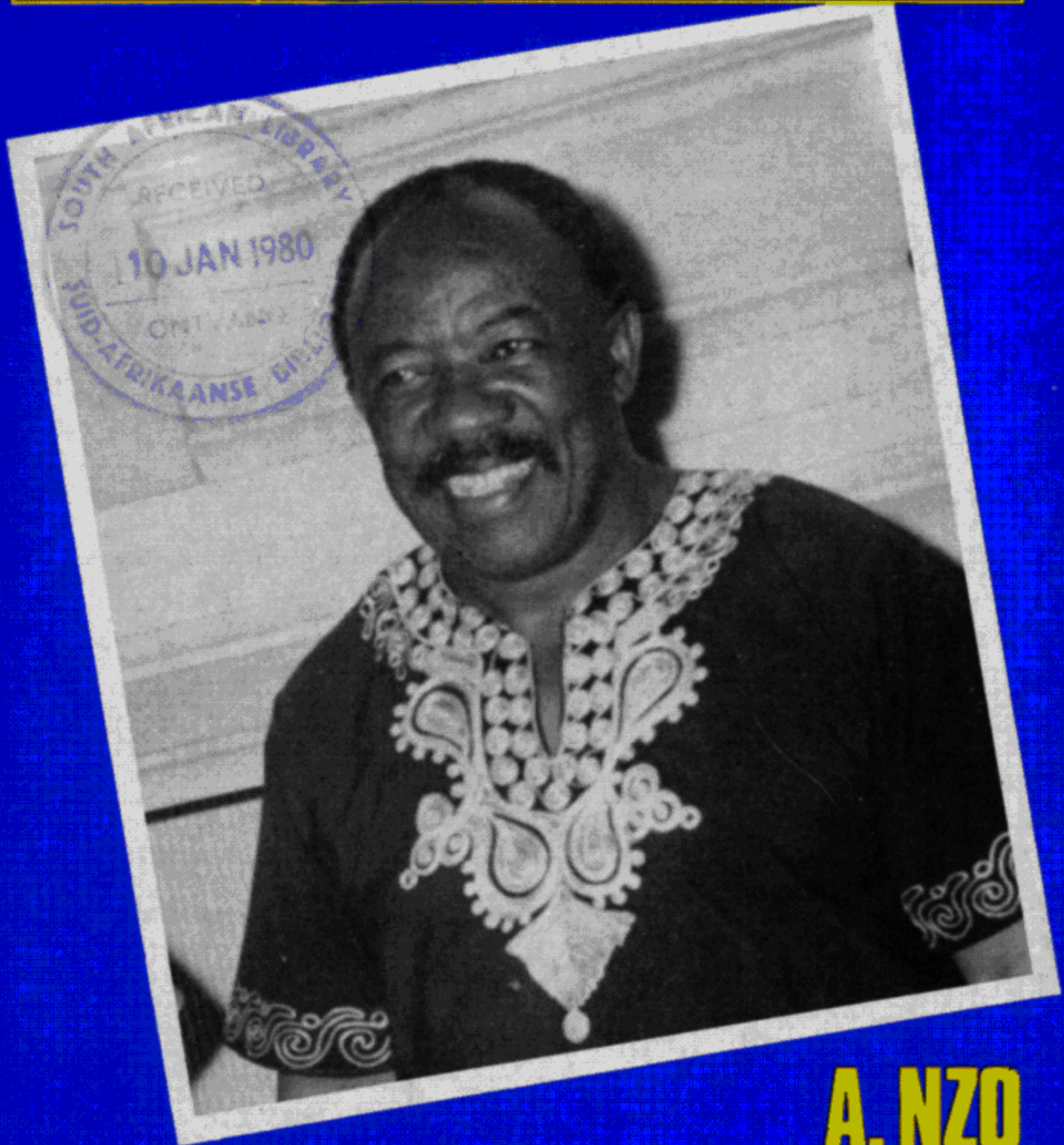


OCTOBER
1979



SECHABA

official organ of the african
national congress south africa



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SECHABA

October Issue 1979

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BEWARE-ENEMY MANOUVRES

In March 1979, the United Nations declared this year ending in March 1980, as the International Year of the Child (IYC). This is in keeping with the aspirations of progressive humanity because the future belongs to our children. The future of our children will depend on and emerge from our actions and thinking today. That is why the African National Congress of South Africa took this event seriously.

But the enemy is not asleep: he is alive and kicking. According to a document circulated inside South Africa, a National Commission for the IYC is established in South Africa. The circular states:

"The National Commission is fully recognised by the International Secretariats with whom we correspond and who have been most helpful and encouraging...

"The National Commission also has the sanction of the South African cabinet for its operations...

"We have been fortunate in securing some help from commercial firms...

"We are in fact fortunate in South Africa because the South African Government coincidentally declared 1979 to be Health Year in South Africa, which means that aspects of child health are being covered by the Health Year agencies in South Africa."

From the four quotations we have cited it is clear that this so-called National Commission of the IYC is sponsored by the Government and industrialists and is a pro-apartheid outfit. There is nothing new or alarming in this.

What perhaps worries us is the fact that they state that they are "fully recognised by the International Secretariats" with whom they correspond and "who have been most helpful and encouraging".

Whom do they mean by "International Secretariats"? Do they mean UNICEF,



UNESCO or what? Or are they simply lying? We hope they are because this will be a serious breach of UN policy of total boycott and isolation.

A cursory glance at the names of the Executive Committee shows that this organisation is white: there are 4 Blacks (out of 18 members) who have been hoodwinked by the open collaborators of the regime; this IYC is working closely with the "Health Year" agencies sponsored by the regime — an organisation which has nothing to do with health, but has become one more excuse to intensify forced squatter removals.

In this issue of Sechaba we publish some facts regarding the conditions of children in South Africa. This is meant for those who might not know the situation in our country. But for those who know but continue to defy world opinion we say: tell us who your friends are and we shall tell you your worth!



Co-Presidents of the Patriotic Front, Comrades Nkomo and Mugabe at the OAU Summit

THE OAU SUMMIT

In July, the Capital of the Republic of Liberia, Monrovia, was the seat of one of the most trying sessions in the history of the Organisation of African Unity. It was the 16th Summit of the heads of states and Governments of the African Continent.

The Summit came at a very crucial moment in the unfolding and intensifying decolonisation process to which the OAU is heavily committed. It came at a time when the dying racist horses in Southern Africa are unleashing their last desperate kicks against the liberation forces in Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa and the Front line states that provide rear bases for the liberation movements of Southern Africa. This was also a period during which Africa has displayed a loss of patience in the arrogant "peaceful" gimmicks of particularly the British government in relation to the recognition of its prodigal son (Ian Smith), tricks of hiding behind Muzorewa in his attempts to maintain the colonial structure in Zimbabwe. The period

is also characterised by frantic attempts by the Botha fascist junta to involve OAU member states in a dangerous constellation of Southern African states, together with twinkling little stars that the racists have created in Namibia and South Africa, thereby seeking to blackmail them into collaboration with their racist plots. These attempts have however failed — thanks to the commitment of these countries to the OAU principles and the struggle for the total liberation of the continent.

In Northern Africa, the dirty intrigues of the American and French imperialists against the Sahourai people in their just struggle for independence had reached a crucial and decisive stage. The balance of forces has changed in favour of the Sahourai people under their vanguard leadership, the Polisario Front. The Camp David Agreement had generated bitter anger in the Arab world and indeed on the African continent and had caused further complications in the prospects of a speedy solution

of the Middle East "problem".

In East Africa sour relations had developed among member states following the ousting of Idi Amin with the assistance of the Tanzanian Government. The situation in Chad (central Africa) had reached a stalemate with the OAU still battling to work out a solution.

It was in this tense atmosphere that the debates on the problems affecting the continent took place. It is therefore in this light that the decisions reached by the Summit should be understood. Because of the sensitive nature of the problems discussed and diversity in the approach to solutions, most of the sessions were held in camera. Thus, this move provided for frank debates that have always characterised the OAU's approach to problems.

The OAU decisions on the Southern African situation were of grave significance to the liberation struggle being waged by the Patriotic Front, SWAPO and the ANC (SA). The serious commitment underlying these decisions was reflected in the follow-up made by those members of the OAU within the Commonwealth, whose fighting spirit forced the British Government to shift its original position in regard to the recognition of the Smith-Muzorewa regime. The tough stand taken by Nigeria in her nationalization of British Petroleum is a shining example of growing preparedness on the part of Africa to confront those who display an arrogant disregard for African opinion. These actions are a reflection of the practical steps taken in the implementation of the decision of the OAU to fight for non-recognition of the Smith Muzorewa regime. In fact the decision was taken by the OAU Ministerial Council Meeting in March in Nairobi, condemning the "elections" in Zimbabwe even before their outcome.

It is in this vein that the people of South Africa and Namibia can express the hopes that the decisions by the OAU in regard to the concrete measures to confront the Botha regime by intensifying the isolation of the regime at all levels. This must then be noted by welcoming the decision to transform the ad-hoc committee on oil embargo into a permanent committee on Sanctions, which we hope will be an

effective weapon at the disposal of the OAU. The commitment to the non-recognition of the puppet regime set up by the racists in Namibia and the Bantustan phoney "independence" in South Africa, is a living example of Africa's readiness to shutter all racist machinations.

The most inspiring decision by the OAU was the final recognition of the right of the Sahouri people to self determination and nationhood. This move reflected the commitment of the organisation to its principles and the readiness to confront member states in cases where they present themselves as stumbling blocks in the progress of the decolonisation process. It was, however, not an easy decision but was nevertheless definitely in the interest of African Unity and Solidarity.

The deep concern with which the Middle East "problem" was discussed served also as an indication that the OAU is true to its stand of supporting and recognition of the just struggle of the Palestinian people. The debate on the issue was the most tense due to the signing of the Camp David Agreement between Egypt and Israel. The essence of the deep feelings expressed by the delegates on the agreement indicated the necessity for consultations and a common understanding of what harm any unilateral decision on such sensitive issues could bring to the quest for African Unity. However, the need still remains for an acceptance of the reality that without the full participation of the PLO, no genuine and lasting peace can be achieved in the Middle East.

The Ugandan question posed a new challenge to the Organisation. The nature and scope of the factors which led to the ousting of Amin, was a new experience in the solution of African problems. It was however a very difficult problem facing the summit which could not offer an immediate solution. It therefore opened a new dimension in the course of Africa's problems and placed a new demand on the Organisation to work-out a mechanism for tackling new problems that will crop up in the future. The approach adopted in the end of lengthy debates on the question formed a basis for new prospects in bringing about an acceptable solution to all parties involved.



Polisario guerrillas at their 4th Anniversary Parade

Despite numerous other problems that came to light in the course of the Summit, it is clear that the leadership of Africa is aware of these problems and their complexities and that the spirit of the debates and of the decisions reached on key problems gives hope to Africa's competence to tackle all problems facing the continent. In the quest for translating OAU principles into practice, the Summit was able to resolve the problems which posed the most serious threat to the unity of Africa. The ability of Africa to sort out its priorities crowns the success of this Summit. It is however clear that until the decolonisation process is complete and Southern Africa genuinely liberated, the Organisation will still have many problems to solve on the road to unity. This then puts the thrust on the liberation of the sub-continent with the continental and international solidarity and support which forms a vital component of the liberation process.

To the liberation movements in Southern Africa the Summit provided a forum for bilateral discussion on crucial issues affecting the ever-growing liberation process and its demands. It also provided an opportunity for the liberation movements to address the press. The Patriotic Front held a Press Conference where the position of the authentic representatives of the people of Zimbabwe was made clear. As a token of solidarity and renewed commitment to the support of the just cause of the

Namibian and South African people against their immediate and common enemy; a Press Conference was sponsored by solidarity movements attending the Summit and addressed by Presidents Sam Nujoma of SWAPO and Oliver Tambo of the ANC (SA). The sponsoring organisations included the Pan-African Youth Movement, Pan-African Womens' Organisation, the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity, Transafrican and the International Freedom Movement (both from the US); the Spanish Centre for Research on Southern Africa and the International Committee Against Racism, Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa (ICSA).

Africa must and shall be united. But the problems facing the continent are enormous: the liberation of the South of our continent and the struggle against neo-colonialism, imperialism and multinationals. With the strong alliance that is building up between the independent African states and the liberation movements there are all the possibilities for Africa to lay a strong foundation for an anti-imperialist and anti-neocolonial policy.

HUMAN DUMPS



They suffer the most appalling conditions as a result of the Bantustan programme

In our last issues of *Sechaba* we reported about the plight of our people in Crossroads, in the Bantustans and in the urban areas. In this issue we highlight the misery of our people in the rural areas in the Ciskei, especially around Whittlesea. These areas have become human dumps for tens of thousands of African women, children and old people whose menfolk are needed in the far-off industrial areas.

More than 120,000 people in the six main resettlement areas in the Ciskei — Thornhill, Sada, Zweledinga, Oxton, Elukhanyisweni and Dimbaza — live in appalling, inhuman conditions. These people

come from the Western Cape where they have been evicted (Crossroads, Unibell, Werkgenot); some have been forced to leave their original homes or because they have been living in white areas or on neighbouring farms and have not had a place of their own and others have fled to these areas to escape becoming Transkei citizens, that is they do not want to live in an "independent" Bantustan.

This is how Thornhill, which started in late 1976, emerged when thousands of families from Herchel and Glen Grey chose not to join Matanzima's bogus independence. The population of Thornhill

is estimated at 50,000. Oxton, like Thornhill, has been named after the farm it was built on. Zweledinga is another rural slum on the slope of Katberg where snow and sub-zero temperatures make life even more miserable and Mbekweni, another shanty town, is where hundreds of graves, mostly of small children, have become the hallmark of these areas.

Closer to Whittlesea is Sada, known for its only industry — the handwoven skirts, mohair carpets and other handicrafts. Sada has about 30,000 people — four to six people die every week as a result of malnutrition and related diseases. Across the valley is a vast, empty town with streets bulldozed and hundreds of tin toilets standing on the bare plots. This is the ghost town the racists were building to house the people of Crossroads.

What are the major features in these areas? It is lack of jobs or any other means of livelihood — those employed receive starvation wages as low as R6 a month; there is mass migration of men who go and work in South Africa's major industrial areas as migrant/contract labourers; the shortage of firewood is a problem not only because of snowfall but because this makes it difficult for the people to cook their staple diet — porridge with weakened condensed milk.

The conditions in these areas are harsh and crowded; there is an increase in venereal disease and a continuous struggle against pellegra and kwashiorkor. This is partly due to the fact that one community with an estimated population of 10,000 has 13 pit lavatories, not a single tap: they travel for miles to get water. Child labour is practised on a large scale and is sometimes a family's only means of survival.

In these rural slums sheep, cattle, goats, horses and donkeys graze uncontrolled on the already denuded neighbouring farms bought out by the government.

People are moved at the whim of an official for no apparent reason or simply "because a freeway is planned through their village — sometime within the next 20 years".

The grim poverty in these areas has been

vividly described by Bishop Desmond Tutu, Secretary-General of the South African Council of Churches, who visited the Ciskei recently. He reports that he had a conversation with a young girl; one of the two daughters of a widow who gets neither a grant nor a pension. She told him that her mother had to borrow food which she was never able to return. When she was unable to return food "they lived on water".

Bishop Titu remarked: "You look around the encampment in the God forsaken place and it is surprising that there is anybody to borrow food from."

This is the reality in the Ciskei. The people are crying out: "Tell the world we are starving". This is not just an expression of a general feeling of helplessness among the people restricted to these areas against their will but an expression of a mood of anger and rebellion.

pass laws

The racist regime of Botha is proposing to increase the fine for employing unregistered or "illegal" labour to R500 or three months' jail. Previously the fines were R100.

This means that if an employer has any doubt about the documents of employees, or if the worker is not properly registered, the employer is advised to contact the nearest labour bureau of the board to enable an official to determine if the worker is properly registered or eligible for registration — otherwise the worker should be dismissed immediately. Already black people are being thrown out into the streets in large numbers in spite of the fact that the new laws have not yet been gazetted.

This rigidity with which the Pass Laws are being applied is causing a crisis in the lives of thousands of urban Blacks: an unemployment crisis is looming as thousands of Blacks face dismissal by employers who fear new fines for employing Blacks

"illegally"; unregistered domestic workers who cannot find new jobs are discharged and many of these women are forced to return to the "homelands", where there is not the remotest chance of getting work; Africans who left the rural areas in the 50's are losing their jobs and cannot be registered. They have to return to the rural areas and be recruited from there. The chances of being recruited from the "reserves" is remote.

The other alternative is to resort — through sheer desperation — to "crime" that is, stealing, robbing etc. for a livelihood and to feed their families.

This so-called "influx control" which expresses itself in new pressures to force the Africans back to the homelands where they face a life of poverty has resulted in a situation where "there is more anger than tears". This rising black anger over stricter application of "influx control" measures is directed not only at the government but also at the white employers who fear even to defend "their" employees although, ironically, they paid the "illegal" workers far below the stipulated amount.

sadf

Recently there have been complaints about ill-treatment and bullying of national servicemen: complaints about sadism in the force, heavy drilling and duties; reports of death cases, fights and heat exhaustion. Even General Magnus Malan, Chief of the South African Defence Force was forced to admit that "a few recent unfortunate incidents of serious ill-treatment of servicemen had occurred in the Defence Force". These incidents led to the establishment of a "Central Complaints Office" under Brigadier Cyrus Smith to investigate claims of ill-treatment and bullying of national servicemen.

This office cannot solve anything because

brutality, sadism and contradictions are inherent in the system and reflect themselves in every aspect of social life including the army. It is our task to sharpen and aggravate these contradictions.

black unity

The all-white Afrikaans Studente-Bond has recently decided to open its ranks to Afrikaans speaking Coloured students. The leading members of the 2.5 million-strong Coloured community were not impressed by this sudden display of "liberalism".

Dr Allan Boesak, the chaplain of the University of the Western Cape and a leading theorist of the black consciousness "movement" said: "I am not interested and I doubt whether black students are interested. It is an attempt to split black solidarity".

The Rev Alan Hendrikse, leader of the Coloured Labour Party confirmed: "I am not impressed. It is part of the attempt to woo the Coloured people from the black community as a whole."

parcel bomb

On July 4th 1979, Father John Osmer, a New Zealand born priest working in Lesotho and five South Africans were seriously injured by a parcel bomb. Mrs Phyllis Naidoo, Silumko Sokupa, Siphosiphiso Wandile Khalipha and Mbuyiselo were present when the explosion occurred.

The parcel contained copies of Sechaba, the official organ of the African National Congress. Fortunately no-one was killed

and this must have angered the South African racists who are intent on the liquidation of our movement physically and morally.

Lesotho is completely surrounded by racist South Africa and therefore all parcels going there have to pass through South Africa.

That the racists failed in their aims can be gauged from extracts of a letter sent to us from our injured comrades. It reads:

"May I on behalf of the six of us say how much we appreciated your concern for us, and with you, voice our abhorrence of this dastardly deed. We were within minutes of the explosion assisted by three trained nurses, scores of helpers. Within minutes we were in the local hospital. I look back with great pride at the services the hospital provided then. Friends coming in to check who was in the accident. At one time nurses said there were over 100 people giving blood.

"The human being is a remarkable being. The mind blots out the pain, the trauma, the details of the happenings, only the joy of knowing that we were going to live.

"Need I tell you how appalled the government has been, even the PM visited us...

"Dolly who is a student at Roma was doing a survey of sorts at the hospital heard a call that came from a Cpt Smith who phoned to say he would bring a helicopter to take the bombed victims to Bloemfontein. Wandile in his delirium shouted 'don't let the BOERS take Father Osmer's'. Dolly took up positions with a number of ANC youth and refused to budge. Listening with pride to her arguing with folks around was music in my ear. If this is the quality of our children, then racist South Africa beware! They are going to brook no nonsense.

In fact it is not the physical hurt that occupies my mind, it is the extent the racists will go to ensure that Sechaba is not to be read. To ensure that their racist ideology is maintained they will kill with impunity. Remember Van den Berg in the Erasmus Commission. A whole society is maintained

by killing.

To maintain Law and Order they have maintained the death sentence, and kill about 150 people a year. A world record.

They kill 45 babies a day to maintain apartheid. The poor wages of the Blacks or the lack of employment does this.

They killed Solomon Mahlangu remember despite pleadings of the whole world to commute his sentence.

They killed gentle Rick Turner and let him die in the hands of his eleven year old daughter.

They killed my friend Babla. Remember Saloojee.

They killed Mini who sang his way to his death.

They killed lively, friendly Harris, who sang his way to the noose with..."We shall overcome".

Do the perpetrators of this crime think for one moment that we shall abandon our demand for a non racial society?

Do they think that our children will be deterred by these acts, and will submit to Vorsters, Bothas filth? They are prepared to die for the freedom they want for South Africa if need be.

No your bomb did nothing. My little brother says emotionally in his letter to me 'you are indestructible'...Not true...WE ARE INDESTRUCTIBLE. Ours is a just cause. Justice is on our side, WE CANNOT LOSE.

All six of us are members of the African National Congress. The Freedom Charter has guided and principled our struggle since 1955, it has not changed now. Even the Nazis next door have not been able to ban the Freedom Charter despite placing it on trial for 4½ years....the Treason Trial.

Over our heads in the ward some local talent had placed in green, gold and black... NO EASY ROAD TO FREEDOM. Nelson Mandela who said this is now on Robben Island for 17 years. Do you think he has changed? Not on your nelly. We have a proud record, as proud as the principles which guide our lives.

On the other wall is a rather young picture of Nelson, probably in 1961. The poster reads THE STRUGGLE IS MY LIFE....The struggle is our lives too.

Thank you for your love and concern for us, my people from South Africa, local Lesotho people and a large number of marvellous expatriates living in this our host country. Our speedy recovery is due entirely to you."

The South African press insinuated that the parcel bomb was sent from the German Democratic Republic. Denying the South African source of the bomb, they hope to cause confusion in our supporters' ranks thus driving a wedge between our liberation movement and our natural allies — the Socialist Countries.

The seriousness with which the Lesotho Government took this incident is reflected in the fact that Leabua Jonathan, Prime Minister specifically mentioned it in his speech at the OAU Summit when he said:

"In Lesotho, there is a large number of registered and unregistered refugees and exiles, who have fled from the tyranny of apartheid in South Africa and oppression in Rhodesia. For social and security reasons,

our refugees are not confined to special camps but are allowed to mix with our people and are assimilated into our society. This unique approach to the refugee problem has worked well and deserves support by the international community, for the constant flow of refugees creates, for us, serious problems of education, health and employment.

Despite our efforts to protect refugees from being followed, harassed and even killed, the enemies of Africa have devised ways and means of carrying out their criminal acts. For example, recently, only a few yards from my official residence, six South African refugees were injured by a parcel bomb. However we shall continue to receive and give comfort to those who have fled from their countries in search of freedom and happiness."

CHILDREN UNDER APARTHEID

The area in which the rule of equality can be invoked on matters affecting children in South Africa has been substantially narrowed down by the fact that although South Africa has a multi-racial population, it is racially segregated socially, politically and economically.

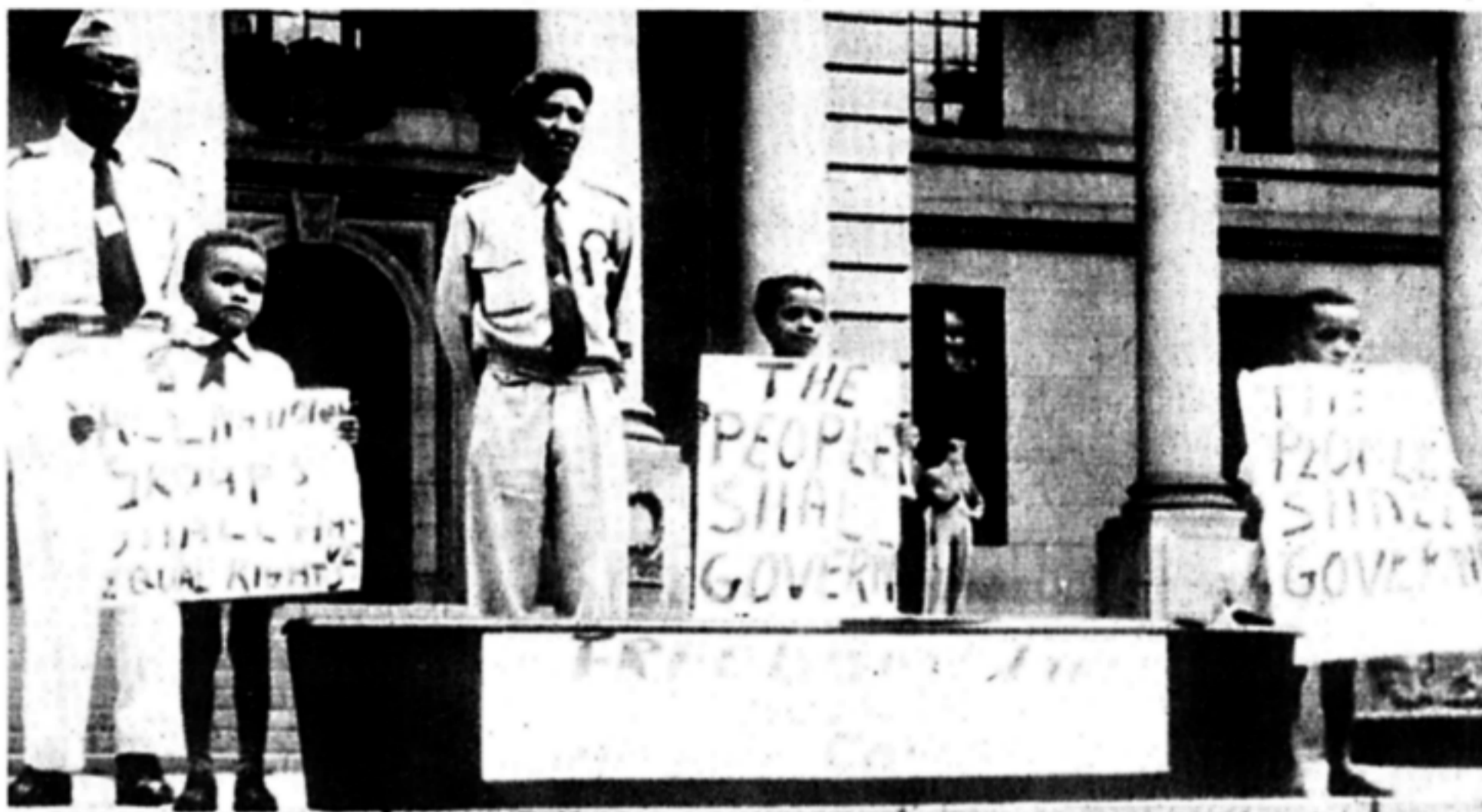
It is only through enormous efforts on the part of a mother that she can hold the family together and rear children under normal conditions. The regime imposes many obstacles in her way..

South African children do not enjoy the benefits of receiving comprehensive

education and child care that is conducive to the growth and development of any other child anywhere.

Children need to be cared for whilst the parents are out at work but the type of day care services that exist in South Africa are of little benefit to the mother. They fall far too short of the normally acceptable standard of nursery school. The food is poor, playing facilities are inadequate and sleeping facilities are seldom available.

Nursery school education has been considered as separate from the educational



The principles of the Freedom Charter - only safeguard for our children's future

system in the country. The state does not provide, subsidise or train teachers for pre-school children. The few that exist are private and have proved less effective for the development of qualities and abilities of the child. Untrained nursery school teachers are not systematically guided. They fail to share or thrive to take over responsibility delegated to them by the parents whilst they are at work. This results in a child's behaviour expressing deprivation, attention-seeking, withdrawal, aggression and mistrust of adults.

The mothers face hardships and are desperate for child care centres that would provide good care for their children while they are at work.

The hardest hit by the inadequate day care services are the African women especially in the rural areas where child-minders are non-existent. Since there is no help from the government and industry that depends on female labour, they are forced to put up with all kinds of makeshift and unreliable arrangements, with relatives, neighbours, pensioners etc. These arrangements often break down and the mother has to miss work to stay with the children at the risk of being fired from the

job. Absenteeism and lateness among working mothers is caused by lack of proper child-care facilities in the country.

At the crack of dawn the African mother has to leave for the city — but has first to carry the children to unreliable child-minders. Because these children are shunted from one child-minder to another and care there is inadequate and motherly care lacks, children often fall sick.

Foster Care

Foster care is the placement of a child in temporary custody whether for a reward or otherwise.

Children committed in foster care in South Africa in 1976 were as follows:

White	2,787 and 791 of these placed in children's homes
African	1,378 and 331 of these placed in children's homes
Indians	320 and 274 of these placed in children's homes
Coloureds	(figures not available)

These figures reveal that the interests of the African children being in the majority are not protected. There are few Children's Homes for them which are in a poor condition. Here child care is often neglected as is the case in the Dingaanstadt Children's Home where committed children are found roaming in the neighbourhood without supervision. There is generally no proper supervision of children in these homes and reconstruction services with the families from which these children come are seldom carried out.

People do take children to foster but to a very limited extent. The reason for this is that the rates of foster grants are ridiculously low and insufficient to maintain a child.

The approximate rates at present (1977 to 1978) are as follows:

Whites:	R50.00 per month
Coloureds:	R45.00 per month
Indians:	R35.00 per month
Africans:	R13.25 per month

The Children's Homes find it difficult to function because as they depend on public funds they are ever in financial problems.

This is also the case with allowances payable to orphaned children and children with parents labouring under disability.

It should also be borne in mind that such services are as a matter of policy, though there is no law against it, not being extended to Africans in rural areas. The children in these areas suffer serious disadvantages as the government would not take it into consideration that their needs are the same as those of any child anywhere.

Homeless children suffer as a result of not having prospective parents. This is aggravated by the fact that the South African law has deemed an African woman to be a perpetual minor and hence women who would adopt children do not qualify to do so. They have to consult and have to be assisted by their guardians in so doing.

Thus children remain unnecessarily destitute.

Institutional Care

'Places of safety and detention' are for the reception protection and temporary care of the child apart from the child's parents.

These places receive children who are found abandoned, arrested for juvenile offences or removed from the care of their parents if an allegation has been made that they are neglected.

Investigations have to be made on their home circumstances, parents have to be traced when a child had been abandoned and has committed juvenile offences, in which case he has to wait appearance at the juvenile court.

These places receive children aged 2 to 18 years of age. The buildings are secured with high barbed wire fence. They are usually made of corrugated iron — very cold in winter and hot in summer — eg. Emthonjeni Place of Safety, Natal.

The children sleep on fibre mats on the concrete floor. Dirty blankets are stacked in the corner during the day. Their dormitories are infested with vermin and Childrens' clothes are verminous and filthy. No action is taken to see to it that the childrens' clothes are cleaned and they receive medical treatment. This confirms a report by the Johannesburg Star of 8th July 1976 in which General Gert Prinsloo, Commissioner of Police said: "The children are probably well-looked after in a police cell than they would be in a Place of Safety. It is not unusual to keep juveniles in cells for long periods before trials."

In addition this in itself is contrary to the Criminal Procedure Act of 1977 and the Children's Act of 1960 as amended — both these laws make provision that the children may be placed in a place of safety or released without bail, or to the custody of their parents with the warning to appear in court on a fixed date, instead of being detained in prison or kept in a police cell.

Children in these places of safety are forced to wake up very early in the morning,

have poor breakfast, no schooling for school-going children at the time of detention, have to work in the fields under strict conditions and harsh supervision. For minor offences corporal punishment is inflicted regardless of the age of the child.

Recreation

The type of recreation for the children and the games that the children play are consistent with their standard of living. They play in the streets with stones, empty tins, papers and grass etc.

Because recreational facilities do not exist for them their play-life is spent in the streets. Mrs. Tini Vorster, wife of the ex-President of South Africa, is the patron of the South African National Council for the Child and Family Welfare. This Council is supposed to coordinate all efforts to protect the interests of South African children — irrespective of race, colour or creed. Mrs. Vorster organises recreational activities for the children. Indian, African and Coloured children are excluded; she does not consider them as underprivileged.

Migratory Labour

The migratory labour system has made it impossible for the majority of South African children to live a normally-accepted life with their fathers except during the two weeks' annual leave.

This results in wrecked families, children deprived of parental affection, uprooted children, bigamy, adultery, illegitimate children, prostitution, malnutrition, high infant mortality rate and sickness.

Migratory labour of the fathers destroys the family as a result of the so-called re-settlement of "unproductive" women in the homelands. The fathers are forced to support their children sporadically or not at all.

They are the most disadvantaged children they have no birth-rites or any legal status and they do not have any family life. When they visit their fathers at places of employment they are deemed to be undesirable and redundant.

According to the Bantu Administration Act the mother is not recognised as the joint guardian of her child with her husband.

An African child born of an unmarried African woman becomes subject to the Kraalhead. These children are hardly regarded as their legitimate counterpart equals. They labour under legal disability and it is regrettable that whatever stigma there is it is not of the illegitimate child's own making.

A child born of a widowed woman becomes a member of such a widow's deceased husband's family.

A child born of a divorced woman becomes a member of such a woman's guardian's family etc.

Child Exploitation

Child labour is being used by massive plantations in South Africa. These children are abducted and stolen from the Transkei and are forced to work for the farmers in their plantations. The conditions under which the children live and work are cited in the section under press cuttings. These farmers are seldom brought to court and if it happens that they are brought to court they are seldom convicted because the courts that try them are manipulated by apartheid.

Education

Education for Africans aims at conveying only such a degree of knowledge as will be sufficient for becoming wage slaves at low pay. Education is not free and compulsory for them. All expenses for education of the child are borne by his parents, even school building and salaries for the youth's teachers. The Soweto uprising and subsequent massacre of Soweto children sparked because of an education issue.

Because education is not compulsory the children remain unprotected when they play truant. They are usually found in the streets. It must be noted that since June 16th, 1976 these children have been considered undesirable in the streets and the

police have declared measures to deal with this. The methods used by the police are resorted to without any protest from the Minister of Bantu Education or the Commissioner for Child Welfare.

Estimated per capita costs for school pupils of various racial groups are as follows: (in 1976):

White:	R605,00
Coloured:	R125,53
Indian:	R170,94
African:	R39,53 (in so-called white areas)

The schools are generally overcrowded, both in urban and in rural areas. It is not unusual to find 70 pupils per class in classrooms which are ill-equipped, short of teachers and teaching aids.

Psychological services are non-existent in African schools in South Africa. The teachers lack adequate career information and are not fully qualified to provide vocational guidance to pupils. This is evident by the drop-out rate at primary level among African children.

Special attention education for children who are orally, visually, and cerebrally palsied are non-existent for African children; they are left to themselves to cope with these defects.

The move by the Roman Catholic Church to integrate schools in South Africa was discouraged by the government and Minister for Bantu Education M.C. Botha pointed out that it was not the intention of the government to change the education policy or the application thereof in respect to different population groups or to consider such a change.

Health

There is an acute shortage of ante-natal clinics — patients are seldom examined by the doctor. It is not uncommon for mothers to die while giving birth or give birth to still-born babies.

The overcrowded houses in which the Africans are forced to stay are not hygienic and hence not suitable as a place of confinement. This results in an alarming incident of children who acquire cerebral palsy. The incident among African children is ascribed by doctors as mainly owing to socio-economic conditions and there is little likelihood that there will be a significant drop.

There are no hospitals to go to — birth takes place at home without the help of a trained midwife.

There is no information available on infant mortality rate. The department of statistics deliberately does so because the figure in respect to Africans is appalling.

The shortage of jobs and extreme poverty results in illness and early death. Deficiency diseases e.g. kwashiorkor, scurvy, pellegra, beri-beri, gastro-enteritis, tuberculosis etc. are all the result of malnutrition, starvation and hunger and are widespread. The under-nourishment in children results because of the poverty of their parents.

The callous apartheid system hampers the intellectual growth of children. Conditions in which the children live are only conducive to the development of abnormal mental growth. Apartheid causes mental disabilities — it also ensures that they are not adequately treated. An impression is created that these children are what they are because their parents have neglected them.

During the winter months there is a high incidence of burned children among Africans. The child is either burned by fire, hot water etc. This is significant among African children because their homes are not electrified and the danger of them becoming victims of fire is great. Although there is no statistical record of this, it is not unusual to find long queues in hospitals with burned children.

Because of the frustration caused by lack of money, food, and clothing the parents resort to all sorts of unbecoming behaviour to relieve and vent out their frustrations. Among the victims are the children who for no reason find themselves injured by the parents.

Legislation Affecting Children

Children's Act and Bantu Administration

Act: The Children's Act fails to protect abandoned children and children who have no visible means of support; children who have no parents or guardians; children living in circumstances conducive to their corruption; children who beg and children in a state of physical and mental neglect because all matters affecting the children are handled by courts manipulated by apartheid, viz;

Bantu Chiefs and Headmen — Destitute minors rank as wards of supreme chief in his capacity as an upper guardian: Courts of Bantu Affairs Commissioners; Bantu Children's Courts; Bantu Appeal Courts; Bantu Divorce Courts. The Bantu Administration Act, Section 168 also provides that, any parent or guardian may inflict reasonable, but not excessive corporal punishment upon any child or ward under his care for the purpose of correction.

Influx Control: According to the Bantu Law Amendment Bill currently being discussed, children born in urban areas to parents of citizens of independent Bantustans, will no longer be able to qualify for urban residence.

Population Registration Act: In terms of this legislation a person's race is determined. The race classification in South Africa is abhorrent and has ruined many lives. A child cannot be placed in the custody of a person in terms of the Population Registration Act, if their race is not the same as that of the child.

Births, Marriages and Deaths Act of 1963: Regulations under this Act provide for the amended birth registration card for all Africans. The child's homeland citizenship has to be entered on these cards irrespective of where he was born in South Africa.

Terrorism Act: The Terrorism Act does not spare children; many have been detained for long periods and subjected to torture

under this Act. The age of the child is not even taken into consideration, that minor children are not criminally liable.

From the Press

Johannesburg Star 21/2/78: A coloured woman who has the wrong skin colour has been prevented from adopting a coloured child. Mrs. F. de Costa took the two year old last August. The child was originally placed in the care of Mrs de Costa's mother temporarily, who found the child too much to look after and returned her to her daughter, who then contacted the Social Worker who promised Mrs. de Costa that she could keep the child until adoption papers have been signed. Five months later the child was removed from her care, the following reasons were given: She was too dark; she did not apply for adoption; her home environment was not suitable.

Johannesburg Star 9/3/78: Your story of a little girl who trudges 4km to school prompts me to tell you of my own. Two black children — one five, one six, with two elder brothers (one of whom wears a brace from waist to kneck), walk, come rain, hail or sunshine, 3km to my plot each morning arriving at six thirty in the morning in order to get a lift to school — 24 km away. Each after noon they trudge another 3 km to my place of business to get a lift home.

This is done, I found to my amazement, on an empty stomach and after rising at 4.30 am. Five years old? They are too little and drag satchels along by a jersey sleeve. But they want to learn.

I do not believe for one moment that this story is extraordinary. There are surely many hundreds of black children all over the country who are similarly placed, but without the benefit of the lift.

Daily Dispatch 4.2.78: Black children living in East London's Duncan village and outlying areas will no longer be able to go to Frere Hospital after April 1. It is believed that the black pediatric section

and the malnutrition section will be closed down and all patients will have to go to Mdantsane Hospital. Up to 400 children a day attend the pediatric section at Frere, and although conditions are bad there is so little space that the children have to lie on the floor instead of improving facilities the authorities are moving it to Mdantsane, which has more space, but a shortage of doctors, there are probably 60,000 people ill — accommodated in Duncan Village. The poverty-stricken rural areas such as Chalumna and Mooiplaas also use Frere. Now they will have to take their children even further with increased transport costs which they can ill-afford. In a nutrition survey conducted some years ago, of the children who attended the pediatric section at Frere, 10% came from Mdantsane, 50% came from Duncan Village and 40% from outlying areas.

Child Labour on the Sugar Belt: Child labour is being used on some of Natal's massive sugar plantations. Boys and girls... some as young as 13 work a 9 hour day, six days a week. They live in compounds near estates. Most do not attend school; they are permanently employed on the plantation.

One of the estates visited by a Rand Daily Mail investigation team was Doornkop, which is owned by Illovo Sugar Estates. The condition of workers employed on this estate has been highlighted in a television documentary which will be a centre of a court action in London today. Last week the London High Court made an order preventing the use of the British sugar firm Tate and Lyle in the documentary. Doornkop was partly owned by Tate and Lyle until September.

"Mail" investigators spoke to several young workers on the estate. One 13 year old boy said he earned 90c a day.

At another estate, a thirteen-year-old girl, said she earned 50c a day. The net profit of the Illovo Sugar Estate for 1977 was R2,715,000. A preface to the annual report of the company states: "The group regards its people as their greatest asset and their development as one of its prime



Children in the rural areas are the most disadvantaged.

concern. Through training, personal appraisal, objective setting and internal promotion, every member of staff is encouraged to develop their career within the corporate structure...

What is more, performance not ethnic in origin, religion, education or sex is the group's only criterion for advancement".

The "Mail" investigation of Doornkop and other estates revealed:

- * Many of the employees were aged from 13 to 15.
- * Some companies provide their workers with a liquid mealie-meal.
- * They drink this liquid and bread; others provide no food for their workers, including the children.
- * Most stated that they started work at 5am or 6am and for about 9 hours.
- * There is no furniture in many of the compound rooms.
- * Workers say they receive rations of mealie-meal, beans, salt, sugar, amaheu and meat once a week.

ANC CALLS FOR UNITY

After its Second Session in 1973, the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress issued a Statement dealing with the situation inside South Africa. The statement was printed in the June 1973 issue of the "Sechaba", the Official Organ of the ANC. Among other things the statement said:

"The present historical moment in our struggle for the forcible seizure of power by the black majority in our country is characterised by an accelerated revolutionary upsurge of mass-based activity which has given a new impetus to the process of polarisation of forces.

This popular upsurge, which is drawing in all the oppressed nationalities and virtually all sections among them — the workers, the peasants, the middle strata and the youth and the students — is expressing itself in more or less permanent organisational forms. In the last few years, for example, there has come into being a number of black organisations whose programmes, by espousing the democratic anti-racist positions that the ANC fights for, identify them as part of the genuine forces of the revolution".....

"The political situation inside the country, the mood of the people and revolutionary acts of violence by the people show that the people are seeking to break through the limits which legal struggle necessarily imposes on them.

Our movement as the vanguard of the national liberation revolution must step up its activities inside the country, teaching the oppressed masses new and revolutionary methods of struggle. Guerrilla warfare skills must systematically be made available to our underground operatives"....

"In a struggle as ours which pursues the strategic objective of seizure of power

and not reforms of a negotiated transfer of power, the conscious and purposive participation of the masses in the struggle, on their own behalf and relying on their own strength, is of decisive importance.

It is therefore essential that at all times the liberation movement as a whole should continuously pay attention to the question of instilling into the masses confidence in their own strength and the conviction that they themselves will bring about their own liberation.

Despite the repression and the divisive manoeuvres of the enemy through its separate development policies, this revolutionising spiritual force has again broken through into the open.

The African majority in South Africa, and the black people in general, have for too long borne the burden of extreme national oppression. Consistently the enemy has sought to destroy their independent national will, first by making them landless vagrants in their own country, by destroying the best in their historical and cultural traditions, and perverting the rest to serve the purpose of continued white domination, and by seeking to dehumanize them into a spiritually barren nation of slaves, thieves, murderers, dope-addicts and rapists.

To be effective, a break with the cultural and spiritual mode that the enemy has imposed cannot but be sharp and violent. This is so because in the activity, the material act of a revolutionary break with white supremacy will of necessity itself be sharp and violent.

The assertion of the revolutionary identity of the oppressed black peoples is therefore not an end in itself. It can be a vital force of the revolutionary action involving the masses of the people, for it is in struggle, in the actual physical confrontation with the enemy that the

people gain a lasting confidence in their own strength and in the inevitability of final victory — it is through action that the people acquire true psychological emancipation.

The recent inspiring actions of the black students have taken the struggle for liberation as a whole some considerable distance forward, not only in their heroism and discipline, but also in their demonstration of the importance and the necessity of securing and maintaining the unity of the main motive forces of the revolution — the oppressed peoples — their unity in mass action”.....

“In the legal struggle, the idea which all the forces of the revolution must pursue with consistency is mass action — mass action as the main tactic, mass action to involve the people in struggle.

The unity of the people in struggle is a fundamental prerequisite of victory. That unity can only be built up in mass action. The process of the formation and consolidation of that unity cannot proceed in a straight line, but will follow a zig-zag pattern. In all these zig-zags we must consistently fight for the united action of all democratic and antiracist forces.

It is important to realise the fact in practice that liberation cannot come about through the actions of only one or a few sections of the oppressed population, however militant these actions may be. The whole population has to be committed and engaged in struggle.

The speed of a column on the march is determined by the pace of the slowest and weakest soldier and not the fittest and fastest. The most advanced sections should, therefore, at all times seek to advance the least developed ones, keeping in the forefront the principle of the greatest and highest unity of the people and at all times fighting against all tendencies of seeking to “go it alone”, through impatience and contempt for the less developed forces of the revolution.

The enemy consistently seeks to disrupt this unity, aiming, in the first instance, at destroying the organisational unity of the liberation movement. He realises that so long as we are politically and organisationally united we represent a

formidable force.

He uses all means and methods within his powers to overthrow doubts on the honesty of the organisation’s leadership and revolutionary will of its most militant cadres. Lies, calumny and distortions are his stock-in-trade. He seeks to split and demoralise us and render us impotent as a revolutionary force, remaining only a cadaver over which the remnants of our organisation will wage a self-destructive, fratricidal fight.”....

“on all these questions and others of a strategic and tactical nature, the voice of our organisation is still relatively weak. Yet every day it becomes more urgent that we bring to bear on the situation all the weight of the political experience and maturity of the ANC and the profoundly popular revolutionary objectives contained in its political programme, all of which are, in any case, a summation of the collective experience of the people in struggle and therefore belong to the people themselves.”....

It has proved necessary to refer to these positions 6 years after they were stated, because the embattled people of South Africa are once more confronted by efforts which, however well-intentioned, objectively aim to divide the revolutionary forces of our country and to mislead some of our people.

In the recent past attempts have been made to form new organisations outside South Africa, detached from the masses of our people and from the realities of practical struggle that continues to rage behind the fortifications of fascist South Africa. These organisations have, in the main, sought to attract the youth which left South Africa after the heroic uprising that began in Soweto on June 16th, 1976, claiming to be a continuation, in one form or another, of the black organisations to which our statement of 1973 referred.

As early as we have indicated, the ANC characterised the “black consciousness” organisations as belonging, among the genuine forces of revolution in our country by virtue of their activities and the democratic, anti-racist positions they espoused, positions which the ANC itself had fought

for already 60 years by then.

Certain practical conclusions and initiatives had to follow from this political assessment. One of these was that the ANC had to establish formal contact with these organisations in the first instance through their representatives based outside the country. Regrettably, we found these representatives unresponsive to our efforts to forge a common approach and to build up common action in the struggle against the apartheid regime. For a whole full year we pursued our efforts to persuade these external representatives to see reason, to no avail.

Yet the imperatives of our struggle demanded that the ANC and these organisations should in fact establish the links that we sought. Consequently the National Executive Committee of the ANC decided to establish direct links with these organisations inside the country. This was done. As we expected, we found that these organisations themselves desired to establish relations of the kind that the ANC sought. What we did not expect was that their external representatives would have involved themselves in a campaign of lies, calumny and distortion against the ANC when reporting to their organisations inside the country aimed at defeating the unification of the fighting forces of our country and people. And yet this is exactly what these representatives had been doing for a full year.

We find today that some of these representatives are deeply involved in the attempts to set up the new organisations to which we have referred. These individuals continue to pose as genuine revolutionaries when their own personal histories shout out very loudly that these are outstanding examples of careerists who are motivated by personal interest that every revolutionary struggle throws up.

There are other patriots who were members of both these "black consciousness" organisations and the ANC who continue to contribute their share to the intensification of our struggle both inside and outside South Africa. These members of the ANC worked within the "black consciousness" organisations on the directions of the ANC.

These directions were very clear. All ANC activists were instructed that at all times they must protect the legality of the organisations within which they worked. They were instructed not to try to transform these organisations into appendages of the ANC but to work to expand and strengthen them as independent entities drawing in all forces that sought to struggle for a democratic South Africa. The ANC activists were directed to ensure that these organisations should pay attention to the principal task for which they existed, the task of mobilising the oppressed people into mass action. The Statement of our National Executive Committee of 1973 provided the basis and was a reflection of these directives.

It is a fact admitted by even the worst of our enemies that the overwhelming majority of the young people who left South Africa after June 16th, 1976 including members of the "black consciousness" organisations found their way into the ANC. To us this was not surprising. As a result of the revolutionary prestige that ANC activists had won within these organisations through their commitment to struggle and their honesty, the youth turned to them for guidance when confronted with the question in 1976 and 1977, what next!

As we indicated in our Statement of 1973, already at that time the people were seeking to break through the limits which legal struggle necessarily imposes. To break through those limits meant in part to continue the struggle underground; in part it meant the taking up of arms.

The first patriots from the "black consciousness" organisations to reach out to the ANC as part of this process of breaking through the limits of legal struggle, entered the ANC as soon after the SASO-led strike of 1972. They came to the ANC on their own, convinced that since they sought to continue the struggle as underground operatives and as armed combatants, the ANC provided the logical base for them to fulfil these objectives. The ANC received them as patriots, regardless of the fact that on certain issues they did not see eye to eye with us.

The murderous police offensive that began on June 16th, 1976 also compelled

the masses of our people to break through the limits which legal struggle necessarily imposes. Once more the youth of our country came to the ANC convinced that since they sought to continue the struggle as underground operatives and as armed combatants, the ANC provided the logical base for them to fulfil these objectives.

Once again the ANC received these people as patriots, regardless of the fact that on certain issues some of them did not see eye to eye with us. Today the generation that confronted the fascist police assassins in 1976 and 1977 has joined the ANC and our people's army Umkhonto we Sizwe in force and is playing a role at all levels of our struggle as full members of our movement without let or hindrance.

All attempts to detach this generation from other generations of our fighting people and hence weaken the revolutionary movement as a whole, have failed. The same fate befell the schemes devised to detach the generation that set up the first "black consciousness" organisations in the late 1960's and the early 70's.

Efforts that are being made now to give organisational expression to the idea of youth as an independent social force are doomed to fail. They will fail because the very youth at whom these efforts are directed are patriots who are motivated by a desire to continue the struggle. In time this patriotic youth will find out the falsehoods that they have been fed concerning their own people's organisation, the ANC, and will inevitably come over to join their compatriots and their peers to intensify the offensive against the fascist apartheid regime. As before, the doors of the ANC are open to receive every South African who is a patriot and is willing to commit his or her life to the liberation of our suffering people.

In our Statement of 1973 we warned that the assertion of the revolutionary identity of the black oppressed peoples is not an end in itself. We said that it is in struggle, in the actual physical confrontation with the enemy, it is through action that the people acquire true psychological emancipation. The uprising that began in Soweto in 1976 amply demonstrated the correctness of that

thesis.

The fact of the matter is that today the masses of our people are demanding action. Anybody who has even the weakest of links with these masses knows this to be so. In the mass rallies that took place throughout our country in observance of the third anniversary of the Soweto uprising this message came through clearly and sharply.

Action is therefore what is required of any South African who calls herself or himself a patriot. The members of the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe are involved in this action. Even the enemy has felt obliged to admit this fact publicly. Yet at this moment when dedicated cadres of our movement, both young and old, are responding to the demand of our people for action, some individuals outside our country are issuing calls to demobilise these cadres in the name of the "black consciousness movement".

These individuals are busy convening conferences not to plan or to execute action against fascist tyranny in our country. Rather they are calling conferences ostensibly to consider what should happen to members of the "black consciousness movement" outside South Africa, a question which was settled inside and outside South Africa a long time ago. The conclusion therefore becomes inescapable that what these individuals seek to achieve is the avoidance of action against the apartheid regime while continuing to pose as people who are interested in the liberation struggle.

The vast majority of the membership of the "black consciousness" organisations know as we did that such consciousness is not an end in itself, but was a vital force to organise the people into revolutionary action. It remains for the minority who did not understand this to strive to do so: certainly the attempt to pull back the majority to the retrogressive positions of the minority is bound to fail.

In our Statement of 1973 we called on the advanced contingents among our people to fight against all tendencies of seeking to "go it alone" through impatience and contempt for the less developed forces of the revolution. In keeping with that strategic outlook the ANC has exercised 19

considerable patience in the face of a campaign of calumny some of which originated from individuals who are involved in the current attempts to set up the new organisations we have spoken of.

Some of these individuals took it upon themselves to concoct all manner of stories about the ANC aimed at discrediting our organisation, its policy, strategy and tactics and its leadership. For years charges were made which sought to impugn the moral integrity of the leaders of our movement and deliberately to misrepresent the nature and purposes of our offensive against the enemy.

Over the years we have followed a line of action which sought to educate these individuals, believing that public denunciation of their actions would in fact be evidence of impatience on our part and the abdication of our task of bringing up the less developed forces of our revolution. Though its patience is not inexhaustible, the ANC is still determined to pursue this line in the interests of the maximum unity of our people.

We therefore renew our call to all those who might feel that the present leadership might have erred in the conduct of the struggle or in any way compromised its progress, to approach the ANC directly and lay whatever charges they might have against us. For, as we said, the experiences and maturity, the political programme of the ANC and the ANC itself are a summation of the collective experience of the people in struggle and therefore belong to the people themselves. The ANC in all its ranks therefore holds itself accountable to the people and has never avoided giving account of itself to the people. Some of the individuals who are engaged in the efforts to set up new organisations have direct, personal experience of this and will themselves sooner or later have to give an account of their own activities over the last few years to the masses of our people.

This statement is addressed to our own people in a deliberate effort to rescue those of our compatriots who are unwittingly drifting out of the mainstream of revolutionary struggle into peripheral organisations in which they will end up by engaging in self-destructive fratricidal

fight, as has happened with such peripheral organisations before.

However we cannot fail to mention that our enemy as well as some international forces which wish us to consider them as friends and allies of our struggling people also entertain the vain hope that there is still a chance to divide our people and defeat their efforts by setting up a so-called "third force" to oppose the ANC. To those who would be our allies we can only appeal that they should desist from actions which can only serve the interests of our common enemy. The enemy will, as always, pursue the hopeless job of fishing in muddy waters. To survive he must do that. Our own uninterrupted offensive demands that we defeat him in these efforts.

Speaking in the name of thousands upon thousands of young people who demonstrated in South Africa against the criminal execution of Solomon Mahlangu, member of the ANC and combatant of Umkhonto we Sizwe and who identify themselves with the cause for which he stood: speaking in the name of the thousands of young people, members of the ANC in all its sections and members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, former members of the entire spectrum of the now-banned "black consciousness" organisations inside and outside South Africa: speaking in the name of our whole membership at home and abroad, in and out of jail, both young and old, our National Executive Committee pledges that the African National Congress will remain true to its character as the vanguard of our national liberation revolution, united within itself politically and organisationally, drawing into its ranks all the patriotic forces of our country, uniting all our people into mass political and military action for the seizure of power by the people themselves and the reconstruction of South Africa as a democratic, anti-imperialist, anti-racist and peace-loving African country.

Alfred Nzo
Secretary General for the NEC

4/7/1979

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

The Republic of South Africa has once again decided to revive the idea of regional cooperation in Southern Africa. The idea entails the concept of creating a "constellation" of states in Southern Africa, which will include not only Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and the bantustans, but also Namibia, Rhodesia, Malawi, and possibly Zambia, Mozambique and Angola. The plan sees South Africa as the core of the proposed region of cooperation.

This idea of creating a common market in Southern Africa is not new. It has been put forward by different governments of South Africa at different times. Malan, Verwoerd and Vorster have all had their try in creating a broader economic sphere of influence in the region under different names. The setting up of such a regional area of economic cooperation a la Pretoria has become part of South African propaganda offensives once again.. The mass media from Pretoria are excelling themselves in trying to sell this idea to independent Africa and the world. The economic and financial benefits which these countries could get, should they cooperate with the racists from South Africa are exaggerated beyond proportion. The argument about the "historical" links that existed between these countries is revived and projected as the solid foundation on which such a common market could be grounded. Most of the propaganda is directed at the BLS countries, i.e. Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland.

The reason for this approach by Pretoria is not far to find. These three independent African countries are bound to the economy of South Africa by several treaties since the colonial times. These treaties are still valid in a slightly modified form since independence.

The most important treaty that is now

and then referred to by the Pretoria propaganda machinery is the South African Customs Union Area, (SACUA), based on the colonial agreement of 1910, and renewed in 1969 as the new SACUA. This treaty which still binds these countries to the economy of South Africa has criminal calculations. It aims at the creation of a zone of influence which goes beyond the sphere of economic cooperation. The rapaciousness of SACUA is such that it becomes difficult to call it an agreement. This is a "diktat". The racist propaganda in extolling the "benefits" of this treaty to these countries, makes use of the revenue, excise and customs shares which the BLS countries draw annually from the Common Revenue Pool (CRP). The combined shares and other "benefits" for these countries are mere bread crumbs in comparison to the giant share and enormous benefits that South Africa gets.

The proposed idea of the constellation of states in Southern Africa under the tutelage of Pretoria has already been rejected by at least two of the BLS countries, viz, Botswana and Lesotho. The bold stand taken by these countries cannot be appreciated enough, in view of their economic dependence on the racist republic of South Africa, and in view of the well-known bullying tactics of Pretoria. The vice-President of Botswana, Mr Masire categorically rejected the whole idea from Pretoria. Sensing that this "constellation of states" meant more than just economic cooperation he stated that Botswana has never entered into any military alliance and is unlikely to do so in the future. Rather than extend Botswana's economic ties with South Africa to other fields, Botswana would rather reduce her dependence. The participation of Bantustans in such a scheme,

by its very nature precludes participation by Botswana. Referring to an assumed military threat, Botswana stated that the greatest threat comes from Rhodesia and South Africa supports the illegal regime in Rhodesia.

Lesotho, despite the massive economic dependence on South Africa and virtual geographical encirclement, also came down strongly against participation. This act alone is a clear indication that the BLS — Countries are no longer prepared to surrender to the dictates of Pretoria. In their attempts to reduce dependence on South Africa, they merit the assistance of all progressive forces and the whole international community.

What has actually prompted apartheid South Africa at this particular time to come up with the idea of even closer "cooperation" of the Southern African states? Since independence the BLS—Countries and other independent African states in the South of the Continent have for the first time started doing something about their colonial legacy of under-development and economic dependence on South Africa. One has to recall the recent meeting of the Inter-Governmental negotiating team on the treaty for the establishment of a Preferential Trade Area in Eastern and Southern Africa (PTA) held in the capital of the People's Republic of Angola, Luanda. This meeting is not the first of its kind. It was preceded by three other meetings on the same topic, all organised under the auspices of the Economic Council for Africa (ECA) of the United Nations. This Inter-Governmental meeting in Luanda discussed ways and means of creating a working Economic Community of Independent African States in Eastern and Southern Africa, a Preferential Trade Area and the participation of the BLS—Countries in this economic zone and some Frontline States. The results of the meeting in Luanda were significant because they already reflected an advanced stage of negotiations, where concrete suggestions were already made for the phasing in of the BLS—Countries in stages to join the PTA and the gradual dissolving of the economic shackles which still bind them to racist South Africa. The meeting was attended by delegates

from 12 African countries from the two regions, including the BLS—Countries and was held from 12-16 June this year.

These meetings have not been the only attempts by Frontline States with the participation of the BLS—Countries which dealt with issues of economic independence.. There was the meeting of the Frontline States which took place in Arusha, Tanzania, towards the end of June this year. The participants discussed the setting up of a permanent Economic Development Fund for Southern Africa, and the creation of a bank on this basis. It also had on the agenda the issue of finding alternative routes other than those through South Africa and Rhodesia and the improvement and co-ordination of the Transport System between these countries.

The idea of creating an economic zone for genuine cooperation has proved to be quite attractive to all African countries that participated. The racists have been so alarmed by these moves for closer cooperation among Independent African States in Southern Africa, that they have intensified their propaganda campaign for their version of the "Constellation of States" in the region. This propaganda has been accompanied by threats to the BLS—Countries not to join any economic grouping which is aimed at reducing their dependence on South Africa. Using the language of blackmail, South Africa has been continuously pointing at the financial "benefits" the BLS—Countries enjoy under the SACUA agreement. The arguments



are put in such a way as to show that these countries are running the risk of losing their right to annual share from the Common Revenue Pool (CRP).

It would be wrong to suggest that the BLS—Countries should forsake the revenues from the Customs Union with South Africa. They need these and even more than this. It is exactly because of this circumstance of depending on the whims of South Africa for such finances, that the African States are doing their level best to create alternative sources of revenue for their countries.

The South African propaganda surrounding SACUA is very danderous and misleading. By harping only on the apparent "benefits" the BLS—Countries enjoy under this treaty, this agreement is presented as the shining example of a workable Customs Treaty in Africa.

The present SACUA is based as we have already mentioned on a long standing 1910 agreement. It is a direct product of colonialism in Southern Africa. It was later amended and slightly modified in 1969. All the major economic activity in the region between the signatories of SACUA have been regulated and directly influenced by this treaty. The BLS—Countries were intended from the very inception to be mere appendages of South Africa. South Africa, the economic giant, was to assume the dominant role of being the core of all the economic activity, mainly trade in the region.

The performance of the SACUA has always enormously favoured South Africa. It exports more to the BLS—Countries and imports less goods. The balance of trade is always in favour of South Africa. It is the only country in SACUA which does not have a deficit in its trade with the other member countries.

South Africa exported to the BLS—Countries from 1974-76 an estimated total of R238,7 Million and imported R43 million worth of goods. The BLS—Countries total share from the Common Revenue Pool is only 1,4% annually while South Africa receives 98,6%.

It is therefore clear that from the very beginning the terms regulating the signatories could only favour South Africa. Because of South Africa's preponderous

trade surplus, and the way the revenues accruing to SACUA members are calculated, South Africa could only get a lion's share of over 98%. The subordinate role to be played by the BLS—Countries in the economic activities of this region was determined as early as 1910 in Potchestroom by the signing of the treaty.

Through this treaty South Africa has a privileged access to the BLS Market. According to the stipulation of the treaty. South Africa has the freedom to determine the Custome, Excise and Sales Duty levels. Directly as a result of SACUA, South Africa has been able to industrialise behind high tariff walls and highly protective quotas.

Apart from trade the BLS—Countries are tied to the Republic of South Africa's monetary arrangements. These arrangements which are complementary to SACUA are known as the Rand Monetary Area (RMA). In 1974 RMA was finalised as the Rand Monetary Agreement. Under the RMA South Africa decides policy on all major issues affecting financial agreements.

The South African Reserve Bank dictates exchange reserves and exchange rates. The BLS—Countries are also linked to South Africa by other strong ties, notably the dependence on the export of migrant labour to South Africa, transport and tele-communications network, and foreign investments in BLS by companies based in South Africa. Should the SACUA break, South Africa is entitled to confiscate all the assets that are in the common revenue pool. The economic disabilities of the BLS—Countries have only been exacerbated by the SACUA and its complementary treaties.

In Botswana the transport system is largely under-developed. The rail link which carries most of her imports and exports goes to South Africa. Because of the close economic trade links with South Africa, her trade links are very weak with African countries in the North. She sends 60,000 workers annually to work on the farms and mines in South Africa. This occurs under the terms laid down in the SACUA agreement. Until the introduction of the Pula currency in 1976, Botswana was tied to the Rand Monetary Area. The

disabilities suffered by Botswana have not made her to surrender. She does within the possibilities pursue a policy of self-reliance, hence the introduction of the Pula and the break with the RMA, and the introduction of the Central Bank as opposed to the previous Monetary Authority.

Nowhere are the effects of the negative effects of SACUA so glaring as in the case of Lesotho. She is completely dependent on South Africa. Her geographical position of being completely surrounded by South Africa has only added to her difficulties and has resulted in almost complete isolation of Lesotho from the rest of the world. She is heavily dependent on the migrant labour exported and the related earnings from the mines. Lesotho trades mainly with South Africa and 80% of her imports come from there. Apart from labour, she exports mainly livestock and livestock products and some diamonds. She has a large trade deficit.

The highly protective tariff system and sales duties from South Africa also apply to Lesotho (and other BLS-Countries). These were introduced according to the needs and requirements of South Africa and therefore do not take into account the needs of economically under-developed Lesotho. The result is that (and this applies to all BLS) to a large extent she is unable to take appropriate Monetary and Fiscal measures to correct the imbalances in her economy.

The means of transporting Lesotho's

imports are determined by South Africa. The bulk of her imports must be transported by SA Railways. This is done according to a law operating in South Africa which demands the use of railways for the transportation of goods over distances above 40 miles. The Railway transport is a declining industry in South Africa. This is done irrespective of the inconveniences and costs that might be encountered by Lesotho. The South African Rand is legal tender currency in Lesotho and Swaziland because she is still a member of RMA. She may introduce her own currency as she has recently done with the Maluti, if South Africa agrees. But that currency cannot circulate in South Africa as legal tender. She has currency dualism.

While Lesotho as a member of SACUA and the RMA may pursue her own monetary policies, in practice South Africa controls credits, interest rates and investments. This practice runs counter to the interests of Lesotho and it makes local policies on these matters ineffective. The management of the Rand currency reserves, the gold and foreign reserves in Lesotho and other members of the RMA is conducted by South Africa. In addition the Rand reserves of Lesotho and Swaziland as regulated in RMA are not convertible into non-area convertible currencies. This has been so arranged in order to press these countries to buy their imports from South Africa.

The Malutis in circulation in Lesotho



will have to be covered by a 100% Rand deposit at the South African Reserve Bank. This in practice will freeze the whole deposit. Lesotho's attempts to reduce this heavy dependence on racist South Africa can only be appreciated. South Africa has tried now and then to blackmail Lesotho as a result. She tries to get political concessions from her for the economic services rendered. The recent case involving the the recognition of Transkei comes to mind. South Africa threatened the Government of Lesotho with economic reprisals if it does not recognise the Transkei Bantustan. Lesotho, with all the odds against her refused to recognise the bogus "independence" of the Transkei.

Many of Swaziland's problems stem, like the other BLS-Countries, from being a member of SACUA. In spite of the fact that Swaziland's economy is relatively diversified than the other BLS-Countries, she still suffers from the same disabilities, in varying degrees, as Lesotho and Botswana. This means that Swaziland apart from being a member of SACUA signed the Rand Monetary Agreement with South Africa and Lesotho in 1974. This means that Swaziland also opted for dual currency under which the Rand and local currency — Emalangeneni will serve as legal tender — with the reservation that Emalangeneni does not serve this purpose in South Africa. She is also dependent on South Africa for the supply of almost all consumer and capital goods, services, transport and communication links with the outside world. The share of its customs revenue is not calculated as a fixed percentage of the total customs Union Revenue.

It is thus imperative for the other countries in East and Southern Africa to really assist the BLS-Countries in joining the PTA and other agreements aimed at the reducing of this enormous dependence on racist South Africa. The constellation of states in Southern Africa as proposed by South Africa now, is based on these unequal treaties which already exist. This idea is intended to frustrate the commendable attempts by the Frontline states, including the BLS-Countries to achieve economic independence. This dangerous plan by the racists goes further than just economic

bondage. It contains many serious political implications which would effectively rob these countries of their hard won independence.

The idea of a constellation of states reflects Pretoria's desire to broaden her base in Southern Africa. It is an attempt to break South Africa's political isolation. It expresses the desire to find markets for the products of her manufacturing industry. It is an expression of South Africa's hopes that the UN sponsored elections in Namibia fail and that the internal settlement in Rhodesia succeeds. It is intended to destabilise the political and economic situation in the Frontline states. This is necessary according to Pretoria because these serve as logistics bases for the liberation movements.

South Africa wants to create a military political block spearheaded against the national liberation movements and progressive independent African states. These plans by South Africa for a sphere of influence in the region are supported by the imperialists. There is coordination of action with the racists against the liberation movements. There is a clear dovetailing by the white minority regimes against independent African states and Nato's political desire to create a sphere of common interests which will spread across the Cunene and the Zambesi.

The generous military assistance to South Africa by Nato countries is the main factor which enables South Africa to keep occupation armies in alien lands and to conduct from these provocative acts of aggression against independent African states, and against the liberation movements. Pretoria's scheme is backed by influential forces in the Nato countries and the multinational corporations. The idea is to link the economies of Namibia, Rhodesia and the BLS-Countries even more closely to South Africa and consequently to imperialism. Although South Africa seems to want to bite off more than she can chew, these schemes are fraught with danger and they must be foiled.

C.D.

RELEASE ALL SA POLITICAL PRISONERS

October 11th this year was once again marked by world-wide acts of solidarity with South African political prisoners. The international campaign for the release of our imprisoned patriots has always been of major importance in over-all support for our fighting people. With the intensification of our liberation struggle being met by increasing repression by the racist state, the need for that campaign to be strengthened has never been greater.

Fascist Offensive

In recent years the Apartheid regime has been perfecting the machinery which has turned our country into a huge concentration camp. Over and above the four main security laws: the Terrorism Act, Internal Security Act, Unlawful Organisations Act and Sabotage Act; the state has unleashed another weapon against the people's struggle.

The Criminal Procedure Act of 1977 has allowed for the summary trial and imprisonment of hundreds of young militants. Under this legislation, the accused — in most cases undefended — must plead at a preliminary hearing before a magistrate. Having undergone brutal torture and the now commonplace forced signing of a false statement, if the accused should plead guilty the state does not have to prove its case against him.

The results of this infamous 'law' are clear: In May 1978 Zolile Msenge was convicted of setting fire to two schools five kilometres apart, at the same time, on the same day. The Judge refused to let Msenge change his original plea — he was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment.

The extent of the racist backlash needs to be emphasised and understood. Since

1976, almost 9,000 people under the age of 18 have been arrested for offences linked to 'public violence' and 'sabotage'. In other words, these youth and children have faced detention, torture and imprisonment for the part they have played in nationwide resistance to oppression. Of this number of arrests, nearly 6,000 prosecutions were carried out by the apartheid courts.

Punish and Cripple

The number of patriots sentenced for political 'offences' continues to grow. From July 1 1978 to May 31 1979, 46 people are known to have been sentenced to a total of 377½ years imprisonment. Black male prisoners are incarcerated on the notorious Robben Island, while black women are kept in Kroonstad prison. In Pretoria, a special maximum security section has been built to house the white male political prisoners.

In 1969, Nelson Mandela declared that the regime regards its prisons as institutions with which "to cripple us, so that we should never again have the strength and courage to pursue our ideals" (See Sechaba, 4th Quarter 1978). With this aim in mind, the racists presently hold at least 550 political prisoners — about 30 of them being SWAPO leaders and militants on Robben Island. 447 political prisoners suffer the brutal conditions of the Island and at least 9 of these are children under 18 years of age.

Our oppressors deny that they hold any political prisoners. But in truth men and women sentenced for 'crimes' against the state are given 'special' treatment.

Prison Regime

In their attempt to break the spirit and



Comrade Rita Ndzanga, SACTU leader, at the grave of her murdered husband, Lawrence

strength of political activists, the racists isolate them almost totally from the outside world — severely restricting visits to them and access to news. Prisoners are graded from A to D — grades which determine their diet, clothing, visits, letters etc. Political prisoners are automatically allocated to D grade and ‘promotion’ to higher grades is slow.

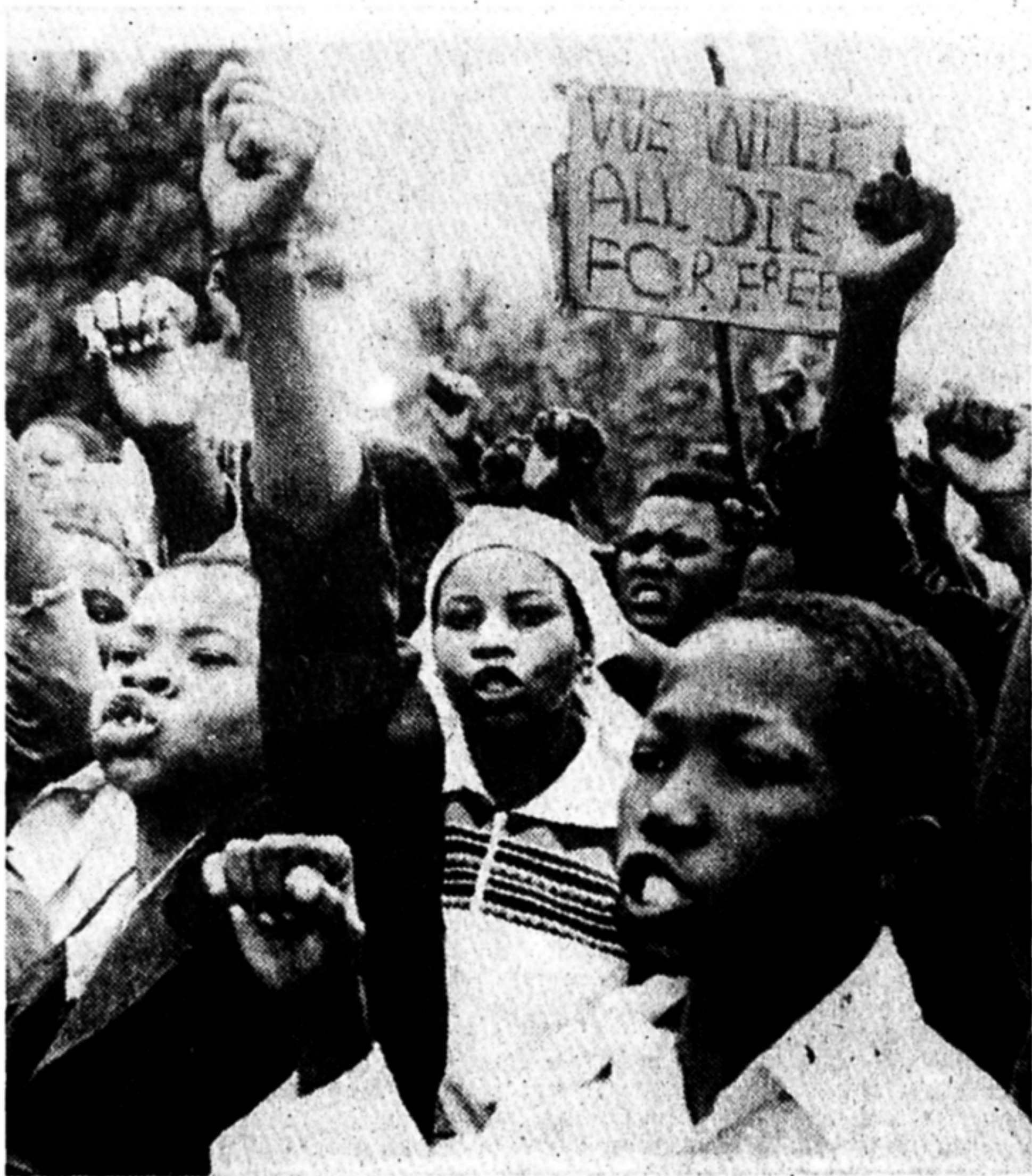
Divide and Rule tactics apply inside Apartheid’s prisons as they do in the country as a whole. Different treatment is accorded to inmates depending on their national group — on the Island the prisoners have fought relentlessly for the same diet and clothing to be given to all of them regardless of their colour. And the racist tactics go further: old are divided from young, leaders from militants. But the policy, as old as apartheid colonialism itself, has not succeeded in breaking unity in struggle behind the prison walls. Over the years, protest actions have never remained isolated to one section of the Island.

‘Privileges’ no Rights

The most serious attack against political prisoners came in November 1977 with the announcement that they would no longer be allowed to study above matric level (high school level). This was not only aimed at the older prisoners for whom study had provided an invaluable outlet from the rigours and deprivations of prison life — over 240 prisoners on the Island are high school pupils. The authorities were out to ensure that the ‘Soweto generation’ would be deprived of any mental stimulation.

In 1977, 87 prisoners enrolled for degree courses on Robben Island. At least 62 passed their exams while a further 211 prisoners were involved in studies from primary school to university level when the new regulation came into effect.

The fascist Prisons Act of 1959 states that permission to use a library or study is “subject to the discretion of the Commissioner of Prisons’ and further that



Youth in Mamelodi in angry protest against the racist murder of Solomon Mahlangu

“the provisions of the said regulation may in no way be so construed as implying that such permission...allows any prisoner a right which he can legally claim”

This racist move provides the international community with a new focus for action: to demand full re-instatement of all studies as a right. Inside South Africa

itself, a nation-wide campaign has been launched around the call for the legal right to study in prisons. The need to complement the ongoing struggle of our comrades in prison — to draw attention to their demand that, pending their unconditional release, they be accorded their rights as political prisoners — has never been more urgent.

15 Years Since Rivonia

The Apartheid regime is renowned for its barbarous treatment of political opponents. South African political prisoners receive no remission of parole of sentence — a life sentence means prison until death.

On this October 11 we especially remember our leaders — Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki, Kathrada, Goldberg, Mhlaba, Motsoaledi, Mkwazi, Mlangeni and others who have been incarcerated for life. Despite over 15 years of imprisonment their continued commitment and total dedication to the people's struggle inspires generations of freedom fighters. The situation inside our country is bold testimony to this.

The Men of Khami

Up to 20 members of the African National Congress, serving sentences in Rhodesia's maximum security prison may face repatriation to South Africa when they are finally released next year.

These militants were captured in the Wankie and Kariba areas of north-western Rhodesia in 1967 and 1968 during the joint ANC-Zapu operations. If these comrades are repatriated they will almost certainly be brought to trial by the racist regime. The following are known names of comrades there: Ralph Mzamo, Issac Maphato, Blackie Molde, Nelson Linda, George Tau, Johannes Nkosi, Osborne Bophela, James Hermans, Moses Bared, David Molefe, Ernest Modulo, Matsobane Ramashaba and Bothwell Ndlovu.

Prisoners in Khami are kept in 2 three-storey buildings behind a total of 2 wire security fences and 2 walls, 17 and 15 feet high, topped with watchtowers carrying troops armed with machine guns and rifles.

Only one ANC prisoner is known to have received visits from relatives — the rest have been completely cut off from the outside world for ten years. They have not been allowed to study since 1974.

At least three of our cadres have died in Khami: Reggie Hlatshwayo from Natal, who was captured in 1968, died in July 1976 of stomach cancer. Aubrey Mdletshe died in 1977 from hypertension while being held in solitary confinement and

George Mthusi died there in 1978.

Everything must be done to ensure that those who manage to survive the brutality meted out by the illegal Smith regime do not get sent back into the hands of the enemy.

Inspiration to Struggle

South African political prisoners can never be isolated from the masses of our people. They are part of and an inspiration to the struggle that is raging in every part of our country. Daily, men and women step in to continue their work at every level of the liberation movement.

Political Prisoner's Day will be observed at a time when the mass political actions of our people, together with the further development of the armed struggle, are reaching new heights. It is a day which demands a rededication by our people and the world to fight to free all South African political prisoners and detainees.

A Just Cause

The racists are faced with an invincible enemy, determined to bring about the cherished goal of freedom. Our imprisoned patriots have set standards of commitment and dedication to which all revolutionaries aspire. This is reflected in the countless acts of heroism by our people. A young ANC militant, Petrus Mothlane, expressed our iron will to continue the struggle, when sentenced to 10 years imprisonment, he told the court:

"The most important thing to me is not how long I live but how I live. Those of us who love life as much as we love this country shall never cease to make efforts for the attainment of liberty and equality regardless of creed, race or colour. I am not the first and shall not be the last to be convicted for this just cause."

FIGHT TO FREE ALL SA POLITICAL PRISONERS!

PRISONER MURDERED

Desai, B., and Marvey C., The Killing of the Imam; South African Tryanny defied by courage and faith, London, 1978.

What happens to someone who is detained under South Africa's security laws?

The security police hold him 'incommunicado' and interrogate him until he has answered all their questions to their satisfaction. How do they 'interrogate' him? What technique do they employ? How do they get the detainee to 'talk'? To start writing the 'story of his life' in a conveniently supplied book?

Eventually, the detainee is either released; or charged; or a witness for the state, and some of those released, have all claimed that they were systematically subjected to various forms of extremely brutal, vicious, cruel and degrading torture.

A string of security policemen are usually called to rebut such evidence. Scars and other evidence of injury sustained while in the custody of the police are accounted for, if at all, by an exculpatory explanation, however thin. It is suggested that the dead detainee either committed suicide, usually by hanging, or suffered the fatal injury as the result of an accidental fall (down some stairs, by slipping on the soap in the bathroom, etc.)

There are no other witnesses. No court of law has ever found the security police guilty of torture or killing. Yet, the stark fact is there, 52 such detainees have died in detention. And their eloquent bodies have given silent but irrefutable evidence of torture.

One such case was that of Imam Abdulla Heron. Barney Desai and Cardiff Marney, the authors of 'The Killing of the Imam', have painstakingly collected and carefully analysed the testimony of a large number of witnesses, including many former

detainees. The Imam emerges in their pages as a very warm, human and humane man, little different from millions of others. His religious convictions, his humanitarianism and his love of his fellow men gradually draw him closer to the sufferings of his own people. Circumstances beyond his control impelled him into the political arena. It is a common enough story in South Africa.

What is uncommon is the sequel. A small man, fun-loving, a bit of a dandy, he became serious, tempered by experience, he became a fighter for freedom. He realised full well the power of the state and became a dedicated opponent of the state. He knew he risked imprisonment and death.

The authors reconstruct, as accurately and realistically as they can, the unbelievable ordeal he went through in detention. It is evident that they have taken great care to avoid a charge of exaggeration. In the result, in presenting a remarkably credible and convincing account, they have been somewhat kind to the apartheid regime. The Imam turns out to become a veritable giant in spirit, a martyr in the heroic tradition.

This book is a must for anyone interested in South Africa today.

M.D.N.



STRUGGLE: OUR DANCE AND RHYTHM

Rhythm
the sound
from the drums in our distant past
threatened by colonial vultures
rhythm
I inherited and now
I give in this umbilical cord
this dance has been with us
long before our ancestors
saw the day
rhythm
this dance will be with us
long after we are silent
and our memories remain
like day or night
in the heart of the future

Rhythm
feet so precise
to the left
to the right
to the songs
we sing now
our voices beckoned
from the past of the future
will be pronounced
medicine or poison
rhythm
this dance is our future
moving with the clumsy
or graceful vigour of the present
to the song of today
echoed in our tomorrow
rhythm
we are all artists
on this stage
there is no break
to this dance

What is that sound
the peals of thunder
in my stomach
my child's motive anxiety to live this
rhythm

whose brutality
anger
and resolve
flows in my veins
through this umbilical cord
rhythm
to the sound of those heavy drops
from millions of black bodies
to the tears of emaciated children
to the endless sweat of the toiling parents
to the blood of the heroes
in this dance
rhythm

Yes
our today's dance
towards a better tomorrow
is dictated by yesterday
rhythm
what was that note
still fresh in
the morning air of Africa
the beginning of the end
of the stench of colonialism
rhythm
only yesterday my brothers
from Angola and Mozambique
danced a protracted step
to the song
of exploitation
What is this song
colliding in the air
with the worker's song
of a better tomorrow
rhythm
to the futile obstinacy
of the imperialist
to the flight
of the neo-colonial ghost
when the dance of the present
has carried us safely
to the people's tomorrow
rhythm
is the unison

in the step
and the harmony
in the song
from all depths and corners
of capitalist plunder
RESISTANCE

Rhythm
that have birth to us
and the dance we bear
we make this choice and no apology
love this song
song of the bazooka
that carries familiar notes with
rhythm
of consistency
since 1652
to the pregnancy of the people's
dignity and sanity
and the birth of
"one that responds when called"

What is the law of the present
we sing and swim in this redness
that has brought us here
we dive and duck
this our dance to the
rhythm
of centuries of NO!
to oppression
this is the dance of now
in the bush
in the city
in the ghetto
in the kitchen
in the factory
this is today's dance to the
rhythm
that gave birth to the
peasants and workers
that lead the dance to the
song of impatience
as the people's anger
pumps out gallons of pus

from a traitor's body

Rhythm
spat out by the gun
that sings liberation for the people
in the hands of my father
who danced in Wankie to the
rhythm
of the birth of MK
that has the grenades and guns
that sing the song
my people want to hear
in the hands of my sister
who danced to the fascist bullet
that silenced Hector Peterson
to the ranks of the exiled and MK
and this song of hope
in the hands of
ZAPU, SWAPO, PLO, POLISARIO
After this dance
the sound of our satisfaction
in clearer mornings
of future generations
centuries of applause
as the songs of jubilation
bury this rot
songs of our clean bones
scattered all over our land giving
rhythm
and direction to the dance of then
it is now's motive song in us
our right to
DIE TODAY TO LIVE TOMORROW

Baleka Kgositsile

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The Freedom Charter

We, the People of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;

that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;

that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;

that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;

And therefore, we, the people of South Africa, black and white together—equals, countrymen and brothers—adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN!

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;

All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;

The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex;

All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS!

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races;

All people shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs;

All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride;

The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH!

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people;

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the Banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;

All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people;

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT!

Restrictions of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land redivided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger;

The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;

All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;

People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW!

No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial;

No one shall be condemned by the order of any Government official;

The courts shall be representative of all the people;

Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance;

The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;

All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

ALL SHALL ENJOY EQUAL HUMAN RIGHTS!

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children;

The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;

All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad;

Pass Laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY!

All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers;

The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;

Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;

There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;

Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;

Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND OF CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED!

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;

All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;

Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT!

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;

Unused housing space to be made available to the people;

Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no one shall go hungry;

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state;

Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;

Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres;

The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state;

Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all;

Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished, and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP!

South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations;

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation—not war;

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;

The people of the protectorates—Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;

The right of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised, and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here: "THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR, SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES, UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY."