than diversification of production, introduction of new crops and crops which are resistant to enemy action?

How can the people improve their production methods, how can they know what is wrong and what is right, unless they produce? We are in the habit of saying that it is in the war that we learn war, which means in fact, that it is by carrying out a revolution that one learns how to carry out a revolution better, that it is by fighting that we learn to fight better and that it is by producing that we learn to produce better. We can study a lot, but what use is tons of knowledge if not taken to the masses, if we do not
produce? If someone keeps maize seeds in a drawer, will he harvest ears of maize?

If someone learns a lot and never goes to the masses, is never involved in practice, he will remain a dead compendium, a mere recorder who is able to quote by heart many passages from scientific works, from revolutionary works, but who will live his whole life without writing a single new page, a single new line. His intelligence will remain sterile, like those seeds locked in the drawer. We need constant practice, we need to be immersed in the revolution and in production, to increase our knowledge and, in this way, to advance our revolutionary work, our productive work.

The seed of knowledge only grows when it is buried in the soil of production of struggle. If we have already so greatly transformed our country, if we have won so many successes in production, education, health and combat, it is because we are always with the masses. We learn from them and pass on what we learn to them. We consistently apply what we know to production, correct our mistakes and enrich our knowledge. But we should not be satisfied.

Practice is not enough. One must also know, study. Without practice, without being combined with force, intelligence remains sterile. Without intelligence, without knowledge, force remains blind, a brute force.

There are comrades who look down on study because they do not know its value. Study is like a lamp in the night which shows us the way. To work without studying is to advance in the dark. One can go forward, of course, but at great risk of stumbling or taking the wrong path. At some bases, among some comrades, the regular habit has been established of devoting some time to study. This is good, but it is not enough. All leaders and cadres, together with the units must organise consistent and regular study programmes. Depending on the situation at least one hour a day should be devoted to study activities. Study should be organised in the spirit of collective work, collective consciousness, with small groups in which some teach others and everyone fights ignorance together. Because our starting point is a fairly weak one, we advise that in this first phase every effort should be made to raise the level of basic knowledge, especially by wiping out illiteracy in the units and among the cadres.

The Political Commissar, in co-operation with the Department of Education and Culture and working closely with the Provincial organisations, must organise the programme of fighting illiteracy and ignorance in such a way that each FRELIMO base becomes a base for fighting against obscurantism. Closely related to this programme should be a programme of seminars for comrades with higher scientific knowledge — agronomists, engineers, mechanics, sociologists, nurses, etc. — to help raise the general level of knowledge of leaders and cadres in the districts and provinces. These should be specialised seminars on precise subjects such as irrigation, hygiene, mill construction, the introduction of new crops and the introduction of new production methods.

In this way our comrades will be able to relate their scientific studies to
practice, and raise the level both of their own work and of the work of the masses. Soil without manure produces weak plants, but manure without soil burns the seeds and also produces nothing. Our intelligence, our knowledge, are like that manure. Manure must be mixed with soil, intelligence with practice. Because their very existence depends on exploiting us, capitalism and colonialism keep knowledge away from the masses, creating an educated elite which does not work and is used only to better exploit the masses.

We say that it is the workers who must have knowledge, who must rule and who must benefit from labour. This is what we say and practice. And this is why our Armed Struggle has been transformed into a Revolution, why everything is in constant transformation and we are liberating the creative energy of the masses. This, finally, is why the enemy hate us. Nothing exists without production, and nothing exists without workers. The planes and bombing raids, the colonialist crimes, are aimed at keeping the workers producing for the capitalists, at keeping them exploited. The target of our bullets, the purpose of our struggle is, definitively, to end the exploitation of man by man, colonialism being its principal form in our country today. Our objective is to hand production over to the creative ability of the masses.

We are going to enter our eighth year of war. Next year we will celebrate the 10th anniversary of the founding of our Front. We are growing a great deal, but to grow more, to meet the growing needs of the war and the people, it is essential that our production increase in both quantity and quality, that more things be produced in our country.

Revolution liberates man. It liberates his intelligence and his work. This liberation manifests itself in the development of our production, which serves the people, which serves the struggle. Therefore, at this time when preparations are being made in agriculture for sowing the crops of the new season, we say to all the comrades:

*To produce is to learn. Learn in order to produce and struggle better.*

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**The Role of Students**

Duncan Innes

*Excerpt from a 1969 speech, ‘Our Country, Our Responsibility’, by Duncan Innes, then president of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS).*

South Africa is our country and our responsibility. If we are concerned for the future of our country, as I am because I do not believe she has a secure future, then we must ask ourselves what we can do for our country and for our future. We must ask ourselves what we, as students, as tomorrow's leaders, can do. We must ask ourselves what NUSAS can do . . .

Our role then, as I see it, the role of NUSAS, the role of South African