



# SECHABA

official organ of the african  
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NOVEMBER 1987



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# EDITORIAL

## THE FALL OF GEORGE MATANZIMA

**When activities in the bantustans are reported in the local and international press it is usually in response to yet another instance of repression and brutality or a further exposure of the corrupt and farcical dealings of their puppet leaders. It is as a consequence of this element of farce and the apparent conservatism that the bantustans are dismissed in certain quarters as peripheral to the struggle, and of minor importance to the revolution which is being fought predominantly in the metropolitan centres of the country. This impression, however, is largely the product of ignorance of the nature of resistance in the bantustans, and of an inculcation of the apartheid's own propaganda, which depicts these areas as havens of harmony and co-operation. Nothing could be further from the truth.**

While the bantustans might not yet have reached the level of heroic resistance encountered in the streets of Alexandra, Soweto and other metropolitan townships, resistance continues to grow at every level. The recent documentation of events in KwaNdebele has served to demonstrate this point, but many other instances of opposition and resistance in other bantustans go unreported and are hence unknown to analysts of the revolution. The bantustans nevertheless have a vital role to play in the future struggle not least because they accommodate some fifty percent of the total population of South Africa, but also because the intensification of resistance in these regions will open up yet another front for the apartheid state to defend. This front, moreover, by the very nature of its terrain will further extend the enemy's already stretched resources.

For the inhabitants of the bantustans to be brought into the main stream of the struggle however, it is necessary that there is a fuller understanding of the social economy and local politics of these areas as an aid to the mobilisation of mass resistance. In an article in the last issue of *Sechaba*, a background has been sketched to recent events in the Transkei and Ciskei bantustans in an endeavour to provide pointers for future

action in the region.

Since the writing of this article, however, a number of events have taken place which warrant a brief update. The power struggle between the two Matanzima brothers which culminated in the banishment of Kaiser Matanzima to his home district of Qamata, it has transpired, served also to weaken the position of George Matanzima and has ultimately led to his downfall as ruler of the bantustan. A number of factors have contributed to this state of affairs. Despite the efforts of George Matanzima to appease the bantustans "defence force" (the expulsion of the Selous Scout mercenaries formed part of this process), which had threatened a coup in April 1987, a deep-seated dissatisfaction remained among these "soldiers" at his dictatorial style and corrupt rule. The leader of the "defence force", Bantu Holomisa, in particular held a grudge against him for having been detained for three months earlier in the year.

At the same time, Kaiser Matanzima himself has been active in his efforts to return to power and is increasingly bitter at the treatment he received at the hands of his brother. Mobilising opposition among his traditional constituency, the older and more conservative chiefs, it is certain that he

has played a part in eroding support for his brother. Emboldened by the support of both Kaiser and the Transkei "defence force", others of George Matanzima's enemies have felt sufficiently confident to challenge his rule directly by exposing publicly, for the first time, his corrupt dealings and embezzlement of public funds. These revelations, which have come to light in the course of a public commission of enquiry into the activities of the bantustan's department of works and energy, would have been suppressed when George was at the height of his power (as for example was the case with the commission of enquiry into the Transkei Development Corporation, whose findings were never published).

While pressure was on George Matanzima to resign, it is evident that he fought a rearguard action to regain his lost control by attempting to forge a new series of alliances to resist the threat to his rule. His reluctance to relinquish power, however, ultimately tried the patience of Holomisa and his supporters, and on 23rd September 1987 George Matanzima and eight of his "cabinet" were issued with ultimatums by the "defence force" to resign forthwith. While George Matanzima managed to evade this ignominy by slipping away to Port Elizabeth (ostensibly on "sick leave"), it is certain that his days as ruler of the bantustan are over.

In analysing the course of recent events in the Transkei, it is easy to make the same mistake as does the bourgeois press, and accept the bantustan on its own terms. That is, to assume that the political activities of the region have a dynamic entirely their own, however

farcical and absurd to outside observers these might seem. Yet, this is precisely the view that the racist state would wish to project, since it masks the extent of its own intervention in these pseudo-states, and thereby the farcical notion of "independent" bantustans. In reality, the departure of both Matanzimas had more to do with the objectives of Pretoria than the immediate events of the area. This is not to undermine the resistance of the people of Transkei.

The state's most recent efforts to restructure apartheid have included a programme of regional development, which entails economic planning according to regions rather than individual bantustans. This initiative is intended not only to drive wedges between the urban and rural areas, but also to cut costs by reducing the tendency to replicate infrastructure and facilities in each individual bantustan. Such an approach will in many instances entail projects which transverse the boundaries of one or other bantustan and will necessitate considerable co-operation between their administrations. The Ciskei and the major portion of the Transkei fall into the designated Region D, which is to be planned as one functional economic unit. This will call for considerably closer ties between the two bantustans; a distant prospect while either Matanzima remained in power and nurtured the dream of a "greater Xhosaland".

The fall of George Matanzima thus resulted not so much from opposition to his rule by other members of the bantustan's elite, (he had always been unpopular in certain circles), rather it should be seen in terms of the removal of support by his masters in Pretoria.

# YOUTH

By Mapulana Makhado

## ACCELERATE THE OFFENSIVE FOR THE SEIZURE OF POWER

**The Second ANC National Youth Conference was held befittingly at the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania from 14th-19th August 1987. Comrade President O R Tambo presented the keynote address which set the tone of this historic meeting.**

In his address, amongst other things, he said:

*With you, fellow delegates, we declare: "Freedom in Our Youth! We are firmly convinced that out of this conference will be forged an even greater commitment for a decisive and rapid advance to the goal of people's power."*

With these words, our President posed many challenges before the Conference delegates and the entire Youth of our country to make sure that out of the conference we fight to achieve

freedom now and, more 'decisively and rapidly' to the seizure of power from the ruling class and the transformation South Africa into the kind of society our people want.

Listening attentively to the President were delegates to the Conference from 29 countries. These delegates and guests came to Mazimbu from the various structures of our movement; combatants of our People's Army, Umkhonto We Sizwe, underground activists, students, cultural workers, diplomats of the ANC, teachers, and others. The Conference was in session for five days, sometimes well into the night and was characterised by serious, frank, mature and sometimes very heated but comradely debates. Here were assembled young but politically mature cadres of the African National Congress.

The Conference Hall was dominated by three major slogans: two were extracts from the relevant quotes from Comrade OR and 'Malome' Kotane, and the other was the theme of the Conference.

These slogans were:

**"At this hour of destiny your country and your people need you. The future of South Africa is yours**

**and it will be what you make it."**

*(Moses Kotane):*

**"A people, a country, a movement that does not value its youth does not deserve its future".**

*(President Tambo)*

and lastly, the theme of the Conference was:

**"Strengthen Youth Unity for the Battles Ahead and the Advance to People's Power"**

The theme of the Conference was selected thus because "... it brings into sharp focus the issue of Youth unity in the face of the mounting aggression by the racist regime against the mass democratic movement inside our country — with a major concentration of this aggression being put on the young generation".

The Conference Hall was also decorated with two giant drawings (by Comrade Jabu Mahlangu) of the leaders of our movement incarcerated in Pollsmoor prison, Comrades Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu. These pictures were meant to represent all comrades young and old, who languish in the fascist regime's dungeons; to keep in our minds the urgency with which we have to pursue the struggle to free these



*The state of emergency does not deter them*

comrades. There were other pictures as well in the Hall, notably that of Comrade Solomon Mahlangu — Hero of the South African Revolution.

This, the Second National Youth Conference, was a culmination of months of preparations by Regional Youth Sections in the various countries where our Youth are to be found. Extensive discussions and debates had taken place on a wide range of issues involving the South African Revolution, particularly its pace. These preparatory discussions were concretised further in the Conference Commissions.

The Conference began with a strong

revolutionary fervour when the community in SOMAFSCO together with Conference participants joined in an hour long "Toyi Toyi" which began at 5.00am, culminating in the "flag raising ceremony" at 6.00am, on the 14th August. Comrade Andrew Mkhize, the outgoing Head of the Youth Section, chaired the Opening Session. Messages of support were presented by Comrade Eric Mtshali on behalf of SACTU, and Comrade Hashim Mbita from the OAU Liberation Committee. A message from the South African Communist Party Chairman Comrade Dan Tloome was read by Comrade Mkhize. Comrade Robert Mancini "Malome" spoke as the

NEC Representative East Africa and finally came the Presidential address which set the tone for the whole Conference.

We also received numerous messages of support from Youth and Student Organisations internationally and from the Frontline States. Our comrades in arms of SWAPO sent a special message concretising our struggle against a common enemy.

Comrade President Tambo underscored an important political question relating to the Youth that needs proper understanding. He said of the Youth:

*"Youth are the inheritors of an organisational experience that is 75*

*years old. It is a glorious experience that constitutes the womb from which the new South Africa will emerge. To be the midwives of that free South Africa you (the Youth) need to have understood and absorbed that history and turned it into the firm bedrock from which you will advance into a future whose essence you must define by your own ideas and actions."*

Having said this, Comrade President proceeded to present a big challenge to the youth as "the midwives of that free South Africa". This challenge was posed in this way: The central question that runs like a

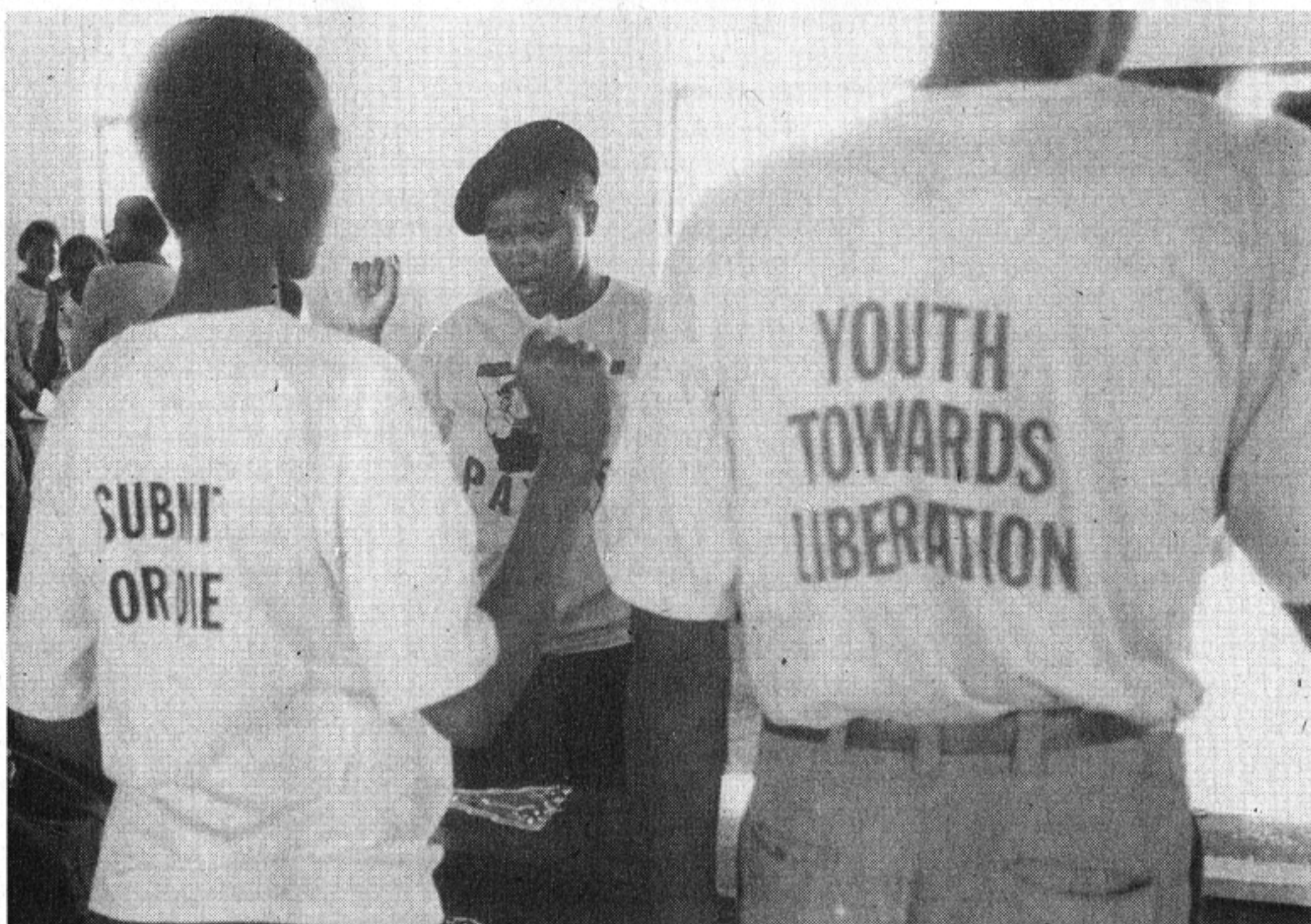
red thread through all these gatherings, confronting our entire movement is: **What is to be done that victory may come — and come soon?**

This question assumes even greater importance because the revolutionary situation inside South Africa is maturing. Then Comrade President went further to say:

*"Since the last Youth Conference (that is 1982), through struggle, we have driven the apartheid system into a general crisis from which it can neither recover nor extricate itself. We can, therefore, firmly assert today that the balance of forces in our country has decisively and irreversibly shifted in*

*favour of the oppressed and democratic majority. Botha and his henchmen can curse and froth; they can outdo themselves in murder and bloody terror; but they cannot obliterate this reality."*

So we went into the first plenary session in high morale, characteristic of the "Young Lions" of the South African Revolution. Indeed we were meeting during a special time: the mineworkers were engaged in a bitter struggle against the mining bosses; the regime was directionless as a result of the deepening crisis — particularly its failure to make any headway with



its National Statutory Council — the country was plunged into another State of Emergency (an admission by the regime that it cannot rule in the old way), the people's organisational formations were being sustained despite the ruling class's stated intention of destroying them, and so on. The slogan "Freedom in Our Youth!" dominated our approach.

The first two plenary sessions were very heated, though the first was mainly technical: adoption of rules, regulations, procedures and programme of Conference. Every aspect of these "technicalities" was well scrutinized. Most of the delegates were having their first experience of such conferences and it was understandable why those technicalities were a bit problematic: adoption of documents for discussion or as conference papers. The second session listened to the report from the National Preparatory Committee (NPC) presented by Comrade Manala Manzini and discussed it at length. Comrade President Tambo attended part of this plenary together with some members of the NEC and ANC Chief Representatives.

From Sunday (August 16th) to Wednesday (August 19th), the conference broke into seven Commissions which discussed and debated at length their

respective items and themes. These Commissions were on Education, Culture, Pioneers, Structure, Programme of Action, Internal and International. The Commissions subsequently reported back to plenary where, once again, issues were debated and commission reports and recommendations were adopted, as resolutions were amended or rejected. This part of the Conference was the most fulfilling to many delegates since all issues were fully analysed and discussed in an atmosphere of profound political maturity. We also gained tremendously from the active participation of NEC members present.

Conference adopted many resolutions, notably on the internal and international situation. In line with the mood and thinking at Kabwe in 1985, Conference resolved to step up (accelerate as it was called) the struggle inside South Africa in its various pillars, in order that the crisis faced by the ruling class may further deepen and apartheid be destroyed sooner rather than later.

**Internationally, it was resolved that the campaign for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the apartheid regime must be sustained and escalated. The need to work more closely with Youth and students**

**who are progressive, without necessarily discriminating according to ideological and political persuasion, was emphasised.**

Judging by the number of Conference recommendations adopted from the various Commissions, the youth definitely lived up to the expectation of our movement at this Conference. However, Conference resolutions are one thing, implementation is another. To this extent, we elected a new National Youth Committee to be headed by Comrade Jackie Selepe who has been charged with the task of making sure that Conference Resolutions are implemented by the Youth and the movement as a whole.

In assessing the Conference as a whole, it can be said that it was one of those great monuments of our struggle for a democratic non-racial society that will live on in the memories of the participants and our movement as a whole.

Where will be the venue of the 3rd ANC Youth Conference in 1992? In SOMAFCO or in South Africa? This will be decided by our determined struggle and not by resolutions and or academic papers.

**Freedom in Our Youth!  
Victory or Death!  
We Shall Win!  
Ihlomile!  
Fight, Produce, Learn!**



# THE MYTH OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN JUDICIARY

Molao wa Batho

The South African judiciary, as in any class society, of which apartheid colonial South Africa is an example, is part of the coercive machinery of the state, an instrument of class rule and an organ of oppression of one class by another.

As an instrument of class rule and an organ of oppression, the South African state, which is characterised by the race-based oligarchy, exists to serve the interests of the all-White ruling class predicated upon the perpetuation of brutal colonial oppression, repression and gross exploitation of the Black majority. The South African judiciary cannot be viewed outside the context of this relationship as it is an essential part of the coercive machinery of the apartheid colonial state.

In this context, the ANC in its Code of Conduct adopted by its National Consultative Conference in June 1985, had the following to say about the South African judiciary:

"We know from harsh experience that despite its immense formalism and technicality, apartheid justice is no justice at all; that it is not neutral; that it is used to divide, oppress and exploit our people; that it defends privilege; that it legitimises the theft of our land and of the fruits of our labour; that it protects the unjust and punishes the just; that it is used by the rich against the poor, so that whoever can afford the best lawyer is the one who can expect to win; that it condones torture and violence, and demands the blood of our noblest and most courageous fighters. Its style of operation and its atmosphere are all part of a system designed to perpetuate injustice and maintain the colonial and dominated nature of our society. The fact

that there are individuals within the system who may be honest in no way alters the basic character of the racist legal system, since it is not they who determine its basic functioning, it is not they who are in control."

The proclivities, predilections, preferences, prejudices and the idiosyncrasies of the South African judges to be discussed below emanate from, and are shaped and influenced by this self-same relationship, and can therefore be understood only if this is borne in mind.

## Judges Chosen by Botha

The South African judiciary is broadly speaking divided into two categories, namely the magistrates who are in charge of the administration of justice in lower courts and the judges of the Supreme Court. South African judges are all drawn from one small section of the population, the White minority, by the fascist president, advised by the racist Cabinet, which, like all political institutions in South Africa, excludes the Black majority. Currently the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court is dominated by Afrikaans-speaking judges who comprise over 80% of its membership. There is also evidence that the most conservative Pretoria Bar is now over-represented on the Bench, and this does not at all augur well for justice.

**This is not an accident, but is reflective of a deliberate effort on the part of the apartheid regime to ensure that the judiciary predominantly consists of people whose support and loyalty cannot be impugned at all.**

Whether or not South African judges support the colonial regime, most of them have two things in common, namely, loyalty and commitment to the status quo, and a common perspective of the problem facing the country. Most of them, like most White people in our country, believe that the very

fabric of the society they belong to and the South African way of life which is predicated upon the oppression and exploitation of the Black majority, are threatened, and that they therefore owe it to themselves and their threatened society, to do whatever they can as judges to salvage that society.

**We believe that it would be an understatement of the fact to say that the judiciary is proving to be executive-minded, for the judges are part and parcel of the entire apartheid colonial structure.** They are not to be viewed as a mechanical instrument of the will of others. The judges, themselves fearful of and resistant to, the fundamental political and socio-economic changes envisaged in the Freedom Charter and which the victims of apartheid colonialism are fighting for, cannot be in a position to dispense justice in our polarised society, as they have a vested interest in the perpetuation of the status quo. Most of them have in any event accumulated wealth under the system and at the expense of the oppressed majority, and are therefore constrained to defend their privileged position as Whites.

In order to induce them to conform with racist, fascist apartheid policies, their tenure is fixed, making it virtually impossible to terminate the office of one who ought to go. The judges have nothing to fear from people whether White or Black because in the nature of things, people have nothing to do with the administration of justice in society.

### **Biased Racist Judges**

The South African judiciary has generally always given its support and imprimatur to the policies and practices of racial segregation. The judges do not just demonstrate their awareness of white racial attitudes and prejudices, but they also usually demonstrate a willingness to translate such racist attitudes and prejudices into law itself.

In their interpretation of statutes, they are not always willing to accept an interpretation of the law which is in conflict with popular White opinion. This has been demonstrated particularly in the cases under the Group Areas Act, the cases regarding separate schools for the various racial groupings and in the sentencing of

Blacks convicted of raping, killing or assaulting White victims and the sentencing of Whites where Blacks are victims. That is, cases which depict crass racism.

### **Separate Amenities**

*R v Pitje 1960(4) SA (AD)*: In this case the accused, a Black attorney then employed by the firm of Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo, refused to take his place at a table reserved for Black legal practitioners in a magistrate's court and was convicted for contempt of court. Chief Justice Steyn, in a judgement in which Ogilvie Thomson, who himself was later to become Chief Justice, concurred, found that the judgement was reasonable and hence lawful. He further remarked that legal practitioners were not treated unequally by being required to sit at separate tables and that the issue was sanctioned by the legislature and therefore could not be attacked as unreasonable. John Dugard in his book *Human Rights and the South African Legal Order*, remarks that the judgement gives effect to the legislature intent on a subject not governed by legislation at all, simply because it could have been regulated by law. In other words the Appellate Division made law in this regard when it discovered a *casus omissus* (a matter previously excluded). This being an Appellate Division decision, it became a law binding on all courts.

This has also happened in an earlier case, *Minister of Posts and Telegraphs v Rasool, 1934 AD 167*, where the issue was whether or not the Postmaster-General, acting under a statute that did not expressly authorise discrimination, might establish separate post office facilities on the basis of race. The Appellate Division had decided that this could be done and reversed the judgment of the Transvaal Provincial Division, a lower court, on the matter, thus making law where there was none in this regard.

One of the classical cases in this regard is *Minister of Interior v Lockhart and others, 1961 (2) SA 587 (AD)* a judgment that once again involved the then Chief Justice, Steyn, and his successor, Ogilvie Thompson, where the Appellate Division, on the basis of what the legislature 'must have envisaged', gave its support to a grandiose

mass population removal scheme which resulted in untold and unimaginable human misery and suffering.

### **The Case of Sibusiso Zondo**

The most recent case depicting racism in court was the one involving Andrew Sibusiso Zondo, which was heard by justice Ray N. Leon of the Durban and Coast Local Division of the Supreme Court, in March 1986. The accused was a confessed member of the ANC and its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. He was charged with murder and treated as an ordinary criminal outside the context of the war that is developing in our country. The trial was attended by no Blacks other than the police, and the accused was attacked and punched in the face by the father of John Botma, one of the survivors of Amanzimtoti who was paralysed. A white has also screamed in the gallery: 'kill him!' Though the place was teeming with police and despite all the pandemonium that resulted, the culprit who assaulted the accused *in facie curiae* (in the presence of the judge) was not arrested. Judge Leon remarked that as he was busy writing he had not seen or heard anything and could therefore not order the arrest of the culprit. The judge had earlier on turned down an application for the accused to be sent to hospital for mental observation, though his father had given evidence that his son had a mental problem.

### **Bias in Favour of the State**

It is in the area of political cases, more than in any other, that the judges have on numerous occasions exhibited their inclination towards the state against the liberty of the individual, in defence of the apartheid colonial state. As Christopher Forsyth remarks in his book *In Danger for Their Talents*, the presumption *in favorem libertatis* (in favour of liberty or freedom) has, very largely, been replaced in security matters with a strained interpretation in favour of the executive. A clear example is the case *Sachs v Minister of Justice, 1934 AD 11* which is in John Dugard's book referred to above in which the Appellate Division took the opportunity to enunciate its clearest "hands off the executive" statement.

Sachs had argued that the order by the

Minister under the Riotous Assemblies Act banning him from various magisterial areas was invalid because he had been denied the right to be heard before the order was issued. The court rejected this argument on the basis that the *audi alteram partem* (hearing the other side) rule had implicitly been excluded by the Act and said: "once we are satisfied on a strict construction of the Act, that it gives to the Minister unfettered powers, it is no function of the court of law to curtail its scope in the least degree, indeed it would be improper to do so." It further said "Parliament may make any encroachments it chooses upon the life, liberty or property of any individual subject to its sway, and it is the function of courts of law to enforce its will."

### **Conditions of Detainees**

In another case *Rossouw v Sachs, 1964 (2) SA 551 (A)* involved the question whether a detainee could be given reading and writing materials whilst in detention. Though the law under which the detainee was held was silent on the issue, and it therefore could be decided *in favorem Libertatis*, the unanimous decision of the Appellate Division was against this approach. Rather, the court sought to determine the true purpose of the law (i.e. Section 17 of Act 27 of 1963 already referred to above) and held that the purpose of detention under the law was to "induce the detainee to speak." It follows therefore, Ogilvie Thompson, who delivered the judgment said, that the legislature did not intend to alleviate the lot of the detainee and render the detention ineffective. This approach serves to explain the hostile attitude courts adopt towards the accused and witnesses in security cases who complain about torture in detention. Invariably the accused in such cases are either members or supporters of the ANC.

### **Part of State Machinery**

Those who still subscribe to the myth that the South African judiciary is independent will criticise this paper on the basis that it has tended to ignore the judgments of some of the liberal judges who have occasionally ventured to express regret. To them we say that such judgments are not the rule but mere exceptions, which, if anything, prove the rule.

**The South African judiciary in its entirety is a finely tuned state machinery for the oppression and suppression of the victims of the apartheid colonial regime and those Whites who have abandoned their privileged status and made common cause with the majority of the oppressed in the interest of the whole country.**

It must also be said that all judgments striking down executive action are always founded upon narrow technical grounds and do not even attempt to go to the root, the essence of the problem, namely apartheid colonialism. In fact such judgments are used by the regime as beautiful robes in which to clothe the participation of the

judiciary in the perpetration of the crime of apartheid, thus perpetuating the myth of the independence of the South African judiciary for world consumption. Such judgments also serve to expose and highlight loopholes in the law, thus enabling the regime to plug them.

**Without exception the South African judges have persistently implemented the most barbaric and cynical statutory provisions churned out by the various colonial regimes and have always been committed to the maintenance of white colonial domination and capitalist exploitation.**

## **DEATH SENTENCES AND JUDGES**

These and many others are not the only crimes of the racist judges. It has now come to light that the tens of thousands of detainees who languish in apartheid jails are in fact held there on the secret instructions of judges. The revelation that judges meet with the police in the absence of the detainee whose fate is being weighed or his legal representative is a damning indictment of the complicity of the racist judiciary in the crime of apartheid. A judiciary that has cultivated an air of self importance around itself while some of its senior officials creep into dark corners at the dead of night to sentence detainees to months of solitary confinement and even years.

This revelation comes in the wake of series of events in the apartheid courts which are more and more exposing themselves as arms of the apartheid regime. There was the case of Mr Justice Steyn, a half baked politician who on sentencing a prisoner gave a long diatribe about the forces threatening South Africa inspired by the ANC. Then there was Justice Munnik who took part in P W

Botha's attempt to persecute Chris Ball, the managing director of First National Bank. It later turned out that the bank has closed his account for spending more money than he actually has. Another judge got so worked up by the applications of the thousands of detainees who want the police to at least give reasons why they are in detention that he called on the regime to ban such legal applications.

But an even bigger crime is being committed by the racist judiciary. They have resorted to complementing the campaign of murder and plunder by the so-called security forces by sentencing hundreds of innocent people to death every year. Almost two hundred people have been executed this year alone. In the death cells in Pretoria Central Prison there are about 40 persons who have been sentenced to death for alleged political offences. Some of these sentences have been carried out in secret without the lawyers or relatives of the hanged men being notified. They even make laws to fill up the gaps through which some detainees try to gain their release.



# THE POWER OF THE PEOPLE IN THE TOWNSHIPS

By Thozamile Botha

The South African struggle has reached a critical point; the regime has precipitated the current revolutionary situation to unprecedented heights and it is now pursuing a desperate strategy for survival.

Faced with this situation, the regime is now searching for a secret formula of 'sharing power without losing control,' declared one prominent Afrikaner business leader. It is shifting from a combination of political and military tactics to economic strategies

using the apartheid administrative organs for supervisory control.

The National Security Management System (NSMS) is but one example of such control mechanisms. They can effect changes without even the knowledge of the Whites-elected representatives. In addition, the regime is planting spies at schools, factories and within the ranks of the ANC in a desperate attempt to sow confusion and thwart the momentum of the struggle.

Reacting to a similar situation in Tsarist Russia, V I Lenin warned that "... the organisation of revolutionaries must consist first and foremost of people who make revolutionary activity their profession." By this he meant a tightly-knit structure capable of linking the broad-based struggles of the people with the underground or semi-underground organs. In the face of increased repression, the people have seized the initiative, using every form of struggle to challenge apartheid tyranny.

## Pretoria is Desperate

The apartheid regime, in a desperate move to restore its lost credibility, sparked a critical point of confrontation when it declared the state of emergency in September 1984. It had come to realise that townships, villages, farms, workplaces and

schools nationwide could no longer be ruled in the same old way. Commenting on the state of emergency, *SASPU National* stated that "the state of emergency aims to tip the balance of power firmly back in the state's favour. But progressive organisations are adapting to repression and continuing the offensive." Not even the army that came to occupy Sebokeng and many other black townships could force the students to go back to classes or stop the collapsing Community Councils and the rent and consumer boycotts. Management could no longer intimidate the workers from taking strike actions and the economy had ground to its lowest ebb. The recent mine workers' strike is a good example of this growing defiant mood of our people. However, the state of emergency also made it difficult for the mass movement, the United Democratic Front and its affiliates, the trade unions and student organisations to meet and discuss community issues and to plan the way forward.

Confronted with this situation, the ANC came up from its June 1985 conference with the slogan, "from ungovernability to people's power." This call from the movement urged the people to take over the collapsing government structures and demonstrate how a future South Africa should be run. The call gave impetus to the already highly charged political climate. The regime reacted by encouraging or supporting the formation of what Nicholas Haysom describes as, "the bands of conservative right-wing township residents ... called 'vigilantes'." These 'vigilantes' were recruited mainly from the bantustans and the army of the unemployed in the urban areas and used by the state and the Black Local Authorities against their opponents. Their activities are coherent with police brutality meted against the democratic organisations. The community organisations, on the other hand, refused to remain passive in the face of this increased repression from the regime and began to form the 'people's defence units', in an attempt to balance the equation. The regime called this 'black on black violence.'

This conflict was and still is engendered by institutional violence which "tries to control the movement, location and reloca-

tion of black people." On the other hand, the employers, in trying to quell the struggle whilst maintaining high profits, have put the burden on the workers by demanding speeding up of production, a wage freeze during recession, retrenchments to take place without regard to the principle of 'last in, first out' and that the workers should make no 'unfair' demands during the recession.

It is against this background that the emergent embryonic organs of people's power — the street, area and education committees and people's courts — should be understood. Furthermore, this conflict leads to the examination of the social stratification and the alignment of forces within the black communities. The state has systematically divided the South African society into urban Blacks and Bantustan Africans on the one hand and White South Africa on the other.

## **Poor Blacks and Not So Poor Blacks**

Although national oppression tended to blur all social differentiation within the Black communities, this does not mean that such stratification does not exist. The Black community is sub-divided into a large working class and a small middle class comprised of professionals such as lawyers, doctors, teachers, artisans and small traders. However, this group is by no means homogeneous. The mass based organisations draw their leadership from this stratum, whilst the regime is also busy trying to attract a section of this stratum to serve in its institutions.

Describing the petit-bourgeoisie in Guinea Bissau during the revolution, Amilcar Cabral said, "The petit-bourgeoisie aspires to emulate the life of the foreign minority, while at the same time, reducing its links with the masses ..." The Black middle class in South Africa is located between the Black working class and the entire mass democratic movement on the one hand, the capitalist class and state institutions on the other. However, all state inducements to serve in apartheid institutions have met with the wrath of the majority of Black people, culminating in the

collapse of many of the apartheid structures in the African townships.

In turn, the mass movement continues to enjoy popular support from the Black trade unions, the youth and students, and a sizeable proportion of the black petit-bourgeoisie. It is also beginning to draw support from White liberal groups. However, the latter group has a stake to protect in the system, hence its support is extremely cautious. Referring to the White working class, a South African trade unionist warned, "...the future of the White working class does not lie with the apartheid capitalist class; it rests with their natural brothers the Black working class and the entire oppressed majority ..."

He went further to say, "the working class by virtue of its role in society must necessarily constitute a core component of every community-based organisations and trade union in the urban areas and its role has been extended to the small towns and villages including the bantustans". The backward and forward movement of the migrant labour force has introduced class consciousness in embryo within the rural areas. The move by the Northern Transvaal People's Congress to create village and town committees to work alongside one another will further narrow the margin between urban and rural structures.

## **Have Street Committees Vanished?**

Having given this background, we can now turn to the emerging unofficial but significant power in the townships — the street committees, people's courts and education crisis committees. Since the first state of emergency in 1985, a number of national structures such as the UDF came into direct confrontation with the state and subsequently suffered a major set-back organisationally. Street committees sprang up when it became almost impossible for the democratic movement to hold any open gathering. These committees became the only feasible means of communicating decisions across a wide area of the community. National structures were forced by increased repression to devolve power down to local or grass-root structures

through the street and block committees.

The street committee is elected by residents of a street to handle their community problems. The elected members of the street committee are answerable to the people and are subject to recall by them. They deal with a wide range of issues — from refuse collection to crime control, consumer boycotts and education matters; all these duties are carried out through specialised organs. For example, since the rent boycott began in November 1985, the Development Boards stopped collecting refuse in the affected areas. In Mamelodi the street and sections committees quickly organised themselves and started collecting refuse with borrowed pick-up vans.

In a spirit of defiance the people in the townships began to attack all state institutions and their representatives, thus rendering the community councils partially or completely unworkable in many townships. The loss of property was estimated at R100-million which included 615 schools, 550 homes of Black policemen, 525 shops and factories, 240 beer halls and bottle stores, 795 state buildings, 1 600 police vehicles, 250 state vehicles, 3 300 buses and a lot of other property. This has also has a lasting effect on the economy.

Describing the situation in Kagiso and Munsieville in Krugersdorp, the *Sunday Star*, 16th March 1986 reported: "A council administers the townships and though some members have resigned, it at least functions — which cannot be said of a number of townships across the country. But talk in the townships is that the people who are actually maintaining law and order in Kagiso and Munsieville are the 'comrades' — and many residents, young and old alike, freely express gratitude for what they see as their sterling work."

These committees are operating in predominantly working class townships with a radical trade union movement that combines factory-based problems with community demands. Explaining how these committees relate to other community-based organisations, one Mamelodi activist said: "We want to make sure that we work closely with all the other townships in Pretoria and the factories ... We need to start questioning how the fac-



tory is run, how profits are being shared, who owns the company." This is a move which strengthens the assertion that "the working class as the most exploited and the most numerous should necessarily constitute the mass base of every democratic organisation."

Class consciousness has helped reduce the narrow nationalistic or ethnic affinity which is promoted by the regime through the Black Local Authorities, the bantustans and the notorious hostel compound system in the mines, railways and harbours. This development is unprecedented in the history of liberation struggles in Africa.

At the height of the freedom struggle in Guinea Bissau, Amilcar Cabral, posed a crucial question when he said, "our problems is who is capable of taking control of the state apparatus when the colonial government is destroyed." This question is gradually being answered in the case of South Africa during the course of struggle. Understandably, the liberation struggle in Guinea Bissau was not rooted in the working class; it was mainly in the rural areas because there was no developed working

class movement. In South Africa the future is well defined in the Freedom Charter and the workers are currently engaged in a debate to concretize that future.

## People's Education

Coupled with the emergence of the street committees has been the rapid development of the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC). The People's Education is intended to bridge the gap between manual and mental labour. The NECC Conference rejected the slogan 'liberation now, education later'.

**In December 1985 the meeting of the Students' and Parents' Crisis Committee declared that people's education is that which "enables the people to understand the evils of the apartheid system and prepares them for participation in a non-racial democratic system; eliminates illiteracy, ignorance and the exploitation of one man by another; eliminates capitalist norms of competition, individualism and**



**stunted intellectual development, and replaces it with one that encourages collective input ...; equips and trains all sectors of our people to participate actively and creatively in the struggle to attain people's power ...; and enables workers to resist exploitation and oppression at their work place."**

This system of education does not only eliminate elitist education but replaces it with the type of education which will increase productivity and contribute in the development of the new society.

## **The People's Courts**

To maintain discipline within these structures and to protect the people's leaders, disciplinary structures have been created. The people's courts and disciplinary committees are responsible for controlling crime, politicising township dwellers against the local councils and educating them about the importance of the democratic struggle. People are generally discouraged, but not stopped from reporting petty offences to the police stations, instead they are encouraged to make the people's courts function properly and to subject offenders to community discipline. Those who try to use the people's organs to settle personal differences also face punishment by either the court or the disciplinary committee.

**The state systematically uses legal institutions to entrench its apartheid policies and to fight against the people.**

As Professor Erasmus, Dean of the Faculty of Law at the University of Stellenbosch said: "The legacy of apartheid had an ef-

fect on the police, on the practice of justice ... and on the courts; In Cape Town 21 squatter families produced evidence of the police involvement in "the devastating right wing vigilante violence which wrecked the homes of more than 60 000 Blacks at Crossroads last year. In another incident the state accused Mr Tony Weaver of making 'false statements' to the BBC World Service, following a shoot-out at Cape Town Guguletu township. The state alleged that the police shot seven members of the ANC in 'self-defence' after a grenade was thrown at a patrol van.

The unchallengeable testimony of Mr Weaver was that the men were shot dead in cold blood, while trying to surrender or while lying injured on the ground. He also exposed the fact that 'Russian-made' weapons were planted on their bodies to create the impression that the men were guerrillas. It is these injustices of the state which have led to the complete loss of confidence by the Black people in the apartheid system of justice and the police. Above all, the state's legitimacy in South Africa is sustained by increased militarisation of civil structures.

It is in response to this unmitigated violence of the regime that the people's defence units have declared certain sections of the community 'no-go areas'. Their control of these areas may be short-lived, but the impact it has on the regime is tremendous. Their task does not end at defending the people's leaders against enemy inspired and instigated attacks; in some areas they have captured the strategic initiative. They have emerged as the authentic voice of the oppressed communities. They constitute a rudimentary base for dual power, but this is only in embryo; much still remains to be done.

# **BOTHA**

## **LET OUR CHILDREN GO!**

Because they have dared to fight for  
and bring our emancipation so near,  
our youth have become eminent targets  
of the enemy's forces of repression.  
We must wage an unrelenting campaign  
and demand of the apartheid regime  
to let our children go!

**By O R Tambo**



*The future belongs to the children*



*From the cradle to the grave — agony, torture and assault*

*William Modibedi 13 years old tells the Harare Conference on Children, September 1987  
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# THE ROAD TO STATE POWER

By Brenda Stalker

It seems to me the liberation movement needs to clarify, in present circumstances, what our approach is to the question of the conquering of state power.

It would be an error, both from the theoretical as well as the practical political point of view, to counterpose 'talks' and 'conquering of state power'. Indeed, in the practical political field, such a view could eventually serve as a divisive factor, including at the level of the liberation and democratic movement.

It is for this reason, rather than out of purely theoretical considerations, that I think it is necessary not to delay in taking up the question.

Moreover, clarity on the strategic and tactical questions not only serves to strengthen the unity of the liberation movement and in turn the people's struggle, but also serves, in so far as it facilitates a more politically conscious and systematic approach, to step up the striking power of the general movement for political and social change.

In the period from about 1983, culminating in the Consultative Conference of the ANC in June 1985, the conception of conquering of power, in particular in connection with the question of insurrection, played a considerable role in liberation thinking. This was reflected in the various publications of the movement, including *Sechaba*, organ of the ANC, as well as in the *African Communist*, and this general concern with the concept was, indeed, quite clearly to be seen at the Consultative Conference itself.

## Are we Shifting our Emphasis?

Since this time, however — and the shift points to the rapidity with which the political situation is developing in the country — important sectors of the liberation movement have been paying growing attention to clarifying the place of the 'talks' in our general strategy as well as to more general problems of the building of a 'broad front' which, in addition to the liberation and genuinely democratic movement, potentially at least involves forces which are not revolutionary in the strict

meaning of the term and, indeed, forces such as business circles, which have absolutely no penchant for revolution at all.

The beginning of a certain shift in the conception of the path ahead, which has been taking place in liberation movement circles, has been accompanied by a growing interest in the question of secondary contradictions, including in the white camps and up to ruling class level. (See, for instance, *African Communist*, 2nd Quarter 1987, and interview with Joe Slovo in *Information Bulletin*, Prague, No. 8, 1987, taken from *Workers' Unity*, organ of SACTU). The latter development may have led to a suggestion that the liberation movement has jettisoned its goal of conquering state power.

I think we should see the problem this way: I believe that we should not counterpose the two aspects of liberation strategy. One consideration which arises in this respect is that the concern with the concept of conquering of state power, centering on the period 1983-85 (though the interest continues to exist — see article by Mzala 'Towards People's War and Insurrection' in *Sechaba*, April 1987), represents, seen from the historical point of view, an absolutely justified concern. It was linked to the beginning of a genuinely revolutionary or, to utilise the specific term quite suitable here, insurrectionary upsurge of South Africa's black people which opened in the second half of 1984 (though its roots go back clearly to the beginning of the Eighties and, indeed, back to the 'Soweto Uprising' of 1976).

A key aspect of this upsurge, proof indeed of its genuinely revolutionary con-

tent, was the beginning of the emergence of organs of people's power which pointed to a qualitatively new level of historical activity by South Africa's black people. This was accompanied by the growing role of the (black) working class. In its historical leaflet, *Call to the Nation*, issued a couple of months before the ANC Conference in June 1985, the ANC leadership, recognising the new phase of people's struggle which had opened, called for its strengthening and made concrete suggestions for its further development. The growing independent activity of the people was, indeed, proof of the correctness of the concern which had grown in the movement from the early Eighties in relation to the concept of conquering state power.

It was this development amongst the people which ensured that the centrepiece of the ANC's Consultative Conference in June 1985 should be this very concept.

## **Our Two Tactics**

How are we to relate the two aspects of our strategy? Essentially, what has been happening since the ANC Conference and, indeed before that, for such is the irony, or let us say the dialectical complexity of historical development that in my opinion, the 'new phase' had already opened shortly before the Conference, does not constitute a denial of the correctness of the central importance of the strategy of people's power; rather, it represents a process of concretisation and clarification of our tasks in relation to this very concept. The most recent developments in the political situation in South Africa indicates that while the general slogan of 'conquering of state power' (or 'people's power') was sufficient at the earlier stage and pointed to actual or possible developments through an understanding of the objective conditions in South Africa, in itself, in isolation, it is not adequate at the present stage.

This process of clarification, of concretisation of our tasks, has been made necessary by actual, on-going political development which, in revolutionary times, as Lenin himself noted, is difficult to keep up with:

'In a revolutionary period it is very difficult to keep abreast of developments

which provide an astonishing amount of new material for an appraisal of the tactical slogans of revolutionary parties'.

And:

*"Revolution undoubtedly teaches with a rapidity and thoroughness which appear incredible in peaceful periods of political development" (Volume 9, p17).*

We can only welcome such a wealth of new material, such historical lessons, for they serve to prove the real depth of the revolutionary movement in our country.

As Marx said, and Lenin drew attention to the importance of his view, Marxism is not a dogma but a guide to political action. Ongoing historical development serves both to justify the concepts and conceptions of genuine revolutionaries as well as, to a certain extent, to 'correct' them, to qualify them, to make them more detailed and more concrete, more 'programmatic', as it were.

This concretisation of our tasks has been reflected in recent times, at the level of general slogans, in the growing emphasis on the liberation movement's aim to overthrow apartheid and to create a united, democratic and non-racist South Africa. In this framework, the liberation movement opposes, struggles actively against, all attempts to save apartheid, to merely reform it, to bring about a 'federal solution', to bring to power all sorts of compromisers with apartheid and neo-colonialism such as the Gatsha Buthelezis.

## **The ANC Must Lead**

That is, above all, how our goal of conquering state power by the people has become concretised in present conditions, in the context of the further maturing of the political situation. In the framework of our aim of completely overthrowing apartheid and bringing about a united, democratic and non-racist South Africa, it is clear that the national liberation of the oppressed black people must play a key role. The ANC must be recognised as the legitimate representative of the oppressed people in the country, of all revolutionary democrats.

As far as the certain 'qualification' (in effect, it amounts only to a clarification) of our goal of conquering of state power, it relates to the fact that we do not **demand** that the

people must conquer state power in 'one blow', i.e. in just one (historical) phase of the struggle. We are centering our demands and our programme on the overthrow of apartheid. Exactly how it is overthrown, with the aid of what political and social forces, that we are not specifying and, indeed, in South Africa's actual objective conditions, we cannot specify.

The liberation movement is calling for — this reflects the needs of the **national democratic revolution** in South African conditions — not only the building and strengthening of a revolutionary oriented national liberation front (i.e. essentially the ANC-led front of ANC/SACP/SACTU), but the broadest front possible against apartheid. This includes the use of all oppositional tendencies, including at the level of big business (the monopolies, both domestic and foreign), small and medium business. Of course, the fact that the main thrust of the revolutionary process in South Africa centres on a revolution of a national democratic type, has not meant that there does not exist a certain overlapping, the emergence of certain elements of other revolution types.

## **The Many Features of our Revolution**

Indeed, in the especially complex objective conditions with which we are faced in South Africa, elements of different revolution types are likely to emerge. However, this does not mean — it would lead us into serious tactical errors should we so assume — that we can, as it were, skip the national democratic revolution which has its specific profile in South Africa's conditions. At the same time, of course, it is the task of all genuine revolutionaries — this will involve essentially the communists and the revolutionary democrats from the national

liberation and genuine democratic camp — to see to it that the people's independent struggle is strengthened.

Apart from anything else, the people's struggle will play a most important role in ensuring the complete overthrow of apartheid and the emergence of a united, democratic and non-racist South Africa. The people's struggle will also ensure the defence of revolutionary gains, and the continuation of the process of national and social liberation.

What emerges out of such considerations, it should be clear, is not the centering of the liberation struggle in our country on the strategy of 'general insurrection'. That would mean, indeed, that we would be centering our alliance strategy on the revolutionary democrats alone (essentially, as far as organised structures as are concerned, the ANC, SACP and SACTU). As the ANC leadership has been doing since the 1970s, our strategy turns on the use of **all forms of struggle** though that does not exclude that insurrection in South Africa will play a role; indeed, insurrection has already emerged. However, our general strategy is geared to mobilising the broadest front of forces as well as to the utilisation of oppositional stances at the level of the ruling class.

The precise profile of the first phase of struggle, i.e. up to the removal of the apartheid regime, will be determined by the actual course of the struggle, by the actual behaviour of the different political and social forces in South Africa and, indeed, to an extent (to what extent is not yet clear), in the international arena.

It should be clear that the broadest front of political and social forces will ensure the overthrow of apartheid, a regime, indeed, which will find its justified place on the garbage heap of history. Its overthrow will represent the first decisive step in the conquering of power by the people.

# ANC INTERNATIONAL

From the 23rd August to the 13th September President OR Tambo led a six-man delegation to four socialist countries, where he met leading personalities, gave numerous press conferences and was received enthusiastically.



*President Gustav Husak honours President Tambo with the highest Czechoslovakian award The Order of Friendship.*

## POLAND

Here he met General Jaruzelski, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, President of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic and also Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Armed Forces. President Tambo was also received by heads of

departments in the Central Committee, by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Polish Committee for Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In Poland our delegation was informed that the Polish Committee for Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America was

formerly under the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. It has now been elevated to the status of a registered Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) answerable directly to Parliament. They are now able to launch nationwide campaigns and fund-raising activities in solidarity with the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Many questions of mutual interest were discussed, and the two parties appreciated each other's difficulties, efforts and successes. After three days of discussion our delegation proceeded to:

## YUGOSLAVIA

This was from 30th August to 2nd September. The Yugoslav Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Raif Dizdarevic had talks with President Tambo on the development of relations between Yugoslavia and the ANC. Special attention was devoted to the situation in South Africa and the activities of Yugoslavia and the Non-Aligned Movement. President Tambo specially noted the importance being attached to the activities of the Non-Aligned countries and Yugoslavia in Southern Africa, and expressed gratitude for the consistent support and assistance to the liberation process in Southern Africa.

The ANC President also had talks with comrades M. Drulovic, the President of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia; Comrade Radista Gacic, Secretary of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia; Milan Daljevic, Under-Secretary in the Federal Secretariat for National Defence and Lazar Moj-sov, the President of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

## **CZECHOSLOVAKIA**

The ANC delegation then proceeded to Prague, the capital of Czechoslovakia where they were met by comrade Vasil Bilak member of the Presidium and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and Comrade Gustav Husak, President of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia who awarded President Tambo the Order of Friendship. After laying a bouquet of flowers at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and at the Memorial of Klement Gottwald, the first President of the country, President Tambo met with the Head of the People's Militia, attended a demonstration of the training of a unit of

People's Militia and lastly had discussions with the Vice President of the Central Committee of the National Front of Czechoslovakia, Comrade Tomas Travnicek.

## **HUNGARY**

In Budapest, Hungary, the ANC delegation had talks with Comrade Sandor Jakab, the President of the Hungarian Solidarity Committee and was later received by Comrade Janos Kadar, General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and then by Comrade Jozsef Gyorko, Deputy Head of the International Department of the Central Committee who gave a lunch in honour of Comrade Tambo. After meeting ANC students studying in Budapest, our delegation was received by Comrade Imre Pozsgay, General Secretary of the Hungarian Patriotic People's Front, and before the delegation went to visit the "Pava" Garment Factory whose director is Mrs Fasang, Comrade Tambo had talks with Comrade Peter Varkonyi, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

This visit by our President Tambo to the socialist countries proved to be useful and fruitful and definitely gave our delegation new inspiration for the battles to come.



# APARTHEID WAR AGAINST THE CHILDREN

A lot of attention has been focused on South African children in the past few years, and this year in particular. The Harare Conference was devoted to the children and highlighted their plight. President OR Tambo said at the opening of that conference:

*"We meet here today because we want to discuss the unspeakable plight of the Black children in South Africa. We meet because there is something that is happening to the helpless and innocent that should not be allowed to happen. We meet because we recognise that our lives have meaning only to the extent that they are used to create a social condition which will make the lives of the children happy, full and meaningful. We have gathered ourselves in Harare and on this particular occasion because we know that a grievous injustice is being done to all humanity."*

The way a society treats its children is one of the sharpest reflections of its true nature. The apartheid system and all its ramifications militate not only against the children's well-being but against their very survival. The harsh reality of apartheid ensures that Black childhood is dominated by fear, poverty, deprivation, and exploitation. Under apartheid, for lots of children, this is from the cradle to the grave.

Infant mortality is high amongst Black children, in some bantustan areas as high as 120 compared with 21 per thousand amongst White children. According to a recent survey African children were 14-15 times more likely to die before the age of five than White children. Over 200 000 African children under five are malnourished. Children are born under unhygienic conditions with no help from midwives. They are exposed at birth to infections like tetanus which carries a high mortality rate but is completely preventable.

Children die of poverty diseases like tuberculosis and preventable diseases like measles, gastro-enteritis and kwashiorkor. There is overcrowding, and lack of hous-

ing. Most people have no clean drinking water and no proper sanitation. Children starve to death in a country which exports food to developed countries.

Apartheid laws and practices separate children from parents through the migrant labour system. It ensures the destruction of the family. Fragmentation of families exaggerates the poverty because the meagre wage has to be divided between two households: one in town and the other in the rural areas where the children are. Children grow up with little parental care and guidance because the parents can only come for short periods.

The apartheid regime permits and encourages as its economic and social policy the widespread exploitation of Black children in industrial and other employment. On white farms the use of Black children as farm workers flourishes in blatant violation of international law.

**Children are being forced to be internal refugees of apartheid.**

They are deprived of the right to free movement and are vulnerable to eviction and forced removal under apartheid laws without the security of a home. They are banished to resettlement camps and confined to the impoverished 'homelands' which are dumping grounds for cheap labour for the farms and factories of White South Africa. Children have to face the hazards of living in squatter camps. They suffer the stresses and strains of being homeless when their squatter homes are bulldozed to the ground.

Whilst education is free and compulsory for White children 'Bantu Education', a

special system for Africans, is neither free nor compulsory and is inadequate, separate and inferior. It was developed for the subjugation of Blacks and for the development of White supremacy. The classrooms (where schools exist) are overcrowded and have inexperienced and under-qualified teachers. In some areas teacher-pupil ratio is as low as 1:150. According to official statistics in 1986 40%-50% of the Black population was illiterate.

The impact on education had drawn a special response from the children themselves over the past decade. This rejection was highlighted by events of 1976 which have continued to the present day. Their modest demands, for which they have paid dearly in their lives, include an end to corporal punishment and to sexual harassment of girl pupils, free and appropriate textbooks, free and compulsory education. They have struggled for these through major school boycotts.

The apartheid regime has in response singled out the school children as special targets of state-sanctioned violence in a deliberate strategy of forcing them back to school through compulsory enrolment, victimisation of pupils, occupation of schools by police, abductions, mass arrests and detentions.

Children have been teargassed in the confined spaces of their classrooms and their wire-walled school compounds.

Apartheid touches every aspect of the lives and destinies of Black children. These are some of the harsh realities which have made the pupils and students and youth of South Africa participate in the struggle to try and change some of the conditions. These are the conditions which make them sacrifice their lives "not because they love life less but they love freedom more."

## **The Conference in Harare heard of the courage and heroic determination of the children and youth of South Africa.**

In the face of overwhelming military power and political repression by the apartheid regime they have marched, rallied against racist education; they have boycotted

classes in protest against the presence of army and police units in schools and universities. They have formed community and national organisations and when the racist regime has banned those organisations and jailed their leaders, they have risen up again and again under new organisations. The brutality of the regime has been matched by the courage and dignity of those whose protests it seeks to crush.

The Conference welcomed the recent formation of the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO) whose aims and objectives are to unite and politicise all sectors of the youth, to encourage the youth to join progressive trade unions, and to strive for the achievement of a non-sexist, free and democratic South Africa.

The children and youth of SA are at this moment engaged in the active struggle for national liberation and self-determination for all the people of SA in an unfragmented democratic society. They have adopted the principles of the Freedom Charter and declared their solidarity with the UDF.

The primary focus of the Conference was on the treatment of the children of SA since September 1984 when the apartheid regime moved its troops into the Black townships in an attempt to crush popular resistance to apartheid. The permanent legal powers at the disposal of the regime under the Internal Security Act and other repressive legislation, covering the right to assemble, censorship and the police, are so extensive as to enable the regime to exercise draconian powers. The proclamation of the State of Emergency therefore licensed what is effectively a state of martial law in the black areas.

The regulations under the state of emergency which have given the security forces, a free hand in controlling the townships, sweeping powers to control the press, bans on public meetings and control over funerals, have enabled the regime to transform the townships into war zones. The state security system organised through 500 joint management centres has installed a counter insurgency strategy against children and indeed all township residents. Blanket indemnity provided to the security forces enables the agents of repression to act with impunity.

Children are not granted any special pro-

tection under South African security legislation. The Internal Security Act of 1982 and the Emergency Regulations have failed to guarantee any, let alone adequate, protection of the physical, mental or legal rights of children. The Court treats children as adults regardless of age and such minimum forms of protection as informing parents of an arrest or detention or a charge are constantly denied.

**The scale and intensity of the comprehensive overwhelming and systematic violence and repression against children is horrifying.**

Neither the home, school, church nor street have been spared. Overwhelming force has been used in town and country; whole schools, including children under the age of ten, have been detained. Child detainees, the hidden victims of apartheid and political violence in SA are arrested without warrant and held indefinitely.

Parents have difficulty in ensuring their childrens' safety and wellbeing in the absence of access to family, friend, independent doctor or lawyer without special permission. It is also very difficult to challenge such detentions.

Since the State of Emergency in June 1986 more than 28 000 have been detained and 10 000 of them under the age of 16. It is estimated that between July 1985 and March 1986, 2106 children between eight and 16 were detained. The general estimation is that 20% of all these detained under the Internal Security Act and emergency regulations are children.

During 1984-86 11 000 children were detained without trial; 18 000 were arrested on charges of protest; 173 000 were held awaiting trial in police cells.

The state of such detentions is without parallel even in a state of formal war between states. Although a number of child detainees were released in 1987 it is estimated that more than 1 000 remain in detention, besides the many thousands who are ostensibly awaiting trial in prison, many of whom are likely now to be brought before a court.

The state violence resulting in the deaths of children is borne out by the official statistics provided by the regime which states that in a single year, 1985, the police (excluding the defence force) killed at least 201 children, a number of whom were under ten years old. All the children were Black. A survey of 77 of these deaths conducted in 1985 revealed that:

44 of the children were shot dead  
17 burned to death

3 were run over by police vehicles

4 drowned whilst fleeing from police

2 were beaten to death

1 was stabbed

6 died of unknown causes

19 in this November survey were under ten years old. One victim was four-year-old Mitah Ngobeni shot dead in September 10th 1985 by a rubber bullet while playing in the yard of her home in Atteridgeville.

**Children on release from detention have recounted unspeakable conditions and treatment.**

Children have suffered electric shocks, beatings by fists, sjamboks and rifle butts, severe deprivation of food and sleep, sexual abuse and attack, attempted strangulation and suffocation, solitary confinement and being submerged in sewerage water or doused with petrol and threatened with 'necklacing'.

Members of the security forces carry out their duties with indiscriminate brutality and insensitivity. The physical integrity of children, even the most basic of all rights — the Right To Life — is treated with contempt. Widespread use of torture is an integral feature of the detention system.

At least three, children including a 13-year-old, died in detention during 1985 as a result of police abuse. One of the children who died was 16-year-old Meshach Mogali who was attending a customary night vigil on November 15 for another arrested victim, Magdeline Nkoane. The police arrived and arrested a number of mourners, including him. His sister Betty was also arrested. She later stated that Meshach was kicked and sjam-

bokked by police at the time of the arrest. Two days later Meshach died in Kalafong hospital. Nothing is known of the circumstances of his death, which was confirmed by the police.

**There are far-reaching effects on children who have been detained, ill-treated and tortured.**

The effects of arrest, detention and interrogation are deeply disturbing for any detainee but acutely traumatic for children.

Though the regime is not herding the children into gas chambers, it is destroying a whole generation of children who are the inheritors of the future. These children are growing up in virtually a war situation. Even their play reflects this. They have games about police raids, shootings, teargas and funerals. They are growing up in a society which has no regard for life. They know no peace and no security. They die of hunger whilst food is being exported.

Children are moulded by what society offers and teaches them. They put back into society what society has given them.

The longer this situation is allowed to continue the more the children are going to think that violence is for survival and have no regard for life.

They meet the same situation in the Frontline States, hunted by the same regime, as testified by an 11-year-old girl from Botswana now confined to a wheel chair after being shot in the back by SA army personnel during a raid on Gaborone. She described how she was shot deliberately and witnessed the cold-blooded murders of her family including a baby.

The President of the ANC said at the Conference in Harare:

*"We cannot be true liberators unless the liberation we will achieve guarantees all children the rights to life, health, happiness and free development, respecting the individuality, the inclinations and capabilities of each child. Our liberation would be untrue to itself if it did not. Among its first tasks, is to attend to the*

*welfare of the millions of children whose lives have been stunted and turned into a terrible misery by the violence of the apartheid system.*

*Moreover our concern for the children, the inheritors of our future, cannot be postponed until the day we achieve our emancipation. That is why this Conference is being held. It should result in the greatest possible international mobilisation around the issue of the plight of the children of SA. The world needs to be informed about what is happening to these young lives. Let the truth be told in all its gruesome detail. Let all humanity see the true face of apartheid, mirrored as it is in the glazed and staring eyes of the children it is starving to death and in the sightless eyes of those it has murdered.*

*Inside our country, we, as well, have a responsibility to act now in defence of the children. There too, we must rip off the cloak of silence which the Pretoria regime tries to drape around its horrendous misdeeds. The democratic movement must in its entirety join the campaign to force the racist regime to take its blood-stained hands off our people!*

*The ANC, the people of SA and all the world should unite and say one more day of the apartheid regime is one too many. We should spare no effort in defence of the children and to escalate our offensive against the SA regime. The campaign for mandatory comprehensive sanctions against SA should be escalated. How many children have to be murdered before the international community takes responsible action towards the destruction of apartheid and the overthrow of the SA regime?"*



# 2nd

## NATIONAL WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

By Women's Committee

### WOMEN ARISE AND ACT!

The Second National Women's Conference took place in Luanda, People's Republic of Angola from the 1st to the 6th September, 1987 under the theme '*For Greater Unity and All Round Mobilization for the Seizure of Power.*' This was in line with the decision of the historic women's conference held in Luanda, 1981 that a conference be held every five years to review our work internally and internationally.

We met at a time when the entire membership of the ANC and peace loving people all over the world were celebrating the 75 years of resistance to apartheid colonialism. The 75th anniversary of the ANC is characterised by the rapidly developing struggle by our people for the destruction of the racist regime and the seizure of power by the people.

The six years following the 1981 conference have been marked by heightened mass upsurges in various forms that is, workers, trade unions, church groups, academics and students, women and children have scored great victories. In the face of heightened repression and countless racist atrocities, the women of South Africa have stood in the forefront of the struggle.



**JOIN  
UMKHOHONTO  
WE SIZWE**

The conference was honoured by the presence of Comrade Sam Nujoma, President of Swapo, Comrade Dan Tloome (deputy secretary-general) of the ANC and member of the National Executive Committee.

Throughout his speech Comrade Dan Tloome underlined the role that women have played in the cause of our struggle, taken into account the development of the South African revolution since 1981. The important milestone in the women's formation of the UDF Women's League, an act which undermined the workings of the state of emergency — a March Forward for the Advancement of our struggle.

He congratulated the 300 delegates from various women's organisations who convened secretly in the midst of the state of emergency, to advance the question of unity in our country. He spoke of the development of our female cadres which is a major task facing all of us in the liberation struggle, highlights the need for increased political education among our women. On this basis he emphasised that the Women's Section of the ANC must ensure that the women in all departments play their role.

Comrade Gertrude Shope, head of the Women's Section, addressed the conference as follows:

"This conference is an expression of the aspirations of all South African women organised in our vanguard movement, the ANC.

It embodies our hopes in our efforts to strive for a world where there shall be equality of every human being, and no suppression and exploitation of one by another. It symbolises our intention to build

a united, non-racial, democratic and just South Africa, where all will live in peace and harmony and, where the values of each human being are safeguarded by each and all, regardless of colour, creed and gender.

We ask you to join with us in paying tribute to the many heroines of our struggle, named and unnamed, who dedicated their lives to our people's liberation and are now no longer with us. Among these we note Dora Tamana, Victoria Mxenge, Emma Sathekhe, Florence Mophosho, Ann Silinga, Grate Ncaphayi, and Isithwalwandwe, Lilian Ngoyi.

Now comrades, the mantle has fallen on us, not only to emulate the example these heroines have set for us; but to ensure that their sacrifices have not been in vain, and that the cherished goal of a non-racial democratic South Africa for whose achievement they dedicated their lives, is achieved in the shortest possible time. This Second ANC Women's Conference held in this 75th Anniversary year of the ANC and focusing on the all-round organisation and greater women's unity for the seizure of power, is a major step towards that end.

We meet here at a historic time, as the apartheid regime is being challenged in a manner and on a scale never seen before. And as the women of South Africa are poised to unite in the mighty Federation that will indeed be the rock upon which apartheid will break. Our people have demonstrated that no degree of police brutality and state violence will destroy their determination to liberate our country, that intensity of repression will not intimidate or deter them from continuing the struggle.

We are now in the third state of emergency in two years.

Yet, despite the regime's repression, the youth have managed to come together and launched the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO) under their very noses, but the blind eyes, of the security police. Likewise, the students have formed the Sansco. The workers, having formed the mighty Congress of South African Trade Unions, (Cosatu) have in recent months been challenging the apartheid system in

its most vulnerable economic sectors, as the transport workers, post office workers and miners have come out on strikes. This conference salutes SARHWU.

We salute also the domestic workers of South Africa — long the most exploited and lowest paid of the working class. Less than a year ago in November 1986, they succeeded in establishing the South African Domestic Workers Association (SADWA). Uniting over 50 000 women domestic workers, SADWA has affiliated to Cosatu and adopted the Freedom Charter. In April this year, the UDF Women's Congress was launched under illegal conditions in Cape Town. It was attended by 97 delegates from Natal border, Eastern Cape, Southern Cape, Northern Cape, Western Cape, OFS, Southern and Northern Transvaal. A national women's structure has been established responsible to a national council consisting of representatives from each region plus one representative from each UDF affiliate. SAYCO will send one and NUSAS may also have a representative.

A policy commission was appointed to enquire into the oppression suffered by women; this included race, sex, and economic discrimination, forced removals, poor living conditions, starvation wages, exploitative working conditions, children brutalised, poorly educated, malnourished and deprived. This conference resolved to organise, educate and train women in country and town, in factories, farms and schools, to use non-racist and non-sexist democratic principles in building a society based on the Freedom Charter and Women's Charter.

**These momentous achievements of the liberation movement and democratic forces have inevitably given rise to cleavages as well as alliances in all directions.**

We need only mention the deep seated splits in the ruling Nationalist Party as was shown in the recent all white elections. The emergence of the ultra-racist neo-nazi organisations such as the Afrikaner Weers-

tand Beweging (AWB); the success of the Conservative Party and the emergence of Afrikaner dissenters such as those who recently went to Senegal to have talks with the ANC; the divisions in the Dutch Reformed Church and the revolt of its mission bodies which have repudiated apartheid and denounced it as a heresy. These are symptoms of an internal conflict and contradictions within the dominant white minority such as seen in the ruling class before the overthrow of the old order.

**Confronted with a determined people, growing in strength through their unity in action, reinforced by the mounting armed struggle, the regime has floundered from crisis to crisis and state of emergency to state of emergency.**

Thousands upon thousands have been detained — 40% of them children. A state that has to resort to torturing and imprisoning children, some as young as eight years old, is desperate indeed.

Instead of addressing the grievances of our people, Pretoria has turned the whole of South Africa into a war zone. Billions of dollars worth of damage has been inflicted upon the infrastructure of the countries of southern Africa — not least here in Angola, which Pretoria has repeatedly invaded as well as arming and supporting the Unita bandits.

Today, Botha can offer his supporters no strategy to maintain apartheid nor any solution to his problem. His latest reforms, the proposed National Statutory Council will fail, as have all previous attempts to foist apartheid institutions upon our people. Increasingly, South Africans in search of solutions are turning to the ANC and engaging in dialogue with us, so that as concerned South Africans we can unite our efforts to make a reality of the non-racial democratic South African that is our common goal.

Today we can say with confidence, that the centrality of the ANC in the destruction of apartheid is universally recognised by Botha.

He chose to fight his recent election against the ANC, as well as by the western powers, longstanding collaborators and supporters of Pretoria, who have been moved by necessity to open discussions with the ANC.

And yet, these countries are not prepared to admit that the most affective contribution of the international community can make to our struggle is the total isolation of Pretoria and the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions. Such action will assist us by denying the regime the material and military resources to sustain apartheid domestically, maintain the illegal occupation of Namibia and continue to commit acts of aggression and destabilisation in the region.

The recognition of the crucial role of the ANC arises as a consequence of years of effort in difficult circumstances by our underground workers in South Africa and of the combat units of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

But these efforts would not have succeeded if our organisation had not correctly analysed the situation, devised appropriate strategies and formulated policies that have commanded the support of the overwhelming majority of South Africans.

The task of this conference today is to examine the situations of women of South Africa within the overall political context, and devise the strategies that will mobilise them in their millions into our liberation struggle. Our experience has taught us that we cannot mobilise people unless we address issues that are relevant to their lives and provide solutions for them. This is no

less true of women, than it is of workers, the young, or any other sector of the South African people.

Identifying these issues and formulating appropriate policies is one of the important tasks on our agenda in the days ahead. But we must also recognise that to be effective, we need to mobilise women to participate in the liberation struggle both at the grassroot and at the level of leadership. The two are interdependent, and we need to address both.

As the Women's Section our task is to provide foundation upon which the entire movement can focus its efforts in this direction — and it is the responsibility of the entire membership of the ANC.

What is it that the ANC offer to women of South Africa? It must be, it can only be an end to the three-fold yoke of oppression that they bear. The emancipation of women must become an integral part of our political lives, not just in policy statements but in the reality of our political lives. And it must begin within these ranks, within our vanguard movement, the African National Congress.

The conference was an historic event to all who participated, young and old. The elections of the Members of the Women's National Executive Committee reflected the mood of the conference — young comrades who have left our country since the 1976 Students Uprising and old stalwarts of our movement involved since the Defiance Campaigns of the 1950s and the women's historic march to Pretoria.

They are: Ray Simons, Makhosazana Njobe, Ruth Mompoti, Baleka Kgositsile, Lindiwe Mabuza, Zanele Mbeki, Thenjiwe Mthintso, Mavivi Manzini, Mittah Sperepere, Rebecca Matlou, Yoliswa Modise, Regina Nzo, Doreen Motsabi, Lulu Mabhena, Jessica Monare.



# MOSCOW INTERNATIONAL BOOK FAIR

By Sara

## Tens of Thousands Visit the Book Fair

The Sixth Moscow International Book Fair, was held from 8th to 14th September, 1987. This year's Fair occupied three pavilions of the USSR Exhibition of Economic Achievements. The fair is sponsored by the USSR State Committee for Publishing, Printing and Book Trade jointly with the USSR Copyright Agency, V/O "Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga" and other governmental and public organisations, associations and unions of creative workers.

"Books Serve Peace and Progress" is the traditional motto of the Fair and its organisers aim to:

- promote all-round cultural co-operation among nations;
- popularise the finest publications furthering peace and international detente;
- extend business ties between publishers and book-trading organisations and encourage the export and import of books and mutual translation of literature.

There were 3,000 companies from 103 countries as well as national and international organisations at this Fair. The number of guests and participants has doubled since the first exhibition of 1977.

The first day of the Book Fair was for the participants and guests who visited each other's stands to inspect the exhibits, to sign contracts of exchange and to promote their own books.

The Fair featured all kinds of books, sheet music, maps and atlases, postcards, reproductions, postage stamps, printed matter, as well as slides and record players, records intended for sale.

On the second day of the Book Fair and thereafter every afternoon it was open to the public. During the week-long exhibition the continuous flow of the crowd and the long queues waiting from the morning onwards to visit the bookstalls were evidence of the thirst for education and knowledge and the hunger to read within Soviet society. Similarly the seemingly endless queues waiting outside the Pushkin Fine Arts Museum to see the Chagall exhibition were also clear evidence of the pride in culture in all its forms and how seriously it is taken by the Soviet people.

It is worth remembering that, in the words of one Soviet commentator, "some 7,000 books and brochures, or almost 70 million copies, were published in 1918 when the country was in the very midst of the Civil War, suffering from hunger and economic dislocation."

Maxim Gorky, the great writer, in fact encouraged the Vsemirnaya Literatura (World Literature) Publishers to produce the first Russian editions of the world classics of the 18th-20th Centuries.

John Reed wrote in his book *Ten Days that Shook the World*:

*"Russia absorbed reading matter like hot sand drinks water, insatiably".*

The Soviet system makes it possible for its people to enjoy all the cultural privileges, be it the Bolshoi Theatre or just a more

ordinary event. The people pay a minimal fee unlike in the so-called "free" Western world where only the rich can enjoy all the facilities and entertainment.

It was indeed a great pleasure to be in this great country. One could sense the tremendous excitement around oneself. There were two other major conferences going on simultaneously during the week of the Book Fair. Hotel Rossiya, the biggest hotel in Moscow which accommodates over 6,000 visitors, was the main centre for most activities. Also in the air was the excitement over the preparations going ahead for the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

*Sechaba Publications*(ANC) and *Inkululeko Publications* (SACP) shared a stand with the International Defence and Aid Fund. There was tremendous interest and sympathy shown by the publishers, distributors, journalists and the general public. We were kept busy answering questions about our books, about our organisations and about the situation in South Africa. There were many requests from the public for posters and badges, in particular of Nelson and Winnie Mandela who are popular leaders among Soviet citizens.

Like the Italian newspaper *Avanti* put it at the time of the Florence Book Fair in 1922, we who went to the Sixth Book Fair this year were aware that it is impossible to accuse of destroying culture, "a government which is permeated with such a faith in the powerful spiritual impact of books on the masses".

# MONUMENT OF TRUTH

*The last time when they spoke to us  
their voices were sweet and sharp  
they reached the highest pinnacles of those  
troubled souls in the townships and valleys  
I wish I could reverse those moments of truth  
just to see their faces*

*I feel I was robbed those peaceful hearts  
The golden voices are gone but not perished  
The fascist bullets remained on innocent soil  
I wish I could reverse those moments of truth  
to see those fresh brains*

*Lend me your ears and courage  
to tell you the truth  
to see in them  
The moments of truth  
I wish I could reverse those moments of truth  
just to salute them*

*The last time when they met them boldly  
They knew the truth  
No! Oppression!  
No! Exploitation!  
No! Surrender!!!*

*I wish I could reverse  
Those moments of truth  
to see in them  
The monument of truth  
the flames of victory*

**By Peter Seeiso**

Dedicated to: Comrades Cassius Make and Paul Dikeledi who were murdered by Pretoria agents in Swaziland on the 9th of August 1987.

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## SECHABA NEEDS YOUR SUPPORT!

Owing to increased costs, the subscription rate for SECHABA, the monthly journal of the African National Congress (ANC), will be increased to:

\$30 for institutions; \$25 for individuals in the USA and Canada, and  
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The price includes postage and packing (Airmail)

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**WOMEN ARISE!**



**ORGANISE, UNITE FOR  
PEOPLE'S POWER!**